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RELATING TO THE

QUESTION OF BOUNDARY

BETWEEN

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*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
July 1896.*

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PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

Question of Boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

THE present Blue Book is supplementary to the Blue Book entitled, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," C.—7972. Its chief object is to show the extent to which the Dutch and Spaniards had, prior to the year 1796, exercised control over the territory lying between the Essequibo and Orinoco. The action of the Dutch and Spaniards respectively will be examined with reference to those acts by which the dominion and influence of a nation are ordinarily manifested, as, for instance, by settlement, exploration, trade, dealings with native tribes, and general control.

To facilitate the examination of the documents contained in the Appendices to the present Blue Book, and for convenience of reference as to the points in which they bear upon the question under discussion, the subject will be treated under the following heads, namely :—

1. Settlement.
2. Postholders and the jurisdiction exercised by them.
3. Trade.
4. Relations with the Indian tribes.
5. Boundaries.

In considering these heads, the following general principles should be kept in view :—

The territory which belongs to a nation in a country sparsely populated is not confined to the spots or areas which have themselves been the subject of occupation. It is well established by the law of nations that the extent of the territory to which a nation can justly lay claim

depends upon a number of considerations. Regard must be had to the physical features of the country itself, and to the question whether the situation and character of the areas occupied would enable the nation to which the occupants belong to control the adjoining district, and to prevent, if necessary, hostile aggression.

A familiar instance is afforded by the claims which have frequently been put forward by various nations to the water-sheds of particular rivers of which they controlled the mouths and passage. Similarly the exercise of control over native races, the exploration of the country, and the making of roads, the exercise of active ownership by the cutting of timber in parts of forests, the controlling of the trade of a district, and the preventing of foreigners from taking part in it;—all these and other acts of a similar description have long been regarded by international lawyers and by nations as founding a just claim to a district which has formed the scene of such operations. Moreover, the title so acquired has for many generations been recognized as being superior to a title claimed on grounds of any alleged discovery which has not been followed by similar acts of ownership.

The following will be found to be the result of the examination of the history of the territory in question dating from the latter part of the sixteenth century down to 1796:—

1. At various intervals the Dutch had explored the main streams and tributaries of all the important rivers which flow into the Atlantic Ocean between the Orinoco and the Amazon.

2. They had made settlements at various places in different parts of the interior.

3. They had instituted a regular system of trading both with the Indian tribes and with their Spanish neighbours up the Orinoco; their Postholders had special functions in controlling such trade.

4. They had been in the habit of issuing passports authorizing the holders to pass through the territories in question, and to trade with the natives, in this and other ways establishing their control over the trade of the district.

5. They had entered into relations with the native tribes inhabiting the territory in question. Many of these tribes had made friendly arrangements with the Dutch, had in many cases owned

allegiance to them, and had accepted from them tokens of this condition of dependency.

6. With the exception of San Thomé de Guayana and the Capuchin Missions, which were all within the area shaded green on the Map annexed to this statement, the Spaniards had not at any time occupied or controlled any part of the territory in question.

7. Subsequently to the year 1745 the boundaries of the territory believed to belong to the Dutch were on various occasions the subject of consideration and discussion. It will be found that both Dutch and Spaniards considered that the territory belonging to the Dutch embraced the watersheds of the Essequibo, Mazaruni, and Cuyuni, and of the other rivers flowing into the Atlantic between the Corentin and the Orinoco.

The principal places referred to in this statement will be found on the Map annexed hereto.

I.—SETTLEMENT.

1621. Dutch, No. 1, p. 53.

1632-48. Dutch, Nos. 4-7, pp. 55-57.

In 1621 the States-General of the United Netherlands granted to the Dutch West India Company their first Charter, which, with the Regulations made in pursuance of it, regulated the trade of the coast of South America, including Guiana, during the whole period prior to 1648, the date of the Treaty of Münster, and practically throughout the whole period of Dutch occupation.

1648. Dutch, No. 7, p. 57.

Under these Regulations the entire trade of the coast east of the Orinoco was reserved for the Dutch West India Company, while other Dutch vessels were allowed to trade to Cumaná, Venezuela, and other territories west of the Orinoco, but were expressly prohibited from going to the east of the Orinoco.

The Charter of 1621 and its subsequent renewals were the grants which were expressly referred to in Article V of the Treaty of Münster, a translation of which is printed at p. 6 of the statement of Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)."

The text of the material Articles of these Charters and Regulations is now printed at pp. 53 to 58 of the Appendix.

For 200 years prior to 1796 the Dutch had the effective command of the coast as far as the Orinoco, and during the period more particularly under discussion, that is to say, for about 150 years prior to 1796 they controlled, practically without intermission, the Rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni, Mazaruni, Pomeroon, Maroco, Waini, and Barima.

It will be convenient to consider first the facts relating to the Dutch occupation of the district of Barima and Maroco, including the Waini and the Pomeroon.

The presence of the Dutch on the coast as far as the mouth of the Orinoco in the early part of the 17th century, and their intention of establishing further settlements, was well known to the Spaniards.

Before 1648, the date of the Treaty of Münster, the Dutch were settled at Amacura. By 1684 an official station had been established in Barima, though it was subsequently discontinued; trade with the district went on continuously, as will appear from other references in this statement. Licences to cut timber in Pomeroon extended to Barima. There was also supervision or inspection by the Postholders of Maroco. In 1744 the question of the re-establishment of the Dutch post at Barima was the subject of discussion, as a Report from the Commandeur of Essequibo shows; but the disinclination of the Dutch West India Company to incur too much expense stood in the way of the project, although the Caribs of Barima repeatedly asked for it down to 1761. These Caribs of Barima were in close relation with the Dutch; they assisted them in recapturing fugitive slaves; their Chief was called to account for acts displeasing to the Dutch Government, and he also held the official token of recognition of the Dutch connexion. Further, the Dutch exercised jurisdiction up to the Barima River; they prohibited settlers to whom they objected from taking up land there; they exercised control over lawless characters on the right bank of the stream, although they appear latterly to have admitted Spanish authority on the other bank.

1614. Spanish, No 1, p. 204.

1615. Spanish, No. 2, pp. 205, 206

1637. Spanish, No. 5, Annex (2), p. 214.

1683. Dutch, No. 10, p. 59; No. 11, p. 59.

{ 1717. Dutch, No. 44, p. 76.
1749. Dutch, No. 87, p. 91.
1757. Dutch, No. 127, p. 108.
1760. Spanish, No. 21, p. 249.

{ 1756. Dutch, No. 125, p. 107.
1766. Dutch, No. 183, p. 140.

{ 1765. Dutch, No. 179, Inclosure, p. 137.
1767. Dutch, No. 189, p. 143.

1744. Dutch, No. 72, p. 85.

1754. Dutch, No. 109, p. 98.

1761. Dutch, No. 145, p. 117.

1744. Dutch, No. 72, p. 85.

{ 1755. Dutch, No. 122, p. 106.
1756. Dutch, No. 124, p. 106.

1765. Dutch, No. 179, p. 137.

{ 1683. Dutch, No. 10, p. 59.
1767. Dutch, No. 189, p. 143.

1766. Dutch, No. 183, p. 140.

1766. Dutch, No. 182, p. 139.

The Waini again is spoken of in the Report of the Dutch Commandeur in terms which leave

746. Dutch, No. 77, p. 86.

1746. Dutch, No. 77, p. 86.

1753. Dutch, No. 105, p. 97.

1754. Dutch, No. 113, p. 101.

1756. Dutch, No. 126, p. 108.

1762. Dutch, No. 153, p. 120.

1763. Dutch, No. 164, p. 126.

1763. Dutch, No. 164, p. 126.

1709. Dutch, No. 37, p. 73.

1713. Dutch, No. 40, p. 74.

1684. Dutch, No. 11, p. 59.

1703. Dutch, No. 27 (Inclosure), p. 70.

1748. Dutch, No. 83, p. 89.

1750. Dutch, No. 94, p. 94.

1723. Dutch, No. 47, p. 77.

1764. Dutch, No. 171, p. 131.

1763. Dutch, No. 164, p. 126.

1766. Dutch, No. 183, p. 139.

1756. Dutch, No. 123, p. 106.

1757. "Venezuela, No. 1 (1896)," p. 90.

1769. Dutch, No. 224, p. 169.

1768. Dutch, No. 205, p. 154.

1790. Dutch, No. 280, p. 194.

1760. Spanish, No. 22, p. 255.

1770. Spanish, No. 27 (4), p. 281.

1768. Spanish, No. 26, pp. 274-280.

1768. Dutch, No. 205, p. 154.

1768. Dutch, No. 208, p. 156.

1768. Dutch, No. 209, p. 157.

no doubt as to the Dutch control of it. The Caribs there, who were probably part of the same tribes as those of Barima, are mentioned as subject to the Dutch. When orders were issued for particular caution in sending out a reconnoitring expedition, they were to the effect that the Commissioner should not only not go upon Spanish territory, but not even go beyond the Waini. When further land was required for occupation, the Director-General sent agents to survey Waini and Pomeroon. In 1754 the River Waini was expressly included in the patrol of boats to guard against an attack by the Spaniards. In 1756 a Concession to cut timber in the Waini was granted by the Colonial Government; and later it is referred to in terms which show that it was regarded as a centre of the salting industry. Waini was also included by name as under the jurisdiction of Maroco in the enumeration of the posts.

Early in the eighteenth century the Post of Maroco had been established on the Wacquepo Creek; and the Post at Pomeroon, which had, up to the beginning of the century, been the position from which the Barima district had been administered, was gradually abandoned in favour of the more advanced position. It was frequently described as an important post. The jurisdiction of this post included Pomeroon, Waini, and Barima. About 1756 it was moved from the Wacquepo Creek to a more westerly position on the main branch of the Maroco River; in this position it was converted into an armed post, and remained as such down to the final cession of the Colony to Great Britain. It was at this point that, in 1797, the final attack by the Spaniards was repulsed.

Certain aggressive proceedings of the Spaniards on the coast in 1768, of which brief notice is made in the second Dutch remonstrance presented in 1769, appear, from the documents which will be found in the Appendix to the present volume, to have been as follows:—

Centurion, the then Commandant of Spanish Guiana, incited apparently by Dutch deserters, having determined to dislodge sundry Dutch families who were established at Barima, dispatched the captain of the coastguard with two boats full of men for the purpose. The expedi-

tion appears to have been conducted with 1768. Spanish, No. 26 (9), (10), (11), pp. 277, 278, secrecy. The men were not informed of the object of the expedition until they arrived at the mouth of Barima Creek; they were then perceived by a body of Carib Indians, and the latter gave warning to the Dutch families, who retired. Thereupon the Spaniards seized all the movable articles they could find in the deserted houses, and returned with them to San Thomé de Guayana, where the articles were formally adjudged to be confiscated and sold by public auction for the benefit of the provincial Treasury.

Later, in February 1769, permission appears to 1770. Spanish, No. 27 (4), p. 282. have been given by the Prefect of the Capuchin Missions to two of his clergy to go down to the mouths of the Orinoco and Barima to recover certain runaway Indian slaves belonging to the Missions. They went accordingly with an escort, and finding that the Indians were scattered between the Waini and Maroco they proceeded there and seized them, granting a certificate of the object of the expedition to the Dutch holder of the post at Maroco.

Upon the receipt of the Dutch remonstrance both Centurion and the missionaries alleged, in justification of their conduct, that the expedition had exceeded its orders, which applied only to the grand mouth of the Orinoco. It is further to be noticed that all the witnesses brought forward by Centurion to refute the Dutch assertions of jurisdiction, while denying that it extended as far as the mouth of the Orinoco, distinctly admitted the existence, by permission as they styled it, of the Dutch post and garrison on the east bank of the Maroco.

{ Ibid., No. 27 (6), p. 285.
1769. Dutch, No. 216, p. 163.

1770. Spanish, No. 27 (6), p. 285.
Cf. "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," pp. 115, 116.

Turning to the Dutch settlements in the interior of the country, further details of which will be gathered from the subsequent chapters on Postholders and Trade, it is not necessary to dwell upon the occupation of the Upper Essequibo, as even the Spanish Commandant Centurion, who was the most extravagant in his claims, admits that the district was outside his reach, and beyond the range even of his knowledge.

1770. Spanish, No. 27 (4), p. 282.
"Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," p. 116.

The history of the Dutch occupation of the Mazaruni and Cuyuni is closely connected with the establishment of the Capuchin Missions in the watershed of the tributaries of the Upper Cuyuni.

1746. Dutch, No. 77, p. 86.

1754. Dutch, No. 113, p. 100.

About the year 1745 the Dutch began to apprehend Spanish encroachment or interference from the possible extension of the Spanish Missions in the upper part of the watershed of the tributaries of the Yuruari, and it was only on the line of this watershed that anything in the nature of serious collision from time to time occurred between the two nations. As will readily be seen from a study of the map, the Rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni, and Mazaruni control the whole interior of the country; the possession of the coast-line, combined with that of the Rivers Pomeroon, Maroco, Waini, and Barima, enabled the Dutch effectively to resist any aggression in the territory intersected by these rivers; this was not the case with reference to the district of the Cuyuni, inasmuch as the presence of the Spaniards at the Missions extending southward and eastward from San Thomé de la Guayana afforded a base from which the Dutch and their territory might be attacked.

A perusal of the documents contained in the Appendix proves beyond all question that the Dutch effectively resisted any attempt of the Spaniards to advance further to the east than Tumeremo, and possibly Cura, and that, though, for a brief period, they were driven out of their advanced post upon the upper part of the Cuyuni, they re-established themselves there, and effectively resisted all attempts of Spain to extend her possessions beyond the points above mentioned.

1746. Dutch, No. 78, p. 87.
 1748. Dutch, No. 85, p. 90.
 1754. Dutch, No. 111, p. 99.
 1799. Spanish, No. 45, p. 355.
 1749. Dutch, No. 89, p. 92.
 1750. Dutch, No. 93, p. 93.

Ibid.

About the year 1746 the Dutch were informed by the Indians that the Spaniards intended to advance their Missions "above in Cuyuni," which meant, as a matter of fact, to the neighbourhood of the place now known as Miamo. Remonstrances with reference to this project were made to the Spanish authorities, and it was ascertained that the last Mission which was being established was in the neighbourhood of the River Imataca. This river is in the basin of the Orinoco, and, in the opinion of the Dutch authorities, was outside the limits of the Dutch Colony.

The documents show that the Dutch and Spanish authorities understood approximately the position of the boundary between their respective territories; from an official Report of the Director-General of the Dutch Colony it appears, that the Spaniards did move back the Mission

1749. Dutch, No. 89, p. 92.
 1754. Dutch, No. 111, p. 99.

from the site which had been selected, and the assurance was given that its more advanced position had been taken up unwittingly.

1754. Dutch, No. 111, p. 99.

Later on, the Dutch being apprehensive that some further attempts at encroachment might be made by the Spaniards, employed Indians to watch them, with orders, if necessary, to guard the passage to the Cuyuni.

1754. Dutch, No. 115, p. 102

In the year 1755 further attempts were made by the Spaniards, as will be gathered from a Report of the 31st May of that year, in which it was stated that the Spaniards had taken complete possession of the creek Yuruari, which flows into the Cuyuni, being at a distance of not more than ten or twelve hours from the Dutch post. The exact position of this post cannot be fixed, but it was at some point between the junctions of the Curumo and Uruan with the Cuyuni. The Spanish statement that it was on an island called Curamacura is not borne out by the evidence taken at their own inquiry.

1755. Dutch, No. 118, p. 103.

1758. Spanish, No. 20 (2), p. 237.

1758. Spanish, No. 20 (16), (17), pp. 246, 247.

In the year 1758 the Spaniards attacked and destroyed this advanced post of the Dutch in the Upper Cuyuni, and this outrage was the ground of the formal remonstrance made by the States-General to the Spanish Government on the 31st July, 1759, in which specific mention is made of the maintenance of the post on the Cuyuni.

1758. Dutch, No. 132, p. 109.

1758. Dutch, No. 133, p. 110.

1758. Spanish, No. 20, pp. 235-249.

1759. Dutch, No. 136, p. 111.

There was some delay in re-establishing the post, chiefly due to trouble arising out of slave riots, though the question was considered from time to time up to 1766. In that year the post was re-established, and the Postholder received special instructions which required him to arrest all Spaniards passing down the river. From 1769 onwards to 1788 its existence was known to the Spaniards; and it was maintained down to about the time of the taking of the Colony of Essequibo by Great Britain.

1763. Dutch, No. 166, p. 126.

1764. Dutch, No. 170, p. 128.

1764. Dutch, No. 173, p. 134.

1766. Dutch, No. 181, p. 138.

1766. Dutch, No. 184, p. 140.

1769. Dutch, No. 224, pp. 169, 170.

1769. Dutch, No. 227, p. 174.

1770. Spanish, No. 27 (1), p. 280.

1788. Spanish, No. 36, p. 317.

The foregoing statement respecting the position of the Dutch and Spanish settlements respectively at the head of the River Cuyuni is entirely corroborated, not only by the Spanish documents already published in the Appendix to the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," C.—7972, to which reference was made in the Statement on p. 18 of that Blue Book, but also by various official Reports which will be found at pp. 316-346 of the Appendix to the present volume.

1788. Spanish, No. 36, p. 317.

The Report of Governor Marmion of the 10th July, 1788, shows that the Governor of the Dutch Colony at that time kept a detachment in a fort called the Old Castle at the junction of the Mazaruni and the Cuyuni, and further an advanced guard from 20 to 25 leagues* up the Cuyuni, that between these two points the Dutch had, as ascertained by the Spaniards in 1758, plantations of cane and other products, and that between that date and 1788, according to information obtained from the Indians, they had further advanced and increased their possessions.

1790. Spanish, No. 40, pp. 326-346.

It will be seen from the documents of which extracts are given later that the Spanish authorities were seriously considering the project of constructing a strong house or post in the fork or junction of the Rivers Curumo and Cuyuni to the southward and eastward of Tumeremo, or, according to other ideas, at the junction of the Uruan and Cuyuni, as is shown by a Report of the 6th July, 1787, from Fra Thomas de Mataro to Governor Marmion. This fort it was proposed to establish with the object of protecting the Missions and savannahs from the Dutch, and also in order to stop the passage of the Indians to Essequibo. The post in question, however, was never erected.

1787. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (1),
p. 327.
1788. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (4),
p. 329.
Cf. 1789. Spanish, No. 40, Inclo-
sure 1 (15), p. 341.

Cf. 1763. Spanish, No. 24, at p. 269.

At pp. 259, 324, 333, 355, and 356 of the Appendix will be found the names of the Mission villages established by the Catalonian Capuchins in Guiana, as they were supposed to exist in the years 1762, 1788, 1799, and 1813, the last date being immediately prior to their suppression.

"Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," pp. 104-109.

1788. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (8),
p. 335.

1793. Spanish, No. 43, p. 347.

1788. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (5),
p. 329.

All these Tables were prepared by the Fathers or Heads of some one or other of the Missions. They should be compared with the contemporary Reports of Don José Diguja of 1761, and Don Miguel Marmion of 1788 to 1793, and with the Report of the survey by Don Lopez de la Puente.

From this information, fairly accurate data of the numbers and locality of the Missions can be gathered. The position of a considerable number of them can be approximately identified, as their names were printed upon several contemporary maps. But in some cases the names have

* This distance appears to correspond with the position of the Island of Tokoropatti shown on the Map annexed to this statement.

disappeared, and there is more difficulty in fixing the exact locality of the Mission. The following, however, will be found to be the result of the best information and the most careful collation of all the contemporary records:—

(a.) The earliest Missions founded between 1724 and 1740 were in the neighbourhood of the Orinoco, on the Rivers Upata and the Taguachi, which are towards its junction with the Caroni.

(b.) The later Missions extended in a southerly and easterly direction in the neighbourhood of the Rivers Cumamo (or Miamo), and the upper part of the Yuruari.

(c.) The most easterly Mission or station was at the cattle farm of Tumeremo, westward of the Curumo; the most southern Mission, Avechica, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," p. 108. near the head of one of the branches of the Uruan. The Missions which were the most advanced towards the frontiers were Avechica and Cura. 1789. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (14), p. 340.

The exact position of Cura cannot be definitely fixed, but it appears to have been not more than 6 or 7 leagues to the south of Tumeremo and at least 45 miles from the Cuyuni.

{ 1787. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (1), p. 327.
1788. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (5), p. 331.

(d.) All the Missions were in the district lying between the junction of the Uruan and Cuyuni and the Orinoco, coloured green on the map annexed to this statement; they were all west of the Curumo, and considerably north of the Uruan and Cuyuni.

The absence of any settlement by the Spaniards except San Thomé de Guayana and the Missions which have just been referred to was pointed out at p. 20 of the preliminary statement to Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)." The further Spanish documents, which will be found in the Appendix to this volume, confirm in every respect the statements there made.

As early as the year 1618 the absence of any settlements or defences upon the Orinoco below San Thomé was the subject of discussion, and proposals were made, which were never carried out, for establishing forts lower down the river. The documents noted in the margin, ranging from 1724 to 1741, show that similar proposals were, from time to time, renewed; they also give a description of the impoverished condition of the Spanish Colony and of the small extent of Spanish settlement. 1618. Spanish, No. 4, p. 209.

{ 1724. Spanish, No. 24, p. 260.
1728. Spanish, No. 9, p. 223.
1735. Spanish, No. 12, p. 225.
1740. Spanish, No. 14, p. 226.
1741. Spanish, No. 15, p. 228.

1770. Spanish, No. 27, pp. 281-291. }
 1776. Spanish, No. 30 (5), pp. 299-305. }
 1783. Spanish, No. 34, pp. 312-314. }
 1788. Spanish, No. 40, 1 (5), pp. 329-332. }
 1790. Spanish, No. 39, p. 325.

Similarly, the Spanish records (see especially those noted) confirm the facts as gathered from the Dutch records as to the position of the Spanish Missions, the distance to which the Dutch had advanced up the Cuyuni into the interior of the country, and the absence of any other Spanish settlements than the Missions already described.

II.—POSTHOLDERS.

1764. Dutch, No. 171 (Inclosure 2), p. 132. }
 1766. Dutch, No. 184, p. 140. }
 1758. Spanish, No. 20 (18), p. 248.
 1766. Dutch, No. 184, p. 140.

1764. Dutch, No. 171 (Inclosure 2), p. 132.
 1764. Dutch, No. 184, p. 140.
Cf. 1761. Dutch, No. 147, p. 118.

1683. Dutch, No. 10, p. 59.

1702. Dutch, No. 27 (Inclosure), p. 70. }
 1703. Dutch, No. 29, p. 70. }

1714. Dutch, No. 43, p. 74.

1727. Dutch, No. 58, p. 80.

1764. Dutch, No. 171, pp. 129, 130.

1744. Dutch, No. 72, p. 85.

From a very early period the Dutch maintained officers who had jurisdiction in various parts of the Colony. The name borne by these officers was that of Postholders, and it appears among other things to have been their duty to protect the interests of the Dutch Government, to notify to the Governor of the Colony any interference with Dutch jurisdiction, to control the relations with the native tribes, bringing them as far as possible into alliance with the Dutch, to promote trade, and to see that it was in the hands of those who were entitled to trade, and to examine the passports or other similar documents permitting persons to travel in various parts of the Colonies.

As early as 1683 Barima was made a sub-station under the Postholder at Pomeroon, to whose jurisdiction it appears to have already belonged.

By 1703 four Postholders had been established, one being for the district of Pomeroon and another for the Cuyuni and Pariacotte Savannah, stationed six weeks' journey from Kijkoveral.

In 1714 the Dutch sent out an important exploring party towards the sources of the Essequibo, with directions to make such conquests and profits as they might for the benefit of the West India Company. In 1725 another attempt was made to open the upper reaches of that river. The result of these expeditions was the establishment of the post of Arinda, which thenceforward was a centre from which the Dutch controlled the Upper Essequibo and the southern part of the basin of the Mazaruni.

In 1744 a suggestion was made by the Com-

mandeur of the Colony of Essequibo to the West India Company as to stationing a Postholder at Barima, but this was not acted upon, 1746. Dutch, No. 76, p. 86. and Barima remained under the Postholder at 1764. Dutch, No. 171, p. 131. Maroco.

About 1756 the post at Wacquepo, which had superseded that of Pomeroon, was moved forward to Maroco, at which place it became of special importance in connection with the trade with the Spaniards.

{ 1756. Dutch, No. 123, p. 106.
"Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," p. 90.

1764. Dutch, No. 171, p. 131.

It should be noted that the establishment of the post of Maroco with the objects mentioned above was well known to the Spaniards, and it will be found referred to in a Report of Juan de Dios Valdez of the 2nd December, 1757, printed at p. 90 of the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," and also in a Report of Don José de Iturriaga of the 15th December, 1757, printed at p. 89 of the same Blue Book, as well as in several documents in Appendix III to the present volume.

1749. Dutch, No. 86, p. 91.

{ 1755. Spanish, No. 18, p. 231.
1770. Spanish, No. 27, pp. 281-291.
1779. Spanish, No. 33, p. 311.

In 1764 the post of Arinda was moved four days' journey higher up the River Essequibo to a new site above the mouth of the River Rupununi.

1764. Dutch, No. 171, p. 128.

The names of the Company's Postholders at the four posts of Mahaicony,* Maroco, Arinda, and Cuyuni are recorded on many occasions subsequently to the establishment of the several posts.

{ 1755. Dutch, No. 131 (Inclosure), p. 103.
1768. Dutch, No. 210 (Inclosure), p. 157.
1771. Dutch, No. 246, p. 180.

The instructions issued to the Postholder of the Cuyuni, under date the 29th November, 1757, have already been printed at p. 119 of the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)." The new instructions of 1766 will be found at p. 140 of the Appendix to the present volume. From these it will be seen that one of his chief duties was to allow no Spaniard to pass the post. There will also be found at p. 131 a copy of the instructions issued to the Postholder at Arinda.

1757. Spanish, No. 20 (18). p. 248.

1766. Dutch, No. 184, p. 140.

1764. Dutch, No. 171 (Inclosure), p. 131.

The Report of the Director-General of the 27th September, 1763, refers to the duties of the Postholders, and from that document it appears that the Rivers Pomeroon and Waini were both under the direction of the Postholder of Maroco. Important particulars respecting the Postholders and the situations of their posts will be found in a treatise concerning the West India Company's trading places, inclosed

1763. Dutch, No. 164, p. 126

* Mahaicony is in Demerara, and was the eastern outpost of the united Colony.

in a Report of the Director-General, dated
1764. Dutch, No. 171 (Inclosure 1), August 1764.
p. 129.

An interesting Report upon the condition of the
Postholders will be found under date the 1st June,
1768.

III.—TRADE.

From the earliest times of their occupation, the Dutch carried on trade of various kinds with the native tribes and with the Spaniards in Orinoco. They also established sugar, coffee, and indigo plantations in many parts of their Colonies, and particularly at various places on the Rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni, Mazaruni, Pomeroon, and Maroco.

The Reports of 1683 and 1684 show that they had a regular trade in the districts of Barima and Pomeroon.

Reports of the 16th January, 1685, and of the 7th June, 1686, show that trade was already being carried on with the Indians in the Upper Cuyuni and in the Pariacotte Savannah, which is to the west of the River Yuruari.

The references in the same year to the annatto store in Mazaruni and to the salting carried on among the Indians show the extent to which systematic trade was established at that early date.

The documents during the first thirty years of the 18th century, before there was any alarm of Spanish encroachment, speak chiefly of the quiet development of trade and plantation.

The object of the exploring expedition of 1714, which opened up the Upper Essequibo, was distinctly to establish trade with the interior.

The Proclamation of 1730 (already printed at p. 64 of the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)") shows the way in which the Dutch authorities controlled the trade of the rivers, and opened or closed it as they pleased.

From various Reports, for instance, that of the 7th December, 1746, it appears that the native tribes in the upper part of the Cuyuni were trading with the Dutch settlers, who had been for a long time established in the upper part of that river.

The Report of the 10th January, 1750, shows

- 1687. Dutch, No. 19, p. 63.
- 1708. Dutch, No. 35, p. 72.
- 1724. Dutch, No. 48, p. 77.
- 1731. Dutch, No. 63, p. 82.
- 1764. Dutch, No. 171 (Inclosure 1),
p. 131.
- 1772. Dutch, No. 245, p. 179.
- 1683. Dutch, No. 10, p. 59.
- 1684. Dutch, No. 11, p. 59.

- 1685. Dutch, No. 13, p. 60.
- 1686. Dutch, No. 17, p. 62.
- 1686. Dutch, No. 18, p. 62.

- 1702-1730. Dutch, Nos. 27-70, pp.
68-84.

- 1714. Dutch, No. 43, p. 74.

- 1730. Dutch, No. 61, p. 82.
- Cf. 1703, Dutch, No. 28, p. 70.
- 1717. Dutch, No. 44, p. 75.

- 1746. Dutch, No. 78, p. 87.

- 1702. Dutch, No. 27 (Inclosure), p. 70.

- 1750. Dutch, No. 91, p. 92.

that the Dutch authorities were again exercising their power of controlling the traffic on the Rivers Essequibo, Mazaruni, and Cuyuni.

Permission was also given to cut wood in various parts of the Colony. An instance of this will be found in the Minutes of the Court of Policy of the 4th July, 1756, recording that permission had been granted to an English firm to cut wood on the Rivers Pomeroon and Waini.

1754. Dutch, No. 110, p. 98.
1756. Dutch, No. 125, p. 107.

The full account of the trading posts of the Dutch Company in 1764 gives a good general idea of the trade established in each district of the Colony in dyes, hammocks, mules, &c. And further reference may be made to the Reports of 1766 and 1769 noted in the margin.

1764. Dutch, No. 171, p. 129.
1766. Dutch, No. 181, p. 138.
1769. Dutch, No. 212, p. 159.

The Spanish Report of Don José Diguja, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," at p. 109 printed in the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," confirms the fact that the Dutch were trading in hides, tallow, cocoa, and coffee, that the whole trade of the coasts and places was in their hands, and that the natives had no other means of living except by trading with them.

Further documents in the present Appendix show that the Spaniards were fully acquainted with the extent to which the Dutch had opened up the trade of the country in various directions, and with the fact that they commanded the trade of the whole of the Cuyuni River.

{ 1676. Spanish, No. 7, p. 218.
1724. Spanish, No. 24, p. 260.
1755. Spanish, No. 18, p. 232.
1758. Spanish, No. 20 (1), pp. 236, 237.
1788. Spanish, No. 36, pp. 316, 317.
1789. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (18), p. 342.

IV.—RELATIONS WITH INDIAN TRIBES.

The friendly relations of the Dutch with the Indians, and the control exercised by them over many of the native tribes, are abundantly confirmed by the official records of the Dutch Company and the contemporary Spanish documents.

A Report of the 20th October, 1686, shows that such friendly relations had been established with the Indians in the district of Mazaruni, and one of the first steps taken in re-establishing the Colony at Pomeroon in that year was to provide for similar relations.

1686. Dutch, No. 18, p. 62
{ 1686. Dutch, No. 16, p. 61
1688. Dutch, No. 21, p. 65.

In 1744 it appears that the Indians in the neighbourhood of Barima were assisting the

1744. Dutch, No. 72, p. 85.
Cf. 1760, Dutch, No. 141, p. 115.

1746. Dutch, No. 77, p. 86.

1746. Dutch, No. 78 p. 87.

1748. Dutch, No. 82, p. 89.
 1750. Dutch, No. 91, p. 93.
 1755. Dutch, No. 122, p. 106.
 1760. Dutch, No. 139, p. 113.

1748. Dutch, No. 85, p. 90.

1750. Dutch, No. 91, p. 93.

1754. Dutch, No. 113, p. 101.

1754. Dutch, No. 115, p. 102.

1762. Dutch, No. 156, p. 122.

1765. Dutch, No. 174, p. 135.
Cf. also 1769. Dutch, No. 215, p. 160.

1763. Dutch, No. 160, p. 124.
 1764. Dutch, No. 169, p. 128.
 1767. Dutch, No. 197, p. 150.
 1772. Dutch, No. 249, p. 181.
 1763. Dutch, No. 161, p. 125.
 1763. Dutch, No. 163, p. 125.
 1768. Dutch, No. 201, p. 151.
 1772. Dutch, No. 250, p. 181.

Dutch authorities to recapture fugitive slaves from the Colony.

From a Report dated the 20th July, 1746, it appears that the Caribs on the River Waini were subject to the Dutch, and were assisted by them in defending themselves against hostile tribes. The same Report shows that the Indians on the Cuyuni were relying upon the protection of the Dutch against the Spaniards, who were, as has already been stated, at that time advancing in the direction of the tributaries of the upper part of the Cuyuni.

In the same year the Dutch Commandeur with difficulty restrained the Indians from attacking a Spanish Mission, and in his Report on the subject he remarks incidentally that all the trade of the Indians lay with the Dutch Colonies.

The Dutch Court of Policy and Justice exercised jurisdiction over, and heard complaints from, the Indians. Instances will be found under the dates noted in the margin.

A detailed Report of the 2nd December, 1748, gives particulars which show the close connection and alliance between the native tribes on the upper part of the Cuyuni and the Dutch. A Report of the 10th January, 1750, shows similar relations with the Indians in the neighbourhood of the post of Arinda, far up the Essequibo.

In 1754, a rumour having reached the Director-General to the effect that the Spaniards intended to invade and ravage the Colony, arrangements were made for a service of Indian dispatch-boats to protect the coast.

When the Spaniards were, about the same time, threatening the advanced post on the Cuyuni, the Indians in that part of the country were acting as scouts for the Dutch; and in November 1762 the Caribs voluntarily sent to offer their assistance to the Dutch in preventing the Spaniards from obtaining a footing near the Cuyuni.

The importance of maintaining friendly relations with the Indians, and the loyalty of the Caribs and Acuways, is referred to in a Report of the Director-General, dated the 3rd February, 1765. And whenever there was a danger of a rising of the slaves, the Dutch depended on the aid of the Indians, who were summoned from all parts of Essequibo as far as Demerara and Berbice in the service of the Dutch Government.

Official tokens of recognition, such as silver collars, or badges, batons, and hats, were given to

the Indian Chiefs by the Dutch authorities, a custom which is referred to in a Report of the 13th December, 1765, and the Minutes of the Court of Policy of the 6th March, 1778.

1765. Dutch, No. 179, p. 137.

1778. Dutch, No. 272, p. 191.

The Dutch as far as possible preserved peace between the various tribes of Indians in their country, as will be seen from a Report of the 13th August, 1765, and among the instructions to the Postholders already referred to will be found a special direction that the Postholder should not allow the Indians to be unjustly or badly treated by any one, whoever it might be.

1686. Dutch, No. 18, p. 62.

1765. Dutch, No. 177, p. 136.

1764. Dutch, No. 171 (Inclosure 2), p. 131.

Cf. 1757. Spanish, No. 20 (18), p. 248.

On the other hand, it is shown by a Report of the Director-General that the Indians were afraid of the Spaniards, and would not permit them to come into their country. The Caribs were with difficulty restrained by the Dutch from attacking the Spaniards, as appears from a Report of the Director-General of Essequibo to the Zeeland Chamber, dated the 2nd December, 1748, and they were unfriendly to the Spanish missionaries, as is acknowledged in a despatch of Don José de Iturriaga, dated the 5th December, 1753, which will be found printed at p. 83 of the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)"; indeed, they often ravaged the Spanish Missions, their attacks being attributed by the Spaniards to the direction of the Dutch.

1754. Dutch, No. 113, p. 100.

1761. Dutch, No. 146, p. 117.

1764. Dutch, No. 171 (Inclosure 1), p. 130

1766. Dutch, No. 182, p. 139.

1748. Dutch, No. 35, p. 90

1752. Dutch, No. 102, p. 96.

1770. Spanish, No. 27 (4), p. 282.

Other documents from the Spanish archives confirming these statements will be found at pp. 81 and 85 of the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," as well as in Appendix III to the present volume, and the existence of an alliance between the Dutch Colonies and the native tribes is referred to in many of them.

1637. Spanish, No. 5, p. 212.

1745. Spanish, No. 24, p. 262.

1755. Spanish, No. 19, p. 234.

1770. Spanish, No. 27, pp. 282, 284, &c.

V.—BOUNDARIES.

Although the Dutch, as already shown, had established posts along the coast as far as Barima and in the interior as far as the upper tributaries of the Cuyuni, no serious question of boundaries arose between them and the Spaniards until the latter half of the 18th century.

The Dutch claimed throughout that their jurisdiction extended as far as the right bank of

the Barima, and included the interior of the country as far as the upper tributaries of the Cuyuni.

1734. Dutch, No. 71, pp. 84, 85.

When in 1734 there was a rumour that the Swedes would make an attempt to settle at Barima, the Dutch Commandeur stated that he would be obliged to dislodge them, and discussed the difficulty of doing so with the small force at his command.

1746. Dutch, No. 78, p. 87.

1747. Dutch, No. 79, p. 88.

The Reports of the Commandeur of the 7th December, 1746, and the 23rd March, 1747, show clearly that the Dutch were already in the district of the Upper Cuyuni. A Report of the 2nd December, 1748, shows that, according to the testimony of old men and Indians, the jurisdiction of the Dutch should begin to the east at the Creek Abary,* and extend to the west up to the River Barima, where in old times a post existed.

1748. Dutch, No. 85, p. 90.

1749. Dutch, No. 89, p. 92.

A Report, dated the 8th September, 1749, shows that the Commandeur of Essequibo and the Spanish Governor of Cumaná were discussing in a perfectly friendly way whether one of the Missions in the upper tributaries of the Cuyuni then about to be founded by the Spaniards was or was not upon Spanish territory. The statement of the Spanish Commandant quoted in that Report and the account given in the further Report of the Acting Commandeur to the West India Company of the 8th September, 1750, corroborates the view that the Spaniards knew that their territory was confined to the country between the upper part of the Yuruari and the Orinoco. Similarly, a statement made in a Report of the Director-General of the 2nd September, 1754, shows not only that the Mission on the Creek Mejon (Meyamo), which flowed into the Yuruari, was treated as Dutch territory, but that the site of a Mission which it had been proposed to establish lower down on the Yuruari itself was moved back further away from the Dutch settlements.

1750. Dutch, No. 93, p. 93.

1754. Dutch, No. 111, p. 99.

The extent of the Dutch claim in this district is referred to in a Report of the 31st May, 1755, in terms which show that at that time the Dutch were claiming the Creek Yuruari, "which flows into the Cuyuni," as undoubtedly within their territory, and, further, that the Dutch advanced post was within twelve hours of the Spanish settlements. Indeed, it is clear both from the Dutch and Spanish records that at this period the Spaniards did not know the Cuyuni, but were

1755. Dutch, No. 118, p. 103.

* The boundary with Berbice.

told about its course by Dutch traders and deserters. { 1748. Dutch, No. 85 (and Inclosure), pp. 90, 91.
1754. Dutch, No. 113, p. 102.
1755. Spanish, No. 18, p. 232.

The Map of D'Anville, published in the year 1748, an extract from which will be found in Appendix No. III to the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," is referred to in a Report of the Director-General, dated the 9th September, 1758, and is described as being in accordance with the then existing information. He several times in later reports treats it as substantially accurate. 1758. Dutch, No. 132, p. 110.

But the first formal and official statement as to the extent of the territory held by the Dutch is found in the Remonstrance of the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, which was transmitted to Spain in the year 1759, and which has already been printed in the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," at p. 100, and referred to in the statement at the commencement of that Blue Book at p. 14. It recites the fact that the Dutch had from time immemorial claimed possession of the Essequibo and of all the branches and tributaries which flow into it, and especially the northernmost arm of it, called the Cuyuni. { 1760. Dutch, No. 140, p. 114.
1761. Dutch, No. 145, p. 117.
Cf. 1769. Dutch, No. 224, p. 170.

This possession of the various rivers, including those on the coast (which is very definitely set forth in Memorials of the Directors of the West India Company to the States-General on more than one occasion), is also discussed in a Report of the Director-General to the Directors of the Dutch West India Company, dated the 2nd May, 1760. 1759. Dutch, No. 136, p. 111.

It is again clearly shown by a Report of the Director-General of the 12th August, 1761, that the right bank of the Barima had long been considered the territory of the Dutch West India Company, and that there had been at one time a Dutch post in Barima. And the titles at the head of the official Registers of the Colony of Essequibo for 1762 and subsequent years, which are placed in the Appendix, give the boundaries upon the coast as extending from the Creek Abari to the River Amacura. 1751. Dutch, No. 99, p. 96.
1764. Dutch, No. 172, p. 133.
1760. Dutch, No. 140, p. 114.
1761. Dutch, No. 145, p. 117.

The general extent of the Colony was fully discussed in a document entitled, "A Brief Treatise concerning the Honourable Company's Outposts," forwarded by the Director-General of Essequibo in August 1764. { 1762. Dutch, No. 149 (Inclosure), p. 119.
1763. Dutch, No. 158 (Inclosure), p. 124.
1765. Dutch, No. 174 (Inclosure), p. 135.

A Report of the 6th April, 1766, shows that at that time the west side of Barima was regarded as Spanish territory and the limit of Spanish 1764. Dutch, No. 171 (Inclosure 1), p. 129.
1766. Dutch, No. 182, p. 139.

1767. Dutch, No. 189, p. 142.

1769. Dutch, No. 224, p. 169.

1788. Spanish, No. 36, p. 321.

1788. Spanish, No. 36, p. 316.

1790. Spanish, No. 40, p. 326.

1793. Spanish, No. 43, p. 347.

1790. Spanish, No. 40, p. 326.

1788. Spanish, No. 36, p. 316

dominions, and the further Report of the 20th March, 1767, states that the Spaniards, as well as the Dutch, regarded the River Barima as the boundary division of the two jurisdictions.

Once more in the great Remonstrance of August 1769 the full claim of the Dutch was formally and officially communicated to the Court of Spain as extending, not only to several rivers and creeks which flow into the sea along the coast, but also to all tributaries of the Essequibo, and more particularly the northernmost arm of the same river called the Cuyuni.

This claim was never rebutted by the Court of Spain, and is referred to in a note to Governor Marmion's Report of 1788.

It is not possible within the limits of this statement to examine *seriatim* all the documents printed in the Appendix, but special attention should be directed to the series of formal Reports upon Spanish Guiana, prepared by Governor Don Miguel Marmion, which enter into great detail, and particularly to a special Report drawn up for the Spanish Government in reference to the construction of a post at the junction of the Rivers Curumo and Cuyuni.

The whole of these documents and their inclosures should be examined. They establish conclusively that the Spaniards regarded the junctions of the Curumo and Uruan with the Cuyuni as their frontier in that direction, and that the establishment of the post in question was recommended in order to prevent the Dutch, who had already advanced right up the Cuyuni and made settlements there, from coming still further, and taking possession of the Mission villages themselves.

In Marmion's general Report, dated the 10th July, 1788, the Province of Guayana is described, an account is given of its settlement, arable lands, products, and commerce, and certain measures are proposed which are regarded as likely to conduce to its prosperity and preservation, and to improve its condition of defence. That Report contains the following passages, parts of which are italicised for convenience of reference:—

Ibid., p. 316.

"The Province of Guiana in its entire extent, including the possessions of the Portuguese, French, and Dutch, is 1,000 leagues more or less in circum-

ference, from the mouths of the Orinoco to San Carlos on the Rio Negro, and following its stream downwards, with that of the Amazon, which falls into the Atlantic, turning westwards and coasting up to the same mouths of the Orinoco, the last of which to leeward falls into the Gulf of Triste opposite Puerto de España of the Island of Trinidad to windward.

"The portion of this country owned by Spain is bounded on the east by the Dutch Colonies of Essequibo, Demerari, Berbis, and Surinam, and by the French Colony of Cayenne; on the south by the Portuguese Colonies of the Amazons and Rio Negro; and on the west and north by the Upper and Lower Orinoco, which separates it from the Kingdom of Santa Fé and from the Provinces of Barinas, Caracas, and Cumaná. *It may be regarded as divided into three districts: that of the Lower Orinoco, which includes from Point Barima, on the great Boca de Navios, up to the Rapid of Atures, a space of more than 180 leagues from east to west, wherein lies the capital of Guayana, Santo Thomé, the places reduced by the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers, part of the Missions of the Observantines, and the best arable lands and chief, though very scanty, settlements and products of the province; that of Parime on the south, in which are the so-called city of Guirior, and the Lake of Parime or El Dorado formerly so celebrated, a country of great extent not well explored, and which the Rivers Parime, Mao, Curaricara, and Paragua water to no purpose; and, lastly, that of the Upper Orinoco, from the mouth of the River Meta, not far distant from the Rapid of Atures, up to San Carlos, at the junction of the Rio Negro and Casiquiare, and following the stream of the latter until it discharges itself again into the Orinoco near the Villa of Esmeralda.*

* * * *

"The Cuyuni, the object of chief attention in this 1788. Spanish, No. 36, p. 316. part of the province, from its point of discharge into the River Essequibo, runs from east to west nearly up to the Caroni, where it is joined by the Yuruario on the north-west, and the Supamo on the south, which runs from its sources in the hills of the same name near the watershed formed by the Rivers Caroni and Paragua. It irrigates the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers, and receives the waters of many smaller rivers which are not marked in the map. It has various rapids or reefs which cause some difficulty in its direct navigation, but the *Dutch traverse it in canoes, pirogues, and feluccas, and thus carry on their traffic in poitos, whom they enslave, and in other merchandize and products of the country.* The Government of Essequibo keeps a detachment in a fort called the Old Castle, situated where the Masuruni discharges itself into this river, and an advanced guard at 20 or 25 leagues up the river; in between they have plantations of cane and other products, as seen in the year '58, and it is to be presumed that they have since further advanced and increased their possessions, according to information

from the Indians, who frequently traverse those districts. The Rivers Orinoco, Caroni, Cuyuni, and Essequibo, with the sea, form an island, which, from its centre, affords easy and short communication, by which the Dutch, as there is no obstacle to prevent them, come in and go out every time they want to inspect our possessions, observe our movements and obtain such information as they require for their designs; within this island are all the Missions of the Reverend Catalonian Capuchin Fathers and the most excellent and fertile tract of land in all the province.

1788. Spanish, No. 36, p. 321.

* * * * *

“On the other hand also, the object in view is much facilitated and advanced by the fact that it is a country, for the most part, of plains, or of very gentle uplands of considerably less elevation than those of Carácas and Cumaná, and of favourable and healthy climate. That this is so is proved by the experience of the new reductions of the Capuchin Fathers, which are advanced to a considerable distance towards those parts, the proximity of which to their Missions and to the cattle farms of the community, by affording supplies of bread and meat, and removing the chief obstacle to new settlements, is a reason for proceeding without delay to the occupation of those districts. *It is also a reason for not giving the Dutch, who have already too far penetrated on the Cuyuni, an opportunity, by continually extending their colony, of taking possession of those more advanced districts and villages, and of rendering it necessary for us to oppose them with forces which would be required for the defence of the other approaches to the Orinoco.* For the reasons stated, it appears suitable to begin from the centre nearest to the boundaries of the foreign possessions.”

1790. Spanish, No. 40, p. 326.

From the file of papers concerning the founding of Tumeremo the following extracts are taken, certain sentences being italicised for convenience of reference :—

Report of Don Miguel Marmion, dated the 16th February, 1788.

1790. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (4), pp. 328, 329.

“It will be well that your Reverence appoint a religious acquainted with the place to accompany this official, for the purpose of examining and becoming acquainted with the site of Tumeremo, and an advantageous and proper place on the Cuyuni, where a village or Post may be established, with the object of protecting the rear of the Missions, and rendering help to the new reductions, which the venerable community under your Reverence’s charge are continuing to found. In this view, I remember to have conferred with your predecessor and other religious, who informed me that the junction of the Rivers Yuruary and Cuyuni is very well adapted for that purpose. But, nevertheless, I have instructed the official not to omit to

examine carefully all parts of that neighbourhood for the purpose of seeing whether there may not be another more advantageous position better suited for the purpose, as this is an affair as important to His Majesty's service as beneficial and useful to the preservation and increase of these Missions, and I trust your Reverence will supply the said Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente with all that may be necessary to enable him the better to fulfil the commission with which he is charged."

Letter of Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio of the 10th March, 1789, to Don Miguel Marmion.

"With reference to your Excellency's despatch of 1790. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (14), p. 340. the 25th February last, I have to state that, after having carefully considered the matter it has appeared to me well to represent to you that the foundation of a formal village, or town, will never be substantial, on account of there being no outlet for the produce whilst the foreign Colony of Essequibo remains, because the cost of its transport to the capital or to the Orinoco would be more than what the people of the new foundation would be able to obtain for it. But, at least, it is very desirable and necessary to build a fort or castle to stop the invasions of the Dutch and the revolts of the Indians; and at the place which the officer, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, shall consider best adapted for restraining them.

"It is true, according to my information, that if the fort or castle is built in the same place, or site, as that proposed by the said Don Antonio Lopez, the Indians will still not be secured, as there remains to them the refuge of two or three rivers lower down, by which they can escape whenever the temptation presses them.

"With regard to uniting all the escort in one place alone, I find and recognize many inconveniences in the plan, and to avoid them it is necessary that in each village there remain, at least, one soldier.

"And for the prompt measures concerning that which your Excellency mentions, it appears to me that three or four soldiers might be stationed in each of the Missions of Avechica and Cura, as they are the ones most advanced towards the frontiers, where some invasion may be feared, until the said fort or castle built."

Report of Marmion, dated the 22nd September, 1789.

"The proximity of the Dutch possessions of the Colony 1790. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (18), p. 342. of Essequibo to that part of this province which borders on the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia has, since my entrance into this Government, compelled my most careful attention, as I knew the importance of the point, as I showed in my general topographical

report, and the others accompanying the despatch of the 10th June of the past year, [17]88, which I addressed to your Excellency.

"Lately, to comply with the obligation by which I consider myself bound, I dispatched, for the exploration of these frontiers, the Adjutant-Major of the force of this garrison, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, who discharged and fulfilled the Commission in the manner set forth in the inclosed journal, which I transmit to your Excellency, in copy, with the plan or map.

With this and my previous information I have recently set forth as clearly as possible the configuration of the country bounded by the sea coast and the Rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni, Caroni, and Orinoco within which are situated the said Missions and their numerous cattle farms.

* * * *

1790. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (18),
p. 343.

"In consideration of these reasons and the others which the wise penetration of your Excellency will deduce from the papers before you which I had the honour to transmit to you on the 10th July, 1788, I take the liberty of proposing to your Excellency the urgent necessity of now adding promptly two companies of infantry to this garrison, without any prejudice to whatever may be considered right in the future, and in regard to the artillery putting it on a footing of 100 men. I also advise that a town should be founded as quickly as possible at the fork or junction of the River Curumo with the Cuyuni. A beginning may be made with the escort fixed by His Majesty in the Royal Order referred to of the 22nd December, 1773, at thirty men; it would be well that they be married and militiamen, and at the same time, as they guard the Missions and attend to their duties under the command of an officer, they can also serve as settlers with the help which for this purpose the venerable community of the said Catalan Capuchin Fathers should freely give, with a part of the 10,000 to 12,000 head of cattle which they offered to His Majesty, and he accepted with the pious intention of distributing them among the poor people of this province, which Royal grace can never be enjoyed in a better nor more opportune time than on this occasion.

Report of Marmion, dated the 8th October, 1789

1790. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (19),
p. 343.

"At the time I was about to transmit to His Majesty the news of the exploration of the frontiers of the Colony of Essequibo I received your Excellency's despatch of the 30th April last, and on that account I suspended the sending of the papers until now. I also send the Report, which is the copy No. 1 hereto annexed, in regard to the urgent necessity of forming a town of

Spaniards at the fork or junction of the River Curumo, or of that of the Cuyuni, for the security of the Missions, and attending to the other objects that present themselves in these possessions.

"As soon as the Adjutant-Major, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, returned from his commission, I sent an official note to the Rev. Father Prefect of the Missions of the Catalan Capuchin Fathers, pointing out to him the urgency of founding the said villa, and requesting the assistance of the venerable community under his charge for this important work. To which he replied with the arguments your Excellency will perceive from the copy No. 2 hereto annexed, and which referred me, in regard to all the rest, to the observations that I have made in the general topographical paper which I have already transmitted to your Excellency.

"This appears to me sufficient for your wise penetration in order to form a true idea of the importance of the affair.

Report of Marmion, dated the 4th June, 1790.

"Considering the urgent necessity of protecting for the 1790. Spanish, No. 40, Inclosure 1 (22), p. 344.
present in any possible way the approach of the River Cuyuni, by which the Dutch of Esquibo are accustomed to penetrate, it was held to be convenient to appoint the Adjutant-Major of this garrison, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, as experienced in these parts, charging him with this mission, and that of commanding the escort of the reverend Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia; and, at the same time, he is instructed to again examine the most advantageous place on the said River Cuyuni, at the fork or union which it forms with the Curumo, for the purpose of establishing a fixed detachment or advanced guard. Don Antonio carried out this mission in the manner you will perceive from the inclosed copy. I have also given a report to the Captain-General of Carácas, stating that I consider very necessary the construction of the guard-house or fort which the commissioner proposes, so that in view of the previous facts, and until His Majesty resolves something else, he examine and determine whether it will be proper to the best service of the King to put in execution this work, the cost of which will amount to, more or less, 500 pesos.

"On account of various Indians having gone to Esquibo from these Missions to sell hammocks and other articles, and brought back in return all or part of the product [of their sale] in spirits, they had a drinking feast, and there resulted therefrom a disturbance, and the Religious of the village of Guascipati killed one of the Indians accidentally with a spear (or it is not known how), according to the report of the event which was made, and of which event and the opposition of the reverend Father Prefect to

continuing the cause by the regular means, I have given an account to the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, and now to your Excellency, it having appeared to me well to bring it to your superior knowledge, in order that the necessity of securing the approach of the Cuyuni may be the better supported, and by this means to prevent the prejudicial transit of natives and Dutch by that river, as I have in different Reports represented to your Excellency, with which I presume you are acquainted."

1793. Spanish, No. 43, p. 348.

The importance of the establishment of the post to protect the frontier on the side of the Uruan and Cuyuni was under consideration as late as the year 1793, as appears from various sources, among which is a letter of Marmion of October of that year, in which occurs the following passage :—

"In the report of the 10th July, [17]88, it was intimated that the slight knowledge of the local conditions of the Orinoco possessed in former times was the factor which had, up to that time, constituted the chief security of its possession, and I have become thoroughly persuaded that it was mainly due to ignorance of this, and of the weakness of our forces in the Province of Guayana, that the English in the last war, when already masters of Essequibo, Berbis, and Demerari, did not try to approach the Orinoco in that direction along the Rivers Essequibo and Cuyuni, so as to get a footing thereon, and thereby on the Meta or Apure, in order to unite with the insurgents of Santa Fé and furnish them with arms and ammunition, and troops and officers; which they might have done with but little difficulty, and have increased the consternation of these provinces, and have rendered the reduction of the insurgents more difficult. *In the present condition of things, and with those Colonies again in the hands of their ancient possessors, the danger is fortunately diminished, but not to such a degree as to render it unnecessary to provide for the security of that frontier (the importance of which is already better recognized) as well and speedily as possible.*

"And for this purpose it is, in my opinion, indispensable that, as proposed, a fortress, with a mixed village of Spaniards and native Indians, should be constructed on the banks of the Cuyuni; that the escort of from twenty-five to thirty men which, by Royal Order, have been granted to those Missions, and which can be formed of the settlers themselves, should be united therewith, and that every effort should be made to encourage and increase this establishment by inducing the people, through concession of lands and certain other favours, to settle in those parts; where as in the other approaches and chief entrances to the Orinoco (as already stated in another place), the

measure of its strength and true resistance will be in proportion to the greater or less extent of its population."

The proposed post was, however, never erected, nor was there ever any Spanish guard placed there.

The Reports from which the above extracts are made are the more significant, because (as was pointed out in the preliminary statement to the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)", between 1770 and 1776, the then Commandant Centurion had sent in Reports suggesting that the possessions of Spain in the Province of Guayana were bounded on the east by the Atlantic Ocean and on the south by the River Amazon, and probably the extravagant statements of Centurion, which were discredited at the time by the Spanish Government, led to the careful investigations and surveys which are referred to in Don Miguel Marmion's Reports.

SUMMARY.

An examination of the Dutch and Spanish documents contained in the Appendix to this Blue Book establishes the following facts:—

1. That for a period of upwards of 200 years prior to 1796 the Dutch had control of the whole coast extending from the Corentin to the Orinoco.

2. That they had the control of all the rivers flowing direct to the Atlantic between the Orinoco and the Corentin.

3. That they had established settlements at various points on the coast and in the watersheds of these rivers, and notably far up the Cuyuni, in close proximity to the territory afterwards occupied by the Capuchin Missions.

4. That the Dutch controlled the trade of the whole district between Barima and the Corentin, and that of the intermediate rivers, and established local officers to protect that trade.

5. That the native tribes throughout substantially the whole of the above district had entered into friendly relations with the Dutch, regarded them as their protectors, were to a large extent

under their control, and combined with them to resist the Spaniards.

6. That at a very early date the Dutch had a post at Barima, and that the district of Barima and its inhabitants and trade remained throughout under the control of the Dutch.

7. That the Spaniards recognized the authority of the Dutch as extending to the right bank of the River Barima.

8. That ultimately the Spanish authorities recognized the junctions of the Rivers Uruan and Curumo with the Cuyuni as being on the frontiers of the Spanish possessions, and the Dutch Colony of Essequibo as extending to those points.

9. That beyond San Thomé de Guayana and the Capuchin Missions, which were situated as described at pp. 9 and 10 of this statement, the Spaniards had no settlement of any kind in the territory in question; that they had no control over the trade, were opposed by and were hostile to the Indians, and exercised no dominion or authority whatever.

APPENDIX No. I.

NOTE INDICATING DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE PRELIMINARY
STATEMENT TO "VENEZUELA No. 1 (1896)," C.—7972.

APPENDIX No. I.

Note indicating Documents referred to in the Preliminary Statement to "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," C.—7972.

THE object of this Appendix is to facilitate reference to certain documents which were cited in the Preliminary Statement contained in the Blue Book, "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," C.—7972, but which were not printed in the Appendix to that volume; they will be found in the Appendices to the present volume.

(C.—7972), p. 9.

Appendix II, No. 11.

The document referred to at p. 9 of the Statement, under date 1684 "Hague Records," relating to the establishment of a Post at Barima, will be found printed at p. 59 in Appendix II to this volume.

(C.—7972), p. 9.

Appendix II, No. 29.

The next document referred to on the same p. 9, under date 1700, will be found printed at p. 70, dated the 19th June, 1703.

Appendix III, No. 9.
Ibid., No. 24.

Later on the same p. 9, reference is made to the proposal to build forts upon the Orinoco. The documents on this subject will now be found printed in Appendix III at pp. 222, 223. Later documents dealing with the same subject will be found at pp. 262–268.

(C.—7972), p. 10.

Appendix II, No. 78.
Ibid., No. 85.

The passages from the "Hague Records," to which reference is made at p. 10, under date 1748, are now printed at pp. 87 and 90 in Appendix II to this volume.

(C.—7972), p. 11.

Appendix II, No. 93.
Ibid., No. 101.

On p. 11, under date 1750–52, reference is made to the "Hague Records," as showing that the Capuchin Fathers from the Spanish Missions applied to the Dutch Governor for permission to trade with the Dutch along the Cuyuni, but were refused leave. The facts will be found recorded in the Report dated the 8th September, 1750, from the Acting Commandeur of the Colony of Essequibo to the West India Company, and in his later Report of the 19th April, 1752, now printed at pp. 94 and 96 respectively of Appendix II to this volume.

(C.—7972), p. 11.

On the same p. 11, under date 1754, reference is made to the "Hague Records" as containing a Report as to the Spanish Missions, one of which had been removed at the request of the

Dutch Director-General. This document will be found printed at p. 99 in Appendix II to this (C.—7972), p. 11.
volume, under date the 2nd September, 1754. Appendix II, No. 111.

Upon the same p. 11, under the same date, (C.—7972), p. 11.
1754, reference is again made to the "Hague Records," as showing the steps taken by the Dutch in consequence of an alarm of a Spanish invasion. A full Report upon this matter from the Director-General of the Colony of Essequibo to the West India Company, dated the 12th October, 1754, will be found printed at pp. 100, 101 in Appendix II to this volume. Appendix II, No. 113.

Under date 1755 there is another reference (C.—7972), p. 11.
to the "Hague Records," as showing the efforts made by the Dutch to resist Spanish encroachments in the neighbourhood of the Yuruari which was considered to be Dutch territory. The despatch relating to this matter, dated the 31st May, 1755, will be found at p. 103 in Appendix II to this volume. Appendix II, No. 118.

At p. 12, reference is made to the practice (C.—7972), p. 12.
of the Dutch of granting passports permitting persons to visit all parts of their Colony. This practice is shown by the documents printed at p. 96 in the Appendix to "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," under date 9th June, 1758, and at p. 118 in the same Appendix, under date 6th July, 1769. These documents prove that the Spaniards were fully aware, not only of the practice of issuing these passports, but of the boundaries and limits of jurisdiction claimed by the Dutch upon the face of the passports. This practice is further illustrated by several documents printed at the pages noted in Appendix II to this volume.

{ 1761. Appendix II, No. 147, p. 118.
1764. Ibid., No. 168 (Inclosure), p. 127.
1790. Ibid., No. 278, p. 193.

As regards the reference on the same page (C.—7972), p. 12.
to complaints by the Spaniards to the Dutch authorities respecting disorders at Barima, see the Report of the Director-General of Essequibo, dated the 15th February, 1757, printed at p. 108 in Appendix II to this volume, and also a Report of the same officer, dated the 12th August, 1761, at p. 117. Appendix II, No. 127.
Appendix II, No. 145.

The Memorial of the Dutch West India Com- (C.—7972), p. 13.
pany to the States-General, in respect of which reference is made on p. 13 to the "Hague Records" under date 1764, will be found printed at p. 133 in Appendix II to this volume. Appendix II, No. 172.

At p. 14 reference is made to the re-establish- (C.—7972), p. 14
ment of the advanced post on the Cuyuni. The documents relating to this matter are printed

(C—7972), p. 14.

Appendix II, No. 173.
Ibid., No. 181.
Ibid., No. 191.

in Appendix II to this volume at pp. 134, 138, and 144 under date 28th December, 1764, 18th January, 1766, and 27th June, 1767.

In connection with the reference on the same page to the formal remonstrance delivered by the Dutch Government to the Court of Spain against the proceedings of the Spaniards, there will be found printed at pp. 159–166 in Appendix II to this volume several Reports of the Director-General of the Colony of Essequibo to the Dutch West India Company, which led to this remonstrance.

Appendix II, No. 213.
Ibid., No. 214.
Ibid., No. 215.
Ibid., No. 219.

(C.—7972), p. 17.

On p. 17, Reports of Governor Marmion and of Don Fermin Sancininea in 1788 are cited; on p. 18 a citation is made from the Report of Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente; and on p. 19 reference is made to a Report of the Fiscal in the year 1789. The series of Reports dealing with those matters are now set out at pp. 316–353 in Appendix III to this volume.

Appendix III, No. 36.
Ibid., No. 38.
Ibid., No. 40.

APPENDIX No. II.

EXTRACTS FROM DUTCH ARCHIVES.

PREFATORY NOTE TO APPENDIX No. II.

Many of the records of the Dutch West India Company prior to 1680 appear to have been destroyed or dispersed, and although there are, in the Rijksarchief at the Hague, various volumes of records of earlier date relating to the Company, they are not of equal relative importance as bearing on the subject now in question with those of later date.

Certain collections of printed official documents (found chiefly in the "Nederlandsche Jaerboeken" of 1750, 1751, and subsequent years), and Jan Jacob Hartsinck's "Beschrijving van Guiana" (Amsterdam, 1770), which was based on official information, embody the more valuable facts of the early history.

The official records of the Company in the hands of Her Majesty's Government commence in 1686.

The documents printed in the subjoined Appendix are taken partly from the Hague archives, partly from those in the British Record Office, which were received from the Dutch Government in pursuance of the Treaty of 1814. Among the latter are the original despatches of Director-General Storm van 's Gravesande between 1756 and 1773, most of which are missing at the Hague; they are of material importance for the full comprehension of the history of the Dutch Colony.

The reason why extracts are in most cases submitted is that the Director-General's despatches almost invariably take the form of long Reports, usually in his own handwriting, on the affairs of the Colony generally, evidently written from day to day as occasion might arise, and thus passing abruptly from one subject to another. It was obviously unnecessary to reprint here the full despatches with their observations on the state of the plantations, shipping questions, matters of discipline, &c.

In some cases, chiefly to illustrate the general life of the Colony in the earlier portion of the period, the documents are inserted in full. Similarly, in a few cases, extracts have been inserted for purposes of general illustration, and to preserve continuity, though they may have no immediate bearing on the question at issue.

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230	" "	Dec. 21,	Probability of a visit of two Spanish privateers to Maroco and Pomaroon for the purpose of carrying off slaves	175
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239	" "	24,	The above has not been confirmed	178
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242	" "	Aug. 27,	Mules will be cheap if Spain and England are at war. Expresses views against throwing open the Pomaroon	178
243	" "	Nov. 12,	The Caribans, in attempting to capture three runaway slaves, unfortunately killed two, and have only brought back their heads ..	179
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249	" "	29,	The Colony is on the brink of total ruin. The slaves of one Hooft on the coast have revolted, and steps have been taken to put down the rising.. .. .	181
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251	" "	Apr. 6, 1773	Unless steps can be taken to secure the return by the Spanish authorities of slaves who run away to Orinocque, the Colony will suffer irremediable ruin	182
252	West India Company to Director-General, Essequibo	15,	Violence of Spaniards may be repulsed with violence, but no reason for dispute must be given by the Dutch	182
253	Netherlands Ambassador at Madrid to States-General	Nov. 18,	He will make representations, as directed, relative to the running away of slaves to the Spanish possessions	182
254	Fiscal, Essequibo, to West India Company	Dec. 22,	Asks for support of his Petition to the Council of Ten respecting the grant of certain lands, explains the necessity of new canoes for plantations and suitable boats for navigation	182
255	Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company	23,	He would be glad of further assistance in the discharge of his duty. The Court of Policy could now be dispensed with, there being no more lands to grant	183
256	Court of Policy to West India Company	Jan. 31, 1774	Requests a supply of silver-mounted canes for distribution among the Owls (Chiefs) of the Indians	183
257	Director-General, Essequibo, and Courts of Policy and Justice	31,	Necessity of coming to an arrangement with Spain for the return of runaway slaves, otherwise the Colony will some day come to total ruin	184
258	Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company	Feb. 1,	What is to be done with the silver ring collars sent out for the Chiefs, but not given to them?	184
259	Commandeur, <i>ad interim</i> , Demerary, to West India Company	15,	He has endeavoured to bring the militia into order, and, having bought some boats for himself, will now be able to make himself useful by visiting the Posts	184
260	Commandeur, Demerary ..	Mar. 19,	The Colony is greatly indebted to M. van der Heyden, and if he were exempted from taxes, and he and his sons were made officers over the Indians, such a reward would be more adequate than the presentation of a silver coffee pot	185
261	Court of Policy, Demerary, to West India Company	Apr. 21,	No Posts would avail to prevent the desertion of slaves. The question of the slavery of many Indians should be looked into. Remarks as to boundaries of the old concessions	185
262	Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company	Sept. 30,	The Spaniards have made a further raid on the Post of Marocco. Unless redress can be obtained in this matter and in the matter of runaway slaves, the Colony will be totally ruined some day	186
263	James Geo. Williams to West India Company	Dec. 1,	Requests 2,000 acres of land in the Bouweron River for the purpose of raising timber	186

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265	The States-General ..	Mar. 2,	Representations to be made to the Court of Spain in regard to the retention by the Spanish authorities of runaway slaves from the Dutch possessions and other outrages ..	187
266	The West India Company to Commandeur, Demerary	16,	Resolutions have been taken in the matter of the retention of runaway slaves	188
267	Netherlands' Envoy at Madrid to the States-General	Apr. 10,	Forwards reply of the Spanish Court. It is the unalterable practice that runaway slaves from Protestant Colonies who desire to embrace the Catholic religion shall be free. His Majesty has ordered an inquiry into the outrages.	188
268	Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company	May 27,	Respecting the distribution of the silver ring collars. A new Postholder has been appointed to Arinda	189
269	Courts of Policy and Justice in Essequibo	July 10,	Disposal of tokens, &c., for the Chiefs. It is to be regretted that the representation to the Court of Spain as to runaway slaves has had no better result.	189
270	Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company	Oct. 22,	Further Spanish raid upon the Post at Maroco. .	190
271	" "	Jan. 23, 1776	Le Clair, formerly Postholder at Arinda, is among the Portuguese on the Amazon, and has asked for and received permission to come down with some of that nation, offering to put the Dutch in the way of a lucrative trade	190
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273	Government Journal ..	July 9, 1779	Presentation of tokens to the Indian Chiefs, and commissions to certain of their number ..	191
274	Netherlands' Ambassador at Madrid, to the States-General	Feb. 12, 1784	Reports that he has made emphatic representations to the Minister of State on the subject of fugitive slaves	191
275	Commandeur, Demerary, to Amsterdam Chamber	Apr. 3,	Unless the representations to Spain as to fugitive slaves have been of good effect the formation of Posts along the coast will be necessary ..	192
276	Petition of Colonists to States-General	Sept. 14,	Posts and strongholds are of no avail to stop the flight of slaves	192
277	States-General (Minutes) ..	July 15, 1785	The Ambassador at Madrid reports that the Spanish Government, under all sorts of pretexts, continually avoid entering upon negotiations for the rendition of fugitive slaves ..	192
278	Journal of the Commandeur. .	Oct. 2 to Dec. 7, 1789	Extracts relating to affairs at Maroco Post, and other matters	193
279	Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company	May 12, 1790	Desertion of twenty-eight negroes to Orinocque. Urges that the Company should support the representations to the Court of Spain on the subject	193
280	Journal of the Commandeur. .	Feb. 9 to June 17,	Extracts relating to affairs at Maroco and Arinda Posts, and other matters	194
281	States-General (Resolution). .	Nov. 16,	The States-General are willing to recommence negotiations with Spain for the reciprocal rendition of fugitive slaves	195

APPENDIX No. II

Extracts from Dutch Archives.

No. 1.

Charter granted by their High Mightinesses the Lords the States-General to the West India Company, dated June 3, 1621.

(Extract.)

The States-General of the United Netherlands to all who shall see or hear these presents read,
Greeting:

BE it known that we, having taken into consideration that the prosperity of this country and the welfare of its inhabitants principally consist in the navigation and commerce which from time immemorial has been carried on with good fortune and great blessing from out of this same country with all countries and kingdoms:

And being desirous that the aforesaid inhabitants not only be maintained in their navigation, commerce and trade, but also that their commerce should increase as much as possible, especially in conformity with the Treaties, Alliances, Conventions, and Agreements formerly made concerning the commerce and navigation with other Princes, Republics and nations, which Treaties we intend shall be punctually kept and observed in all their parts:

And we, finding by experience that without the common help, aid and means of a General Company no profitable business can be carried on, protected and maintained in the parts hereafter enumerated, on account of the great risks from sea pirates, extortions, and other things of the same kind, which are incurred upon such long and distant journeys:

We, therefore, being moved by many different and pregnant considerations, have, after mature deliberation of the Council and for very pressing causes, decided that the navigation, trade, and commerce in the West Indies, Africa, and other countries hereafter enumerated, shall henceforth not be carried on otherwise than with the common united strength of the merchants and inhabitants of these lands, and that to this end there shall be established a General Company which, on account of our great love for the common welfare, and in order to preserve the inhabitants of these lands in full prosperity, we shall maintain and strengthen with our assistance, favour and help, so far as the present state and condition of this country will in any way allow, and which we shall furnish with a proper Charter, and endow with the privileges and exemptions hereafter enumerated, to wit:

I.

That for a period of twenty-four years no native or inhabitant of this country shall be permitted, except in the name of this United Company, either from the United Netherlands or from any place outside them, to sail upon or to trade with the coasts and lands of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, nor with the countries of America and the West Indies, beginning from the southern extremity of Newfoundland through the Straits of Magellan, Le Maire, and other straits and channels lying thereabouts, to the Strait of Anjan, neither on the North nor on the South Sea, nor with any of the islands situated either on the one side or the other, or between them both; nor with the Australian and southern lands extending and lying between the two meridians, reaching in the east to the Cape of Good Hope, and in the west to the east end of New Guinea, inclusive. And therefore whoever shall venture, without the consent of this Company, to sail upon or trade with any places within the limits granted to the said Company, shall do so at the risk of losing the ships and merchandize which shall be found upon the aforesaid coasts and districts, which it shall be competent to immediately seize on behalf of the said Company, and to hold as confiscated property at the disposal of the same. And in case such ships or merchandize should be sold or taken to other lands or ports, the underwriters and shareholders may be sued for the value of the said ships and merchandize; with this exception only, that those ships which, before the date of this Charter, have sailed from these or other lands to any of the aforesaid coasts, shall be permitted to continue their trade until they have disposed of their cargoes, and until their return to this country, or until the expiration of their Charter, if they have been granted any before this date, but no longer.

Provided, however, that after the 1st July, 1621, the day and time of the commencement of this Charter, no one shall be permitted to send any ships or merchandize to the districts com-

prised in this Charter, even if it were before the day on which the Company was finally established; but we shall duly provide against those who wittingly and fraudulently seek to frustrate our good intentions for the commonweal; it being understood that the salt trade to Ponte de Rê shall be permitted to be continued upon the conditions and instructions laid down, or to be laid down, by us in that matter without being otherwise connected with this Charter.

II.

That henceforth the aforesaid Company shall be permitted to make in our name and authority, within the limits set forth above, contracts, leagues, and alliances with the Princes and natives of the lands therein comprised; they may also build there some fortresses and strongholds, appoint Governors, soldiers, and officers of justice, and do everything necessary for the preservation of the places and the maintenance of good order, police, and justice; they shall likewise, for the furtherance of trade, dismiss and discharge them and nominate others to their places, according as they shall deem advisable for the circumstances of the case; they may further encourage the population of fertile and uninhabited districts, and do everything that the welfare of the land and the profit and increase of trade shall require; and the representatives of the Company shall successively communicate to us and hand over such contracts and alliances as they shall have made with the aforesaid Princes and nations, together with the situation of the fortresses, strongholds, and settlements taken in hand by them.

III.

In the event of their choosing a Governor-General, and drawing up instructions for him, the same will have to be approved and the Commission granted by us. And further, such Governor-General, as also other Vice-Governors, Commanders, and officers shall be bound to take an oath of loyalty to us and to the Company.

* * * * *

XLV.

All which privileges, liberties, and exemptions, together with the assistance above mentioned in all their points and articles we have freely granted, allowed, promised, and ascribed to the aforesaid Company, and do hereby freely grant, allow, and ascribe with full knowledge of the matter, promising to allow them to enjoy the same in peace and tranquillity. We likewise order that the same shall be kept and observed by all Magistrates, officers, and subjects of these United Netherlands without doing anything contrary to the same directly or indirectly, either within or without the said United Netherlands, upon pain of being punished therefore, both in person and property, as disturbers of the common welfare of these lands and transgressors of our orders. Promising besides that we shall maintain and uphold the Company in the contents of this our Charter by all Treaties of Peace, alliances, and understandings with the neighbouring Princes, kingdoms and countries, without suffering anything to be done or negotiated that might tend to diminish its value. Wherefore we expressly charge and command all Governors, Justiciaries, officers, Magistrates, and inhabitants of these United Provinces to permit and suffer the said Company and Commissioners to enjoy peaceably, and without any disturbance, the entire effects of this Charter, licence, and privilege, ignoring all other matters ordered to the contrary. And in order that none may plead ignorance of this, we have ordered the summary of the contents of this Charter to be publicly proclaimed and placarded wherever necessary, such being, in our opinion, to the advantage and service of this country.

Given under our Great Seal.

Signature of our Notary, in the Hague, June 3, 1621:

(Was signed) J. MAGNIS.

By order of their High Mightinesses the Lords the States-General:

(Signed) C. AERTSSEN.
(Having a seal of red wax and white silk cord.)

No. 2.

Proclamation prohibiting Trade with the West Indies, dated June 9, 1621.

(Extract.)

The States-General of the United Netherlands to all who shall hear these presents read,
Greeting:

WHEREAS we, after mature deliberation in Council, for the well-being of these provinces and the welfare of the inhabitants of the same, have caused to be established here in these Netherlands a Company to carry on trade and commerce with the West Indies, Africa, and other

places hereafter set forth, and have granted to the same many liberties, privileges, and rights, together with assurances of our particular aid and favour, as is more fully dwelt upon in the Letters of Charter given by us:

We, therefore, for the better furtherance of the same, have prohibited and forbidden, as we now hereby prohibit and forbid, any natives or inhabitants of this country, as well as any natives or inhabitants of any other kingdom or country to visit, traffic, or carry on directly or indirectly, except in the name and on behalf of this United Company, any trade whatsoever for a period of twenty-four years, beginning the 1st July next, with the coasts and countries of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, and with the countries of America, beginning with the south end of Terra Nova, through the Straits of Magellan, Le Maire, or other straits and channels lying thereabouts, to the Straits of Anjan, either in the North Sea or the South Sea, and with any islands on either side or lying in between, together also with Australian and southern countries extending and lying between both meridians, and reaching from the Cape of Good Hope in the east to the east end of New Guinea inclusive, in the west.

Desiring and ordering that all other natives and inhabitants who shall act in a contrary manner, or who shall be found to have so done, shall forfeit their vessels and merchandize, which shall immediately be seized and held at the disposal of the aforesaid Company.

* * * * *

No. 3.

Proclamation renewing the Prohibition to sail upon the West Indies except in the Name of the West India Company, November 26, 1622.

(Extract.)

The States-General to all who shall see or hear these presents read, Greeting:

WHEREAS we, after mature deliberation in Council, did cause to be established here in these Netherlands some time ago, for the welfare of these provinces, a Company to carry on trade and commerce with the West Indies, Africa, and other places mentioned in our former Proclamations of the 9th June, 1621, and of the 10th June, 1622, prohibiting natives or inhabitants of these lands from navigating or negotiating within the said territories for a period of twenty-four years, and whereas we persisting in the said Proclamations and prohibitions have decided to renew the same:

We, therefore, have prohibited and forbidden, and do hereby prohibit and forbid any natives or inhabitants of these lands, as well as any natives or inhabitants of any other kingdom or country, to sail or to trade, directly or indirectly, for the prescribed period of twenty-four years, within the aforesaid territories except in the name and on behalf of the aforesaid Company, under the penalties laid down in the aforesaid Proclamations.

* * * * *

No. 4.

Order and Regulations of May 14, 1632, and of July 15, 1633, passed by the States-General, and according to which all fully-equipped Vessels from any of these Provinces shall be permitted to sail within a certain portion of the Boundaries of the Charter of the West India Company hereafter expressed.*

I.

(Extract.)

FIRST, none of the said vessels shall be permitted on any account whatever to sail to the coasts of Africa, nor to New Netherlands or any other place where the Company may trade; but shall be permitted to sail to the coasts of Brazil; item, in the West Indies, to wit, the River Oronoque westwards along the coast of Carthagen, Portobello, Honduras, Campeche, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of Florida, together with all the islands lying within the boundaries, in order to injure and offer hostility to the King of Spain, his subjects and adherents, both on land and water.

* These are printed in Van Aitzema's "Saken van Staet en Oorlog," with the date 1621 at head of the page, and with an error of date in the body of the text.

No. 5.

Further Order and Regulations of the States-General, passed by advice of the Directors of the West India Company in the Court of Nineteen, by which each and every one of the Inhabitants of the United Provinces shall be permitted to take away Wood, Tobacco, and all kinds of Wares and Merchandize from a certain part of the Boundaries of the Charter of the aforementioned Company hereafter expressed, dated January 6, 1635, and October 16, 1637.

I.

(Extract.)

FIRST, the vessels of the aforesaid inhabitants shall be permitted to sail to the West Indies: to wit, the River Oronocque, westwards along the coast of Carthagená, Portobello, Honduras, Campeche, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coast of Florida, together with the islands lying within those boundaries; but they shall on no account be permitted to sail to the coast of Africa or New Netherlands, or to any other place where the said Company carries on trade.

II.

The vessels wishing to sail to the above-mentioned permitted places will have to be provided with a Commission and written authorization from the Chamber of the aforesaid Company, at the place where the said vessels were equipped and fitted out.

No. 6.

Continuation of the Charter of the West India Company, July 4, 1647.

(Extract.)

The States-General make known :

THAT having further considered the affairs and constitution of the West India Company of this country, and having also in mind the fact that the welfare of the inhabitants of the same is principally based upon the navigation, trade, and commerce which from time immemorial have been carried on by this country and have gradually increased with other countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America :

Having also taken into consideration the preservation and maintenance of the public faith and contracts made with many and divers nations, empires, and countries in the West Indies, Brazil, New Netherlands, and other parts :

We, in the exercise of our discretion and authority, did, on the 22nd March last prolong and renew for the period of twenty-five consecutive years, commencing the 1st day of the month of January of this current year, 1647, the Charter of the aforesaid Company, dated the 3rd June, 1621, with amplification of the 10th June, 1622, together with that of the 13th February, 1623, and the Agreement of the 21st June, 1623.*

[Dated] July 4, 1647.

No. 7.

Extract from the Register of the Resolutions of their High Mightinesses the Lords the States-General of the United Netherlands, Monday, August 10, 1648.

(Extract.)

THE opening of the Provincial Report of the Province of Holland and West Friesland concerning the affairs of Brazil having been heard—

Fourthly, it was agreed and passed to approve of the Orders and Regulations concerning navigation to Brazil and Angola framed by the West India Company as hereinafter inserted, and an addition shall be made to the aforesaid Regulation concerning Angola in the form of an amplification containing a certain Resolution passed by the Lords, their High Mightinesses the Deputies, and the respective Chambers of the West India Company on the 16th January last and inserted in the Register of their High Mightinesses' Resolutions after the Report of the debate held upon the redress of the fallen state of Company No. 3.

Fifthly, their High Mightinesses decided to pass provisionally for one year the Regulation concerning the Carribean navigators, also hereinafter inserted, on the condition that the dues and recognition monies therein mentioned proceeding from the same shall have to be set aside and be employed, without any deductions, towards paying off the annual interest of the invested

* Not printed, being irrelevant to the present question.

capital with which the respective Chambers of the West India Company are burdened, and the receipt and administration of the aforesaid dues and recognition monies was referred to and placed in the hands of the General Chamber of Accounts of this Company, with authority to appoint persons in all places where these dues and recognition monies shall be paid to receive the same, which persons shall, from time to time, have to send the monies received to the aforesaid Chamber of Accounts, which will be responsible for the amounts.

* * * * *

The Lords of Friesland thereupon had the Provincial Resolutions read of the Lords, the States, their Principals, hereinafter inserted.

* * * * *

The States-General of the United Netherlands having read and deliberated upon the Order and Regulation made, subject to our approval, by the General Chartered West India Company in the Council of Nineteen for each and all of the inhabitants of the United Provinces who shall henceforth desire to sail to certain districts within the limits of the Charter of the aforesaid Company hereinafter set forth, to fetch salt, timber, tobacco, cotton, and other wares or merchandize obtainable there; have, after due deliberation, approved and ratified the said Order and Regulation, as their High Mightinesses now approve and ratify them by these presents and in such manner as now hereinafter follows:—

I.

Firstly, we hereby declare that we annul and quash all former Orders and Regulations according to which all ships in the respective provinces, either armed or unarmed, have been permitted to sail for private trade in timber, salt, tobacco, cotton, or other wares and products there obtainable to a certain area within the Charter of the West India Company, at whatever period, in what manner the said Regulations might have been issued, promulgated or drawn up; and we now decree, order, and ordain anew that the vessels of the aforesaid inhabitants shall henceforth be permitted to sail in the West Indies, to wit, from the River Orinocque westwards along the coasts of Paria, Cumana, Venezuela, Carthagena, Portobello, Honduras, Campeche, the Gulf of Mexico, and the coasts of Florida, as well as between and around all the islands situated in those parts, including even Curaçoa, Buenayre, and Aruba, without permission to go east along the Wild Coast,* much less to the Amazon or the Maransan [*sic*], or further north than Cape Florida, and equally without permission to come on any account whatever, or in any manner to the Virginias, New Netherlands, Nova Francia, and other places situated thereabouts, or to sail to or along the coasts of Africa, Brazil, or anywhere else where the Company has trade, under the penalty that whoever shall be found to do or to have done contrary to this shall confiscate both ship and cargo, which also it shall be allowable to seize and to hold as confiscated property at the disposal of the Company without any action at law, and in case such ships or cargoes shall have been sold or have put into other countries or ports, the captains, owners, or underwriters shall be sued for the value of the said ships and cargoes according to Article I of the Charter.

* * * * *

XII

And inasmuch as the inhabitants of these United Provinces and lands, as well as foreign vessels, shall be permitted to sail and trade, so shall all foreign ships bringing timber, salt, tobacco, and any other wares, products, or merchandize into this country from the West Indies, or the territories granted by Charter to the Company, whether it be for their own account, as freight, or on commission, be compelled to declare and deposit them in the warehouses of the Company in the manner hereinbefore expressed, and shall subsequently also pay to the above Company convoy dues, and such recognition money as the inhabitants and vessels of these countries have to pay, whether such foreign vessels come straight from the West Indies, and from within the limits of the Charter to this country, or whether they have, for any reason whatever, discharged their cargo in other countries or kingdoms, and exchanged their original cargoes in any of the ports at which they have touched for other goods and paid the duties of the country; anyone alleging this to be the case shall be held to produce sufficient proofs on entering his goods, so that the State and the Company may not be frustrated in their intentions in this matter.

* * * * *

XVIII.

In order that these Regulations may be observed and put into execution by the representatives of the West India Company, and in order that no permit or authority to sail within the boundaries set forth in the Charter may be granted except by the General Chartered West India Company in their Council of Nineteen, it is expressly declared that all who bearing the latter shall sail within the limits permitted by the Charter shall be charged and authorized to demand to see the papers and permits of all ships of this country which they may meet there; and if they find such permit to be other than those granted by the General Chartered Company in their Council of Nineteen, the ships which are furnished with the same shall be permitted to lay an embargo upon

* The Wild Coast was the original name of the coast between the Orinoco and the Essequibo.

the cargoes over and above the penalties imposed by the Company, and which the captains, owners, or underwriters of the former shall be permitted to demand from those who have granted them such permit and commission.

Done, approved, and ratified at a meeting of the States-General held in the Hague on the 10th day of August, 1648.

No. 8.

Charter of the New West India Company, dated September 20, 1674.

(Extract.)

The States-General of the United Netherlands to all who shall see or hear these presents read, Greeting, make known :

THAT we having found by experience that the welfare of these lands is notably furthered by navigation and the commerce of the good inhabitants, and that the said navigation and commerce can with difficulty be carried on, protected, or maintained with countries and districts situated at some distance without the common help and especial assistance of several of the more important citizens, leagued together to that end; for which reason we had many years ago established a general West India Company among the aforesaid citizens by special Charter: But having observed that the affairs of that Company had, through many disasters, fallen into such a state that the shareholders in the same have suddenly become unwilling to continue the aforesaid Company; wherefore we, the last prolongation of the said Charter being about to expire on the 30th September, 1674, have determined to further continue the said Charter, but to dissolve and abolish the said West India Company; desirous, nevertheless, that the aforesaid, our citizens, and especially the shareholders and depositors in the said Company, should not only preserve their interest in the aforesaid navigation, traffic, and trade, but also that their commerce and navigation and the export of manufactures from this country should increase, especially in conformity with the Treaties, alliances, and leagues formerly made with other Princes, Republics, and peoples concerning commerce and navigation, and which we intend shall be upheld and followed punctually in all parts:

We, therefore, having taken into due consideration that naught can be done, protected, and upheld in the districts hereafter mentioned without the usual aid, assistance, and resources of a General Company have determined that navigation, trade, and commerce in the districts of West India and Africa and other places hereafter mentioned, shall henceforth be carried on only by the common and united strength of the former shareholders and depositors of the aforesaid Company who are willing and shall be encouraged to do so and to this end a new General West India Company shall be established which we, out of particular affection for the common weal shall strengthen with our help, favour and assistance and provide with a proper Charter and with the following privileges and exemptions:

To wit, that within the present century and to the year 1700 inclusive, none of the natives or inhabitants of this or any other country, shall be permitted other than in the name of this United Company to sail or trade upon the coasts and lands of Africa, reckoning from the Tropic of Cancer to the height of 30 degrees south of the Equator, with all the islands in that district lying off the aforesaid coasts, and particularly the Islands of St. Thomé, Annebon, Isle of Principe, and Fernando Polo, together with the places of Isekepe and Bauwmerona, situated on the continent of America, as well as the Islands of Curaçao, Aruba, and Buonaire:

* * * * *

II.

That the aforesaid Company shall henceforth be permitted to make in our name and by our authority within the limits set down above, contracts, leagues, and alliances with the Princes and natives of the countries lying within them; shall further build fortresses and strongholds there, and shall appoint Governors, Warriors, and Officers of Justice, and keep up establishments of good order, police, and justice, for other necessary services and for the maintenance of the police.

No. 9.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 27, 1683.

I HAVE sent a negro up in Cayuni in order, if it be possible, to establish peace between the Akuwayas and the Caribs, so as by this means to get hold of the wild-pig* hunting there as formerly.

No. 10.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 25, 1683.

I HAVE caused one of the Company's servants to reside in Barima, as much annatto and letter-wood occurs there, and this lies near to Pomaroon, and has recently been navigated two or three times by Gabriel Bishop, and he traded there with great success, and was well treated, to the great prejudice of the Honourable Company. I hope their Honours will approve of this. I have prohibited his trading there and in Barimaroom [sic], and all other persons.

I wish their Honours would take possession of the rivers as well, which has been done by me provisionally in order to see what revenue they yield, since I am of opinion that the Honourable Company has the right to trade and traffic there in an open river as much as other private persons.

No. 11.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 31, 1684.

POMAROON begins annually to deliver much and good annatto, and much was supplied from Barima, as appears from the inclosed list under No. 7. From this their Honours will see how much has been procured and brought to the fort by all the postholders (uitlegger)†; but Gabriel Bishop, and other interlopers from Surinam, spoil not only their trade, but buy all the letter-wood, which is there both abundant and good, as well as madder oil and hammocks, whereby I have this year received very little and bad dye. They traverse and overrun the land right up to the River Cayuni itself.

In order somewhat to check this, I have caused a small station to be made in Barima, and Abraham Candardt, who is there as postholder in place of Daniel Galle, who is going home, shall occasionally visit those places and encourage the Caribs to trade in annatto and letter-wood, which the French even from the islands in the river frequently come with their vessels to fetch. I submit therefore, under correction, that it would not be inequitable for the honourable the West India Company to take in possession the River Barima in order to acquire the trade aforesaid, and commanding the erection there of a strong little place for a postholder.

No. 12.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 18, 1684.

SUBSEQUENTLY, through Abraham Candardt, postholder in Pomaroon, and divers Indians, I have some time ago obtained information that the French, who are at war with the Spaniards, and are apparently (as I hear indirectly) about to come into collision with our nation, have, now

* *Vercke jagt* ("Boar-hunt") is apparently the wording; but one translator emends to *ueruwe jagt*, which would mean "hunting or collecting of dyes."

† The word "uitlegger" is literally the "outlier" or "advanced post" man. It is invariably used in the earlier despatches, but is usually replaced after about 1750 by the term "postholder." The familiar word (postholder) has therefore been used throughout in translation.

two or three months ago, made themselves masters of the fort in Oronoque after resistance from those inside, and after the loss of their Commander and many persons on either side, and they have taken prisoner the Governor of Trinidad as he was still at the said Oronoque, but obtained little booty, since information of this going inland reached the silver on its way down.

It is still unknown whether the said French have abandoned the fort. They have for their assistance many Caribs from Copename expelled by his Excellency Baron van Sommelsdyk, and taking refuge here to our great disquietude.

Just previously Captain Gabriel Bishop, with his barque from Surinam and Berbice, coming in to the Barima in order to trade there in annatto, letter-wood, &c., being surprised and overtaken by the Caribs aforesaid, he, with fifteen of his men, was slain, and the barque was cut to pieces and sunk to the bottom, with threats to some other Indians friendly to us, that they, conjointly with the French, will probably come to destroy all the plantations outside the fort at Essequibo, so that apparently we have an attack to expect.

No. 13.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

January 16, 1685.

THE French come into the Barima, and fetch them [*sic*] to above on the Cayuni, and have burned there the houses of the Pariacots, and have driven them away; the latter collect the balsam from the trees, and this is the reason that Daentje, the negro, has come back two weeks ago without bringing with him a single pound of balsam (maraen).

No. 14.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 1, 1685.

THE Spaniards have resumed possession of Oronoque. The dispersed and hunted-away Caribs from the Copename River are flying to leeward near about Barima, Weyni, Amacoora, often alarming the coast, and sometimes slaying some unlucky Arowaka Indians or Christians, as happened to Bishop and the men from Berbice.

No. 15.

Resolution, April 5, 1686, of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 5, 1686.

[WITH reference to Resolutions of the Amsterdam Chamber of the 4th December, 1685, and 29th November previous:]

Concerning the populating and cultivating of the River Pomeroon lying about the River Essequibo on the coast of America, that their Honours have provisionally decided to appoint a Commandeur for the aforesaid river in the person of Jacob Pietersz de Jongh . . . , but that previously the gentlemen of Middleburg and other towns, as owning an interest in the river aforesaid . . . , formerly named Nova Zeelandia, had on this account opposed [the Resolutions], yet subsequently declared themselves content to allow them to pass.

No. 16.

Commandeur, Pomeroon, to West India Company.

Noble, Worthy, Honourable, Wise, Prudent, and
very Discreet Lords,

In River Essequibo, May 1686.

TO give your Noblenesses news of our journey, we have progressed as well with it as could possibly be. On the 31st January we started from before Flushing, and henceforward Y. N. will be pleased to see it as per accompanying day register. To give Y. N. news of our arrival in River Essequibo, it took place on the 4th April, as Y. N. will also be able to see by the accompanying day register. As soon as I arrived in the aforementioned river I addressed myself to the Commandeur Beekman, whom I showed my letters from the Noble Chambers, so as to be able to make my voyage to Bourona as speedily as possible. I therefore requested the aforementioned Commandeur to cause me to be convoyed into the boat to the river aforesaid, with my necessary provisions, for the purpose of surveying, that I might find the most suitable spots for being able to place the fort and the plantations. Then Commandeur Beekman told me that he had orders from

the Noble Lords to assist the skipper, Machiel Dirksen, but that I could easily make a journey to and fro to Bourona in the boat, in order partly to survey it. As he had no immediate need of the boat aforesaid, my intention was to give Y. N. information as to the condition of the River Bourona, but through lack of time I have but caused the river to be laid with buoys. I should willingly have gone there alone, but was compelled to take all my people with me, because that the Commandeur Beekman said that he was not well furnished with provisions, so that I have but left my assistant by himself at the fort. Concerning my goods, have duly received all the provisions with which Y. N. have been pleased to supply me; all has come safe to hand with the exception of a half hogshead of prunes and other groceries besides that were therein. So my assistant has been on board of the ship "De Vrijheijt," and asked the mate if he did not know anything of it, who showed him his Memorandum book, and found there nothing about it, so that I believe has happened through fault of the purveyor. I having thus arrived in Bourona, the natives of the land have been very friendly to me. I have been well able to see that it is a good land, by surmise about 11 to 12 miles in the river. I have found the most suitable places, where formerly the magazine stood, for the purpose of constructing a stronghold there, because that nowhere is any land round empty which was suitable for laying down plantations except on the creek.

I have no doubt but that the river will shortly become well inhabited. Had there been but some more room on the ship "De Vrijheijt," I feel certain that several planters for the River Bourona would have accompanied me. The planters were very anxious for the conditions which Y. N. should be pleased to draw up. Will also Y. N. be pleased to send me the orders or conditions, in case any French or English or Spaniards came there with their vessels, what recognizance they should be obliged to pay as anchor-money, or in case they also came to cut down any timber for erecting a mill, or firewood, or anything else, that Y. N. be pleased to advise me in your next despatch.

The goods sent for, which I, as per accompanying Memorandum, have sent for, is quite ordinary, for some red slaves to barter for oriane dye and vessels and provisions and whatever comes up. But so Y. N. be pleased to send further cargoes in order to make a journey as occasion offers to Orinoco; there Y. N. will be pleased to send forward also other cargoes, in order to traffic among the Spaniards there. Y. N. will likewise be pleased to send some slippers and shoes and white shirts, as well as hats and white fustian, in order to sell them to the soldiers and other folk; also, Y. N. will be pleased to send me five or six red coats and breeches, with some sham gold and silver lace, to keep on friendly terms with the upper Chiefs of the Indians.

I have made request to Commandeur Beekman to give me some assistance in the matter of pieces of artillery to place on the four corners of the fort, but he has given me but two. But whenever Y. N. be pleased to have the solicitude to provide me with the necessary artillery, which Y. N. be pleased to order according to the inclosed list, then will I restore his two pieces again to the Commandeur Beekman, since the Commandeur Beekman did not assist me with it as he might. Of pieces I have therefore bought from the Captain Machiel Dirksen four "schiet-hake," which are very serviceable to me both in a canoe and on the fort, and that for a sum of 22f.; that without question was a good bargain, so that I hope Y. N. will not take it ill of me. Will Y. N. be pleased to give orders that the Commandeur Beekman supply me with some cows to rear, as in these parts they are 40 gulden. I hope Y. N. will shortly supply me with slaves, since I hear that many intend to go with me here from Essequibo and also from Berbice into the River Bourona; the Commandeur Beekman, that he will render me assistance with the boat and young plants; the Commandeur Beekman has also supplied me with two old negro slaves, by name Lucas and Renier, and various others besides, as Y. N. will be able to see from the inclosed Memorandum. As regards the plantations, we shall in the first instance plant against the arrival of the slaves cassave, potatoes, beans, maize, yams, and everything. The postholders placed in Bourona to barter dye I had determined to keep, but the Commandeur Beekman said that he had need of his people, so the Commandeur summoned them and made them stay here at the fort. I shall give myself the honour to inform Y. N. of everything from time to time. I beg Y. N. will be pleased to instruct me, if by chance it happened that I accepted any person who could do me service, as also that I should see that some one deserved more wages, and gave him two or three gulden more, whether such action on my part would be taken badly by Y. N. Meanwhile I return thanks to Y. N. for their singular favour to me without any deserts, praying God Almighty to bless more and more your noble persons and Government, and besides, not to make me unworthy of the office so generously conferred upon me, praying God Almighty to do me the favour of giving my life to the service of the noble Company, and right specially to the advancement of the aforesaid Colony, and I remain. The half hogshead of plums with the other groceries before-mentioned are found, and that is satisfactory to me, and remain, &c.

(Signed) JACOB DE JONGE.

No. 17.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

June 7, 1686.

IMMEDIATELY after closing this came Daentje, the Company's old negro, from the Savannah of the Pariakotte [Indians] above on the Cayuni River. He has been away for fully seven months, and was detained quite three months by the dryness of the river. All that he has been able to obtain is a little maraen oil and hammocks, because the French are making expeditions through the country up there in order to buy everything.

No. 18.

*Extract from Esséquebo Council Minutes (Inclosure in Despatch from Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company).**Essequibo, Sunday, October 20, 1686.*

WE acknowledge that we were requested to place ourselves under the Commandeur Abraham Beekman this present day, in order to hear the report of a certain Indian dispatched by Jan Genasie, chief Captain of the Caribs above in Mazaruni at the annatto store, to wit, that some months ago another Carib Captain named Makourawacke, father-in-law of the Company's old negro Jotte, has slain, at a Carib [village] assisted by his friends, in presence of Jotte, though, as the latter says, without his knowledge, some Akuwayas dwelling not far from the annatto store before mentioned, and friends of ours and of the Caribs, who had often brought their annatto and provision to the annatto store, and were also often of assistance to our people employed in the annatto collection. Their friends seeking revenge, now lately above the annatto store in Mazaruni having killed both married women and children of the Caribs, have so intimidated the rest that they, having abandoned their houses and gardens, have fled to the forest, and can produce little or no dye this year, nor provide provision to supply our requirements; he, Jan Genasie, warning that he should send the postholder Groot Jan with a small cargo; so that it is patent that there will this season be little annatto or provision forthcoming from this side to the fort; and Jacob, the Company's old negro, also reports that then Makourawacke, with his tribe who were wishing to go to war with the Akuwayas upon the Demerara, they were then dissuaded from the war by the Commandeur aforesaid, and advised to go and salt pork above in the Mazaruni River with Jotte afore-named, for which purpose a cask of salt was sent to him by the Sergeant; but in case they had war in their minds, that he should make war far away in Mazaruni over and above inland against their common enemy, not against them and our friends who dwelt close by the Caribs and the annatto store, who had always been our friends. This the afore-named Makourawacke would not comply with, and it is entirely the first and most principal cause of the attack which [four words follow undecypherable].

Done in Kijkoveral, in Rio Essequibo, the 20th October, 1686.

No. 19.

*Commandeur, Pomeroon, to West India Company.**In River Bourona, May 8, 1687.*

YOUR Noblenesses' despatch of the 2nd January has come safe to hand, as also the goods and cargoes sent me by Y. N., as Y. N. will be able to see per accompanying list, wherefore I return Y. N. my best thanks, praying God to bless Y. N. persons and Government more and more, and to do me the favour that I may continue to live for the service of the Noble Company's general welfare, and right specially for the advancement of this river.

Have seen that Y. N. have found good to send me, in place of the surgeon Du Castel, a certain Piter de Cock; this man, on arrival here, I have therefore entered as surgeon on the books, and given the aforementioned Du Castel his dismissal.

Have seen that Y. N. would like to know how I find the country here. It is very remarkable, as likewise by various planters is seen, and also in my presence said without exaggeration, that never had they seen any finer bread, as also of everything according to wish. Now it is certain that the river has been cried down by various persons, and is apparently well known as being unhealthy, and other trifles besides. That here, indeed, there have been some sick is true, over which I am not astonished, as we came into a closed-in wood; but now there are some openings, we are all well again. God be praised.

With regard to advising Y. N. whether planters are coming here or purpose to come, that is so, yet no one dares be so bold as to come here before that he has seen the conditions of Y. N., because they are sensitive over the affairs of Ferdinand van Overshilden. I know well, however, that some planters should have been here, whose destination was this river, but as soon as they

arrive in Essequibo the river was so despised that they remain there. However, I am certain that whenever Y. N. be pleased to send the conditions to the islands, as, by name, Bardades, St. Tomie, Curacao, Antiges, and Seratte and surrounding places, that the planters will quickly come here, so as in due course to found a good Colony on this river. With regard to the planting of sugar-cane, it should thrive well, since I have caused full 20 acres to be cleared to the ground, as the Commandeur Beekman had promised to provide me with five to six large barge-loads of sugar-cane plants; but to my regret I got but one, so that all the trouble of clearing has been thrown away, besides the waste of the slaves' time. The aforementioned land also is now better fitted for making a pasture than for planting with cane. So that I judged Y. N. to be interested in it, I had intended to send for everything required for sugar culture, so as to let Y. N. by the next despatch receive some of the first fruits, as a return for the outlay that Y. N. have made on this river. The fault, however, lies with the Commandeur Beekman, who had given me promises to forward several barge loads of sugar-cane. When I in person left to visit the River Essequibo, there the aforementioned Commandeur promised me it himself by word of mouth, but nothing, however, arrived. That is wretched, but no one can place reliance on the Commandeur Beekman's words of honour. While writing this, Gerrit Schonck, Captain of the "Jonge Indiaen," has arrived quite well, who has stopped here for two or three days, in order, according to his request, to make with me here a partial survey of the country. That is pleasing to me, since he will be able to inform Y. N. fully of everything. Now, with regard to the slaves which Y. N. will be pleased to send me. Did I know well that they would come, as it were, so to speak, within a month, then have I victuals enough, were it needed, for example, for 100 slaves. Rochier Abrahamsen has begun to make a plantation with free Indians over against the fort, and that through lack of negroes; as likewise Jan Joost Lansheer, who also intends to come shortly; as also Piten de Bruijn, who also within two or three months will quit his service, according to the request made by him to me, to make a food plantation on this river. Whenever Y. N. be pleased to send me some goods, then I beg that Y. N. yourselves will allow them to be properly marked, as the goods forwarded to me by Y. N. are struck open in Essequibo, which is not right. I am thinking of sending Rochier Abrahamsen, who is a judge of a good vessel, to Surinam, with a canoe and one or two red slave-girls, to get a vessel in exchange for the service of Y. N. Company, which I have no doubt will be approved by Y. N., since the same is very necessary here to fetch young plants for the existing and future plantations. Instead of Daniel le Roy, I have taken, as cooper, the person named Huijbrecht Rosleen, at the rate of 14 gulden per month, yet is a good cooper, whom I have sore need of to make board-sheeting for the fort, where I am now at the present moment busy, the name of which I shall expect per next despatch from Y. N. The cooper is likewise very necessary to keep by me for my casks and for one thing and the other. I only wish I had had him long ago, as then I should not have had the misfortune to lose a cask of oil, the which has taken place through lack of a cooper. Meanwhile, Y. N. have sent me no oil, so that this will be much missed. Meanwhile, I must return again the pieces (of ordnance) to the Commandeur Beekman, so beg that Y. N. be pleased to send me four others per next despatch to place at the four corners of the fort.

I have, along with skipper Joost and Rochier Abrahamsen, who likewise has been a skipper in Berbice, been into the mouth of this river to gain further knowledge of the depth. There we found with low water and dead tide 4 feet of water, and the water with spring here was 8 to 9 feet, and 7 at the least. Accordingly Y. N. can give instructions, and if it chanced that a ship came here before this river drawing from 9 to 10 feet, then must the skippers but send up their boat, and the aforementioned Rochier Abrahamsen will bring the same within. Herewith is some dye marked as in margin, that mostly is fine dye, and so Y. N. are pleased to have more common dye, be pleased to advise me by next despatch, then will I cause it to be prepared by the Indians, the which without Y. N. orders I should not willingly do, because that the dyes at present are at a bad price; but so Y. N. be pleased that I barter this, will Y. N. be pleased to advise me of the same per next despatch. If it happened that French or English or Spanish barques came here to stop, to fell timber for mill building, or fire-wood, what recognizance the same should be obliged to pay. I am well aware that Y. N. were pleased to direct Commandeur Beekman that he be pleased to supply me with some cows, since he has full 50 head great and small, and also here is pasture enough to pasture some cows, and they should breed well too, since here near at hand capital cattle thrive. Will Y. N. be pleased to be so kind as to send me a cask of good beer, and to place a cask of wine at least on the list. I am much put about for small articles of cargo, as knives and beads, and though the Commandeur Beekman has supplied me with a small quantity, I shall look for some per next despatch. Also will Y. N. be pleased to send me per next despatch another assistant, since this one would be glad to leave, because he says his wage is too small; so whenever Y. N. send anybody be pleased to send at any rate a person who has a little intelligence; for this I would myself gladly give up 4 gulden per month from my own account, and remain, &c.

(Signed) JACOB DE JONGE.

Annexure to No. 19.

Extract from a Journal kept in River Bourona, as also of our Voyage from River Essequibo, and safe arrival in the above-mentioned River.

Thursday, June 13, 1686.—Commandeur de Jonge has caused the provisions as well as the other goods to be brought on board of the barge, so as to be able to bring them to the above-mentioned river.

Sunday 23.—Jan Vallen has gone with Machiel van de Freind to Coureij to barter bread among the Indians.

Wednesday, July 10.—To-day the Commandeur has been up country in Bourona to go and inspect the land.

Saturday 20.—To-day I have sailed with Piter de Bruijn, the soldier, to Wakepo, to fetch bread, together with the aforementioned Rochies Abrahamson, who went with us to Wakepo. Up to date, the negroes with the negresses have cleared the garden.

Friday, August 9.—The Commandeur has gone with a courier to Wakepo, Coureij, and Mannewarijme, and found land there suitable for ten to twelve plantations.

Friday 16.—In the morning the Commandeur, with Skipper Rochies and Machiel, the soldier, who with Jan Vallen has been placed as a postholder in Coureij, has arrived here safely at the fort.

Saturday 17.—The Commandeur has sent Piter de Bruijn and Marcus to Wakepo to barter among the Indians for bread and skins.

Sunday 18.—Nothing special happened.

Tuesday 20.—Yesterday nothing special happened. To-day the Commandeur, with Skipper Rochies, has been below to partly inspect the Company's plantations, and, ditto, have returned home.

Monday, September 30.—Marcus has gone to Mannewarijme to barter with the Indians for bread and skins. This whole month we have had dry weather here.

Monday, October 7.—To date, nothing special happened, except that to-day the negroes begin to fell, and the women gone maize planting and clearing. To-day, Jacob the soldier, has gone up country to salt with the Indians.

Thursday 10.—The Commandeur has set out for Mannewarijme.

Friday 11.—Joost, the carpenter, has got finished with wood-cutting for planks for the fort. To-day Machiel has gone up country to stay with the Indians.

Saturday 12.—This week the negroes have felled wood and the negresses cleared. To-day the Commandeur has come home again from Mannewarijme.

Friday 25.—Nothing special happened.

Saturday 26.—The negroes with the negresses have this whole week cleared and planted yams. Same day, the Commandeur has made disposal of a creek with various Indians.

Friday, December 27.—These two previous days the slaves have not worked because it was the height of Christmastide. Same day, they have planted cassave stocks here. Dito, the Commandeur has sent Piter de Bruijn and Marcus to Maroko to barter among the Indians for cassave stocks.

Sunday, January 12, 1687.—The Commandeur has sent Piter de Bruijn overland with an Indian to Essequibo.

No. 20.

Commandeur, Pomeroon, to West India Company.

In River Bourona, January 28, 1688.

Noble, Great, Honourable, &c., and very Discreet Lords :

WHEREAS I have been informed by his Excellency the Heer van Sommersdijk, in a letter of the 5th January, 1688, that the Indian war came to spread itself in the neighbourhood, it was advisable for myself to follow in River Essequibo to help to free the same river, since Y. N. would

be chiefly interested in that. Through his Excellency I have by letter informed Commandeur Beekman that he took the responsibility arising from this towards the noble Company on him until such time and season as orders and an answer from Y. N. be obtained. Then in the meantime the aforesaid war begins to be accommodated. I find it then advisable to lay a burden upon my own Post, since, when things are quiet, I have no reason for leaving it, because my assistance then would not be required in River Essequibo. I have no doubt but that the present war will be willingly settled by mediation later. This is very apparent, and, furthermore, the greatest "Owls," or upper Chiefs, are apparently on the side of Heer Sommersdijck.

Likewise, it is very necessary that Y. N. send slaves and also the conditions. Y. N. will also be wise to consider that otherwise all the expenses that have been made by Y. N. are for nothing. Also from various places I have letters which are to hand exclusively on the subject of the conditions and slaves.

I have also sent for three or four soldiers from the Heer van Sommerdijck, though not knowing whether the same will come. As I had become very weak in guards through the decease of two soldiers, I have asked for these same in order to strengthen my guard, and remain for Y. N. commands in the protection of the All-High God.

&c., &c., &c.
(Signed) JACOB DE JONGE,

No. 21.

Commandeur, Pomeroon, to West India Company.

In River Bourona, April 6, 1688.

Noble, Great, Honourable, &c., and very Discreet Lords:

YOUR Noblenesses of Zeeland inform me that you will send me per next (despatch) another assistant as soon as the Noble Council of Ten shall have agreed to such a step.

Likewise, Y. N. forbid me expressly to allow any foreign ships or barques to enter this river for cutting wood or for any business transactions. As to this I shall observe Y. N.'s orders. And that I should send another small barrel of fine dye, like I sent before. Now the Indians are ill-disposed to consent to it, so that I have bartered little or nothing, and that which has been bartered I have done amongst other [tribes], the which altogether fills but a small anker, and is not worth sending to Y. N. I will do my best to barter some fine dye.

Should Y. N. like to have dye like that bartered in Essequibo, I should easily be able to barter a quantity of a similar quality for the service of Y. N. The Commandeur Beekman has promised that he will provide me with cows. I have understood through my assistant and other friends besides, who have been in Essequibo, that it was an English barquantine which the Commandeur Beekman has laden full of wood by the Company's negroes and allowed to depart again for Barbadoes, the which is for the service of Y. N.'s Government.

It would, according to my judgment, be not unserviceable that Y. N. should allow five or six sugar works to be erected in order now or in the future to serve for the greatest profit of Y. N., since there is capable land to be found here at hand. Yet slaves are especially necessary, since without them nothing can be done; they are also much required by the planters, who are also very desirous to have the conditions settled.

I shall per next despatch expect the necessities for erecting a sugar work, so as with the arrival of the slaves to give with the fruits of the land a proof that it is good and capable.

Should Y. N. not find good for the welfare of the river, and so as to put greater hindrances in the way of the young planters and other settlers as to the intercourse with the Indian women, if so be that Y. N. sent five or six vigorous young girls and paid passage for the same, then will I here bear responsibility for the money which Y. N. have expended. When I would have liked to have known the origin of the war, then they write from Berbice that they know nothing about it; yet the Indians tell me—the good as well as the evil-disposed—that this is the cause, to wit, that they had erected a gallows in Berbice, and on it intended to hang the "Owls" or upper Chiefs of the Indians. This belief then was further encouraged by the negroes, and they have together made an attack on the whites, who, however, some five days before had been warned: that was by some credited, by some not credited, so that some unfortunate whites have been obliged to pay the penalty for this with death; then the Indians were day by day pursued in such a manner that scarcely one of the murderers is to be found. The Indians, however, say perhaps the best of it they can; but this is a certain fact, that from first to last it has come about through the erection of the gallows. In the next place, I have found still great fidelity in the Indians, as they brought me the news in the presence of some whites, and said that they were not well pleased at it, but that they could not help it. They likewise begged that here one should be at peace, and in time of need, whether against Caribs or other tribes, they wished to assist me and offer a helping hand.

As Y. N. had written per skipper Joris Adriaensz at the time when the boat arrived in Essequibo, the afore-named skipper had departed, so that Y. N. be pleased to excuse me as to this.

I have now the fort completely finished, except that everything, for want of nails, is tied together. The size is under 30 feet long and 20 feet broad, and from above 34 feet long and 24 feet broad, as it stands out from above so much, and it would have been made much larger,

but thus the very excess of size with a few people would have rendered it weak. It is therefore but large enough in its capacity for Y. N.'s Government. I have written to their Noblenesses of Zeeland for a competent carpenter, one who is capable of building a mill. Inclosed is the day register, whereby Y. N. will be able to see how I have placed myself in danger with the Essequibo journeys in the troublous times, which now—God be praised—are mostly quieted down, in which, according to my power, I have striven to the utmost to do my duty, when the Indians from far and near came to complain to me, the which I have with great diplomacy and trouble managed to satisfy, and remain with good wishes for much health and blessing to Y. N.'s persons and Government, praying God to do me the favour to spare my life for the service of the Noble Company in general, &c., &c., &c.

(Signed) JACOB DE JONGE.

No. 22.

Commandeur, Pomeroon, to West India Company.

Noble, Honourable, Worthy Lords,
My Lords,

July 6, 1689.

THIS letter of mine humbly to service to make Y. N. acquainted with what has happened since my last, as to how that we in the River Bourona have been suddenly attacked and overpowered by 33 French and about 300 Caribs, the one party by water with 10 canoes and 3 corials, and the other party by land out of the wood (since we had no cannon and were but six men strong), to wit, the last day of last April; but I effected my escape, accompanied by some red slaves. The Caribs of the French party pursued me vigorously, so that I was compelled to hurry through the wood to escape them with my clothes all thrown off, and came at last with great distress into Essequibo to the fort, to give them warning of our miserable experiences. They had on the next day, being the 1st May, taken their departure from there, and had taken, moreover, with them everything that was there, and had used strong threats to the people that they would burn everything, unless they sought me out. Yet seeing that they were unaware in what direction I had taken flight, they left it alone, but if they had caught me they would without doubt have made me seek out the red slaves who had escaped. The reason why I was obliged to fly was that I had gone with my surgeon to a house standing some 20 paces from the fort for some business. The French had meanwhile approached from below through the sugar-canes without our knowing anything of it, and were 60 feet from me when they all stood up and rushed upon the house in which I was. When we first became aware of them they stood on the path by which I must needs return to the fort, so that I could not reach the fort, but to my vexation was obliged to betake myself to flight. A few days after this I left again for Bourona to inspect what was the state of things, because not otherwise did it appear whether they should have murdered everyone, since they had so many Caribs with them. But I found my people all still alive, and continued my sojourn with my people there, until I received a letter from the Commandeur of Essequibo telling how the French were in the River Berbice engaged in hostilities against the other settlements; whereupon I straightway determined with my people to hasten to Essequibo, since we besides had no provisions to live upon. The bread that the Caribs had left there, not cut level with the ground, was very little, so that we in a body have departed for Essequibo, since the people of Berbice had warned the people of Essequibo, that they firmly believed that the French would also make an attack on Essequibo. There are still some red slaves (who had fled before the French), all these same I shall seek to get hold of among the Indians. We have then carried ourselves over into the Company's service again in River Essequibo until further orders arrive from Y. N. I had thought to have set out for Surinam with the Company's red slaves, and sold the same there to the Company's profit; but hearing the French with seven royal ships of war were attacking Berbice, I was obliged at last to turn away from there without effecting anything, and to continue therefore my sojourn here still for a time.

The reason wherefore I have not written more to Y. N. is because that my Secretary Cornelis ter Bergh has been ill for a long time and unfit for duty, and on the 26th January last is deceased. I was also astonished in sixteen months to have had no letter from Y. N. or from the Chamber of Zeeland, nor to have got any assistance of any kind, so that I have needs been in lack of everything, and since the time does not permit greater length I shall, having made this sacrifice to my bounden duty remain,

My Lords, your Noblenesses' grateful Servant,
(Signed) JACOB DE JONGE.

Extract of Resolution, March 23, 1690, Amsterdam Chamber.

THAT as yet the Resolution of this meeting of the 15th November last ought to be adhered to, by which it was decided that there should be left in the just previously mentioned Colony of Pomaroon three men with a flag, in order to retain possession.

Extract from Regulations and Warnings issued by the Court of Policy.

THE Noble Heer Commandeur Samuel Beekman, with the Heeren Councillors of the same, charge all inhabitants for the service of the Noble General Chartered West India Company and the common weal to observe and bide by the following :—

Firstly, be it known to every one that we, to the greater convenience and interest of the inhabitants generally of this growing Colony, in order that the same, in case of buying or selling, should be able to be reached the more readily by others and get their fullest rights, have found it good and decreed, so as to cause a certain quantity of goods in the aforesaid Colony to be dealt in and brought into the market, that from now henceforth the rix dollar of Holland as well as Zealand shall be in circulation and have currency in exchange for three Caroly gulden the piece, and for all money specie, being in use in the mother country, proportionately at the rate of 20 per cent.

Secondly, every planter shall be sent to bring over a sufficient temporary supply of provisions to the fort, each one *pro rata*, to support the number of men which he will have to contribute among his own slaves in case of attack, or any other emergency.

Thirdly, it has been found good for the general welfare very shortly here at the fort to cause a new powder-house to be made with the slaves who will be used at the new fortifications of the same fort.

Fourthly, no planter shall be allowed to have a larger quantity of gunpowder under his control than 50 lbs., but having more under his control shall be bound to bring the same to the fort to be placed in the hands of the Noble Heer Commandeur, so that he may be able to avail himself thereof at all times of necessity, yet shall the free plantation, Oosterbeek, be exempt in this because the people up-country must be placed there, so as in default of sails in store, to protect the place and the up-lying plantations.

Fifthly, every one, as well the Company's military officers as Messieurs the planters, shall be bound to take good care that their arms and those of the servants dependent on them be at all times in a proper state, so as to be able to make use of the same in evil hap, and should the contrary be found on visitation, each offender shall pay a penalty of 25 Caroly gulden.

Sixthly, if it came to pass that any slave or slaves came to be maimed in the fortifying, or in the same service met with death, shall such slave or slaves be compensated out of the common purse.

And whenever certain signal shots shall be made by the outpost guard on the discovery of the enemy, shall it be the duty of every planter likewise to give warning the one to the other by a signal, and to continue such until report be made at the fort, on pain of death and confiscation of goods, and if the enemy came to approach in strength, shall the aforesaid signal shots be made with two following after one, and after the danger be experienced, shot on shot on shot be given, and two canoes shall at all times be obliged to be held in readiness so as with the larger one at once to come to the fort and make report, and with the smaller to give warning to Messieurs the planters of the situation of things; and if any vessels shall come to reconnoitre, it is most expressly forbidden that any one shall have to go over to such vessel or vessels, except only with all foresight with the view of hailing, so as to learn from where the same are coming and to discover their design, and at the same time as speedily as possible give information to the Noble Heer Commandeur. Also at time of attack (which God in His mercy forbid) shall the women and children of the whites, for their security, come and betake themselves on the Island Carria, under protection of twelve men, an officer, and four pieces of cannon.

Further, it is resolved and found good while awaiting these disturbances (which God in His mercy forbid) to restrain the granting of passports to sail to the River Orinocque as to the Island Trinidad, so as to forestall all mischief.

Every one shall be obliged, in case of alarm, to transport such a number of his slaves, as well negroes as red men, to the fort for defence as by Resolution of the 18th June, 1700, has been fixed. Mr. Christjaan Godlobb Uschner, not being included in aforesaid Regulation, is to send up also two negroes for the said object; a muster roll showing how and where each one shall be posted in case of attack shall without gainsaying be exactly observed; and no planter or servants of the same shall in this troublous time be allowed to sail up or down unless he is provided with a proper supply of fire-arms and, besides powder, lead for at least six shots, under penalty of 12 Caroly gulden every time an infringement of this shall be found.

The lighthouse shall in future be held by a sergeant and four soldiers, besides the necessary complement of slaves and vessels, hounds, &c.

And in order that no one without cause might be alarmed or made uneasy, it is found good that in the future no "santés" or healths, of whomsoever it should chance to be, may be given

with the discharging of any fire-arms, unless the Noble Heer Commandeur be present in person and give his consent to it, under penalty of 50 Caroly gulden. Item, two Commissaries shall every one or two months, or at least four times a-year, time undefined, be sent off to go and visit all plantations, and to give instructions to the new planters, to wit, those dwelling in Maseroene; the plantations lying in the river being the first district: since they find it good to divide the Company's river into two districts: as from the plantation Poelwijk down as far as Van Rump's Court. The second district is the River Essequibo, and stretches from the plantation Bosbeek to the plantation New Cortrijk.

And in order that these regulations be promptly observed and executed, every planter shall have an authentic copy thereof from the Secretary's Minutes to take and hang up in his vestibule for everyone's instruction.

Thus done and decreed at our Court's gathering held at Fort Kijkoveral, in River Essequibo, on the 5th July, 1701, and signed below.

(Signed)

SAMUEL BEEKMAN, *as Commandeur and Councillor.*

FRANCOIS DE MEIJ, *as Councillor and Secretary.*

LEENDERT VAN GENIS.

A. HOLLANDER.

B. HUTMAN.

H. BIERMAN.

The mark x of ANTHONY DIRKSEN LOOMAN.

The token () of JAN DE LATOMBE.

MATTHIJS THIERENS.

CHRISTJAANS GODLOBB USCHNER.

Collation made with the original has been found agreeing.

Quod attestor:

(Signed) FRANCOIS DE MEIJ, *Secretary.*

Published on the day aforementioned.

No. 25.

Extract from Regulations and Warnings issued by the Court of Policy on the 18th October, 1701.

THAT no one shall be permitted to depart out of this river, although he has obtained his demission and passport, without having his name first for the period of six weeks before, for the advertisement of every one, affixed to the gate of the fort, so that no one thereby should be able to be thrown behindhand or prejudiced.

No. 26.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company, 27th July, 1702.

(Extract.)

WHAT reasons have moved this gentleman thereto are not fully known to me, but my opinion is that to him it amounts to a heartache, that the congregation for the hearing of God's Word is so small, and frequently consists of from nineteen to twenty, nay, a less number of persons, of whom the largest number are Romish. The people from the plantations, as well as the Company's as the free, have also never any opportunity, because that they are situated too far from the fort to come up at all times, and whenever such does come to pass, they are without their masters besides almost all Papists. It were to be wished, and it is besides once again the humble prayer that in the sending out of the Company's servants, as well as of the free, strict regard should be taken, the which in this conjuncture of times is moreover very necessary.

No. 27.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Noble, Great, Honourable Gentlemen:

*At Fort Kijkoveral, in River Essequibo,
September 28, 1702.*

AS I have with great sorrow learnt from the letter of the Noble gentleman, Paulus van der Veen, Governor of the River Surinam, of the decease of His Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and since it might now easily turn out into a war, I have determined to bring the fort into a better state of defence against our enemies, who might come to take us by surprise, with which strengthening we, the 15th August last, have begun to make a start; but the free inhabitants hold themselves very ill-disposed and dissatisfied to be obliged to deliver slaves for the strengthening of a fort, by which, in case of need, they could not be protected, except only for the preservation of their life, through which I should not only be brought into enmity with the inhabitants, but with their masters themselves, which would be very unpleasant; therefore I earnestly beg your Noblenesses to

be pleased to have the goodness to write to me on the next opportunity, how much every free inhabitant in this Colony in such case shall have to contribute, so that I then after that may be able to issue orders.

I can no longer delay in making Y. N. acquainted with the great mortality of horses in this Colony, there being already almost 100 head dead through mange and other forms of sickness. That truly is a great loss to the Colony, the more so since the Spaniards will no longer permit any trafficking for horses on their territory, so that I shall be perforce compelled to make use of an English barque, or other vessels such as those which came in this river to go and fetch horses, or else Y. N. will be obliged to send out the same to me from the mother-country, because it is impossible to deliver sugar without horses, as Y. N. will be pleased to consider well.

I have, in conjunction with the Heeren Councillors, resolved that better care should be bestowed on the watch-house, principally because we at the present are living in an evil and anxious time, and we cannot know when our enemies will come; that the free inhabitants, planters in the Colony, shall be likewise obliged to watch in their turn, so as to take command as officers on the same watch-house for eight days at a time, the which will be twice for each one in a whole year, and, in my opinion, is a quite necessary thing, the more so because at the present moment I am quite weak in Company servants, as Y. N. out of the accompanying muster-roll will be pleased to observe. I am on that account begging Y. N. to be pleased to have the goodness to think over this, and to supply me on the first opportunity with some reinforcement, as well troops as workpeople, the same being much needed.

I am also making a friendly request to Y. N. to have the kindness to send me out a new Commission from the Noble Lords, the States-General, because that the old one has been almost destroyed by vermin, and I received the same in such condition from the late Heer Beekman, as likewise that henceforth all documents may be sent out to me, as Governor, in the manner which was decided in the Assembly in the mother-country in 1698; up to the date of this I have as yet received no documents from Y. N., as consigned to the Commandeur, and seeing that the Colony is daily increasing, I am therefore expecting that Y. N. be pleased to consent to this request.

I have likewise, Y. N., been obliged, through lack of provisions, ammunition, and men, to send the barque "Rammeken," on the 12th September last, to Surinam to the Heer Governor, Paulus van der Veen, to beg there that he would furnish me on loan with twelve soldiers and some powder, on condition that so soon as I am better provided by Y. N. I shall again restore the aforementioned reinforcement and ammunition, and seeing that 3,000 lbs. of powder cannot be of great assistance, I shall hope it will not cause displeasure to Y. N., as being to the advantage and strengthening of this Colony. And since, Y. N., various horses of the inhabitants here have died, as also of the Noble Company, which loss has brought various of the aforementioned inhabitants in position of not being able with the approaching ship to pass a sufficient exchange for the fruition of their slaves, the which will amount to some eighteen or nineteen head, I have therefore taken the same for my account, and shall hope this will not be displeasing to Y. N. as being done with the best intentions. As to what further concerns the Colony, Y. N., besides the mortality among the horses, the same is still in a good condition, and I shall hope the same may daily prosper more and more. I shall at all times do my duty to the uttermost to bring about the same, with which breaking off, after having wished Y. N. all imaginable health and blessings, I shall always endeavour to remain,

Your Noblenesses' humble and willing Servant,
(Signed) SAMUEL BEEKMAN.

P.S.— *

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Likewise, Y. N., an English barque has just dropped into this river with the sad news that war has been declared on the 4th May last between England, Spain, and France, as well as between our State and the two Crowns, which, truly, is bad news. I am very busy bringing this fort into state of defence, as far as it can be done, against all attacks of the enemies, seeing that here one has daily nothing else to expect except to be attacked by them.

I get also, Y. N., with the aforementioned barque again a letter from a certain Jacob le Rouxo, living in Antigua, whereof, Y. N., I have already written in my previous despatch, who still would like well to come hitherwards with some friends to make plantations, if it should be that they could enjoy the following privileges: that they should not be holden to ship their sugar in the Company's ships, but in whatever ships they wished; that they should be able to send for merchandize out of their own country to dispose of here; that they should be allowed to plant on their plantations everything, whatever the soil can bring forth, as sugar, dye, &c.; that they should be able to pay for negroes, whom they might come to buy from the Company, with either money or sugar; in fine, in none of these things did they wish any restrictions to be placed on them, saying that otherwise no free people could continue in this Colony, on which then per next despatch I shall expect an answer from your Noblenesses.

Inclosure in No. 27.

Muster-roll of all Retainers, as well High as Low Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors, Workpeople being at present in the Service of the General Chartered West India Company for the Zeeland Chamber in the Colony of Essequibo, under the Direction of the Noble Heer Governor, Samuel Beekman.

(Extract.)

From the fort by sea, 30 mijls.	Postholders in River Demerary— Amos van Groenewegen, from Essequibo, Postholder (bijlegger). Cornelis Roseel, from St. Anne-ter-Muiden, Assistant (bijlegger).
From the fort by sea, 40 mijls.	Postholders in River Mahaicony— Pieter de la Reviere, from Curaçoa, Postholder. Joost Gerritsen Pick, from Gonda, Assistant.
From the fort, 4 days' sail.	Postholder in River Pomerook— Jan Debbont, from Ghent, Postholder.
From the fort, 6 weeks' journey by water.	Postholder in River Cayouni— Allart Lammer, from Meenen, Postholder.

No. 28.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

At Fort Kijkoveral, in River Essequibo, May 10, 1703.

BE it known likewise to your Noblenesses that the Governor of Surinam, Paulus van der Veen, shows himself ill-disposed because that his traders here in our district, namely, Essequibo, Baumeron, and Demerary, were not permitted to trade. But they were thus forbidden because that our traders have no permission to be able to trade in this district, and should the same be generally permitted, then would the oriane trade in one or two years' time be brought to no price at all, the which, in my judgment, would entail great loss to the Noble Company. I have on these grounds judged it really necessary to inform Y. N. of it, because the Governor, Van der Veen, pretends with a high hand that he will seek permission thereto. It will further be quite necessary, if Y. N. be pleased to have the goodness, to have in every ship voyaging hitherwards a good store of clinkers and bricks, since we are here much embarrassed for the same.

Noble, Great, Honourable, my right paramount Sirs,
Your Noblenesses' obedient and willing Servant,
(Signed) SAMUEL BEEKMAN.

No. 29.

Muster-roll of all Persons on the Establishment, &c., in the Colony of Essequibo under the Direction of the Noble Heer Governor Samuel Beekman, June 19, 1703.

(Extract.)

Lying from the fort 30 mijls by sea.	Postholders in River Demerary— Amos van Groenewegen, Postholder. Cornelis Roseel, of St. Anne-ter-Muiden, Assistant.
Lying from the fort 90 mijls by sea.	Postholders in River Maycoene— Pieter de la Reviere, of Curaçoa, Postholder. Joost Gerritsen Pick, of Gonda, Assistant.
Lying from the fort 9 days' sail by sea.	Postholder in Pomerook— Jan Debbont, of Ghent, Postholder.
Up in the Savannah, 6 weeks' sail.	Postholder in Cayouni— Allart Lammers, of Meenen, Postholder.

Making out in the whole seventy-two persons scattered far and near, as your Noblenesses will be pleased to observe here above, this Colony before the revolt of the negroes and Indians being not easily guarded by less than 100 military.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Noble, Great, Honourable Heeren,

*At Fort Kijkoveral, in River Essequibo
July 27, 1703.*

MY previous despatches to your Noblenesses by the ship "Abraham's Offerhande" and by the ship "De Jonge Jan" were sent on the 10th May and the 9th June last. I hope Y. N. will have received the one safely wherein I have notified the desertion of the watch-house in this Colony by the former sergeant, Conrad Carsten, of Brunswick, and three other soldiers, named Thomas Janke, of Breda, Jan Purijs, and Louis Pieterse, both of Antwerp, as also that I had dispatched the free planter and Councillor of this Colony, Bernardus Hutman, with a manned canoe to search for the deserters and to seek to take them prisoners.

The aforementioned Heer Hutman has pursued after these men with all diligence, and arriving before a creek named Moera, in the River Waynij, being a spot where the deserters assuredly must pass, stayed there for six periods of twenty-four hours, lying by night in the creek, and by day outside at drag anchor, when the sixth period of twenty-four hours was expired; then the aforementioned Heer Hutman resolved again to go up and sail to meet the deserters, knowing that at that time they have not yet passed, having but a small courier-boat, but as soon as the drag was out of the ground, one of the Indians cried out, "I see a courier-boat!" whereupon the aforementioned Heer Hutman made all the white men and negroes that he had with him sit down low in the canoe, leaving the Indians alone standing up, so as to give no evil suspicions. The aforesaid courier coming nearer, Heer Hutman perceived that it was the rascals, and allowed the same to come up within a pistol shot, according to his imparted instructions, when he sprang up, crying out, "Rascals! yield yourselves prisoners," the which caused them such astonishment, that the aforementioned sergeant was not in a condition to let off his firelock, which he had duly loaded, but turned his course thereupon towards the wood, which Heer Hutman seeing, he pursued after them in the direction of the shore, when the deserters sprang into the water and swam for the land; but the people of Heer Hutman were too quick for them, and took them all four prisoners, and brought them to the canoe, so that Heer Hutman has had the good fortune of delivering up all four here at the fort, whereon, Y. N., I immediately caused the Council to be summoned, the which being come to the fort, we have the aforementioned sergeant and soldiers interrogated, who of their own free will acknowledged everything, as Y. N. in the accompanying confession will be pleased to observe, being subscribed by all four of them.

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(Signed) SAMUEL BEEKMAN.

P.S.—The soldiers last sent, Y. N., have been very bad and incapable, I therefore earnestly beg Y. N., with the next ship coming here, to be pleased to provide me with some brave fellows, and to make up the number of the Company's servants in this Colony to 100 heads, without which these rivers will not be easy to protect against attack or revolt of the negroes or Indians.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

At Fort Kijkoveral, August 10, 1704.

I AM sorry, Y. N., that the enlargement and improvement of Fort Kijkoveral is not pleasing to you, seeing that the same is of great advantage, especially the new bastion, which has been made to it along the river, the same being built up with squared stones, the walls of it are full 16 feet high, and between 4 and 5 feet broad, so that Y. N. can well understand for what purpose the lime should go, which I mentioned in my previous despatch, likewise that it is impossible in time of war properly to defend a fort without troops. The lime can easily be made here in case English vessels should chance to arrive here with limestone from Barbadoes.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Fort Kijkoveral, June , 1706.

I MUST also inform Y. N. that on the 28th April last thirteen young negro creoles, whom I made use of as traders for the Company and in other ways, have run away up above the falls in Cayuni with two of their wives. I have therefore sent after them the sergeant with a well-manned vessel, but found it impossible to get within sight of them, since there are so many passages in the falls and between the islands. They have, however, been under the great fall, and there learnt from the Caribs that the creoles had been there, and had given out that they were obliged to go right up country in order to cut planks there by my orders, and that they intended to descend again in fourteen days. I have then as speedily as possible sent to the sea-side to bring up the three aged fathers of the same, who were staying there to salt some fish, although it was out of season, who came up quickly, and were very grieved to hear such news of their children. Wherefore Big Jan, who is blind through age, and two others, namely Old Sam and

Dane, were sent up to see if they can find the runaways, in order to persuade them with kind words, and so bring them back home. With them I have also sent a free Malack, named Jan Pietersen, who is a good interpreter and acquainted with the ways there, having agreed to give him 40 Caroly guildens for his journey. The 12th of this month of June the said Jan Pietersen has again come down, reporting that he has found four of the runaways overland in Penoeny,* who said to him their wish was never to come to the fort, but to make their way further into the Savanna, since, as they pretend, they are obliged to do too much work, always an excuse of idle fellows; the others have travelled further up the Cayuni, also to the Savanna; Old Sam and Dane are still after them, of whom I still expect news later.

No. 33.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Fort Kijkoveral, July 30, 1706.

THAT the Company's horses purchased up country in Cayuni should always die, and the horses belonging to private individuals never, is but a false tale of a party of scoundrels, who could never prove it, for I can assure Y. N. it frequently happens in descending the River Cayuni that the horses of private individuals die as well as those of the Noble Company, there being no trickery in the world towards Y. N. in this matter.

No. 34.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Fort Kijkoveral, July 2, 1707.

HEREBY Y. N. will to-day have sufficient materials for learning that if the indigo succeed the Slave Trade will have a considerable stimulus, since there must needs many slaves work at the same. I cannot but think that Y. N. will have, in accordance with written advice, equipped a vessel, at any rate; I am looking for this with expectation. The planters, also, will not be obliged to make use of the lands along the rivers and creeks, as must be done in the sugar planting, but can go so far in to cultivate the land, as they shall dispose of, since the indigo, with slaves or horses, will be able to be carried out in sacks, the which will give a powerful encouragement to the planters, as well the Company's as the free; and also there is the means to bring any land, whether above or below the falls, under indigo cultivation, since in the transport it is subjected to no tricks like the sugar, and it is more particularly to be noted it can be stowed into a vessel capable of descending the falls, all which foregoing, Y. N. will be pleased to understand, tend to profit and to secure the further building up of this Colony.

I have likewise thought, Y. N., of submitting to you whether it were not right necessary to lay a toll on the traders from Berbice, who traffic on the Orinoco for vessels, balsam, red slaves, and cacao, in the Rivers Marocco and Pomeroun, viz., for a new canoe, 3 f., for a corial 1½ f., for a red slave 6 f., for all merchandize that was weighed or measured the twentieth penning, because it is impossible to do without vessels, and nowhere are they to be got but in Orinoco, on which proposal I shall await the opinion of Y. N.

No. 35.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

January 23, 1708.

THE Company's ship "De Stad Morschouw," which foundered in the neighbourhood of Pomeroun, has markedly strengthened this river with her surviving negroes, yet the successful attempting of sugar-cane is demanding an undeniably greater number of slaves, as Y. N. will be so good as observe from my previous despatch written to Y. N., also likewise the need of horses, through lack of which much sugar stands spoiling in the fields.

As regards the importation of slaves for this river, as the late Commandeur Beekman has written about it, I should not yet be able to give Y. N. any special counsel, seeing that in this grievous war-time private individuals have no desire to cumber themselves with more slaves, the which would not be advisable, since the enemy can at all times enter the river and set fire to and ruin the greatest part of the plantations, because it is impossible for the fort to protect them, as it is situated too far off. In fine, Y. N., it is my intention to break up the Company's plantation named Westersonburgh so soon as the sugar which now stands in the fields be cleared off, and to distribute the slaves and the animals as well among the other three until such time as I shall come to understand from Y. N. whether I shall make of it a plantation in Cayuni or Mazaruni, where there is land enough, as then I should come to have it under my protection.

* I.e., Rupununi probably.

As regards the tolls in Marocco and Pomeroon, of which the Heer Beekman has spoken in his letter, in brief it is not for Y. N.'s service to insist thereon, for such could not be properly carried out, especially the expenses of doing it could not be repaid, so that it is my opinion that as a project of Heer Beekman for the profit of Y. N. it would have been but imaginary.

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The enemy being gone I have consulted with the Council what would be the best course to adopt to make this Colony secure, were it practicable, against the enemy, whereupon the most were of opinion that a stronghold might be made on Stamfers Island, others again on Vlaggen Island, or even above this on Paepen Island, whereon then I asked whether such a stronghold could be protected by a small number of people. They gave me answer, by nine. But such a resolution implied that this fort should be stripped of its people, and that all should betake themselves thither, to which I have not been able to agree, and also am of opinion that the present Fort Kijkoveral should be kept and defended as long as is possible, if that Y. N. should be pleased to give instructions to fortify the river lower down as far as practicable, the which, in fact, is highly necessary in this critical conjuncture, because without that I consider the greater number of the plantations lost before that one receives the news that the enemy are in the river.

No. 36.

F. Hautenaar to Commandeur, Essequibo.

(Extract.)

December 15, 1708.

COULD I but have the good fortune of personally having a personal conversation with Y. N., I would proceed to make further explanations as to what considerable profits this River Cayuni should be able to return to Y. N.

No. 37.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

September 6, 1709.

IN the afternoon a Prince's flag [Royal ensign] is seen flying on Simieij, whereupon I at once sent Jan Anthenissen thither with a canoe. On his return he brought to the fort the Postholder of Wackepaw, together with about fifty Indians, who reported that on the 24th, in the creek of Warwereijkowrij, they had been busy with the enemy, killed various of them, and by guess wounded some forty, which news, as may be understood, gave great satisfaction to me and other friends. Next day the aforesaid Postholder, P. de Blaake, returned again with all the Indians, after having enjoyed a reward for their services, to his Post with orders at the next full moon to report himself with the aforesaid Indians at the fort.

No. 38.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 13, 1710.

THE Colony begins again, God be thanked, to get into a tolerable state, as five factories are in good order and do steady work, namely, those of Y. N. on the plantation Poelwijk, and ditto of Heer Bate on the plantation Westerbeek, and ditto of Mr. P. Tollenaar on the plantation Haaj en Drooj, and ditto of the Heer Jan de Latouche on the plantation Cortrijk, and ditto of Mr. Abraham Buisson and Co. on the plantation 't Hof van Holland; and, since the departure of Captain Jacob Volle, a factory is on the point of being built on Y. N.'s new plantation, named Duinenburgh, here, right opposite the fort and towards Cayuni; there the planter is Mr. Frans Cantenaar; being a pleasant place, which I have expressly allowed to be cleared, so as to avoid the unhealthy air in Cayuni and the accidents the slaves are liable to through the multitude of rocks; and, lastly, so as to have the plantation so much the more under control, as the slaves wished to cut some capers on hearing of the enemy. I hope Y. N. will approve what I have done.

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The balsam (maraen) trade likewise is worth support and cultivation, whereto I will exert myself to the utmost. I have appointed for this object a responsible person, one of Y. N.'s oldest servants, named Jan Anthenissen, since he is a trusty and wide-awake young man, on whom one can and may rely. . . . After the departure of the "Prins van Orangue" he intends going shortly to Orinoco to see if he can again bargain for a good quantity of balsam oil, as he was lucky enough to do before the arrival of the ship, obtaining over 700 stoops, which will be forwarded to Y. N. by Captain Volle.

No. 39.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 31, 1712.

CONCERNING the 600 to 700 stoops of balsam (oil), of which I spoke in my former despatch that I would have in readiness with this same merchandize, I am obliged, to my vexation, to say that this past year not a single pound has been procured for the Noble Company, since they in Orinoco had all at once prohibited the traffic in it to the Hollanders, these changes having come to pass with the arrival of a new Governor at Trinidad, who, with this object, has caused several manned vessels to cruise in the River Orinoco, so as to confiscate and bring in as good prizes all Dutch vessels who should wish to come thither; that has forced me to put a stop to the journey, since of necessity I dared not hazard and put in danger on such like a journey the Company's cargoes, slaves, vessels, and other goods, the which I hope Y. N. will take well; yet some, however, have undertaken to send thither with small vessels, but at how great risk! But at the present moment the traffic is again free, so that shortly I shall send thither, as before, a proper vessel, and I think that next year I shall have about 600 stoops ready for the Noble Company.

No. 40.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 19, 1713.

ON the 7th January of this year there came two Indians out of Wacquepo to me here, delivering to me a letter dated the 2nd of the same month, whereby the Company's Postholder, Pieter de Blake, gives an account of how he was, the 30th December, 1712, attacked at the Post by about twenty-five enemies—French, Spaniards, mulattos, and others—yet that he, with the "whites" he had with him, being four persons strong in all, had three times driven them off and chased them away, whereon they called out that they will keep New Year with him, but have not appeared. The aforementioned persons have in this action acquitted themselves splendidly, and the enemy got several wounded, without that one has been able to know how many, since they carried them off in all haste to their vessel, the which the Indians say to have been a barque, which had remained before the mouth of the River Pomeroon, doing no other damage except burning some Indian houses and destroying or taking with them some canoes. On our side no one was wounded except the aforesaid Postholder with a poisoned arrow. . . . This is the second time this person has given splendid proofs of good courage.

No. 41.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 31, 1713.

BUT as regards the balsam oil, the same has, together with the trade in red slaves, according to the direction of the Noble Chamber of Zeeland, been first forbidden by me to the inhabitants of this Colony on the 24th July in the past year . . . since this trade has been permitted to the free [inhabitants] because that it took place outside the district of the Noble Company, and was but carried on solely on Spanish ground in the River Orinoco, where likewise trade was done by the inhabitants of the Colonies of Berbice and Surinam.

No. 42.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

January 6, 1714.

IN the month of September of the past year I received information through an Indian that a certain Christoffel Berkenbosch some little time before had asked for a passport to trade for vessels in Orinoco. There, against the orders given and the prohibition made, he had known how to get ten pairs red slaves and three casks of balsam oil, wherewith he intended to make his way to Surinam, but through severe illness as he was returning had been compelled to land near the River Pomeroon. I immediately sent orders to the Postholder in Wacquepouco to arrest the said person and his merchandize, so they could be got, and to bring them to the fort, which order was promptly carried out. The goods being come into our power have been confiscated to the profit of the Noble Company.

No. 43.

West India Company to Commandeur, Essequibo.

(Secret.)

May 1, 1714.

WHEREAS we have seen and remarked in the maps that in the River of Essequibo there is situated a river or water which takes its course inland, and extends without interruption to the Lake of Parima, or Rupowini as it is named, which is very famed for its richness in gold, and near

which Lake of Parima also not far off is situated the so-called place Manoa El Dorado, or the gold town, where, as also in the whole region of Guiana traversed by the aforesaid river, there are very many gold and silver mines and a considerable quantity of the dust and minerals can be found.

We have accordingly resolved once both to make an experiment and to take a proof to proceed up the aforesaid river, which we trust can well be done since it appears to us to be navigable and deep enough at least to be traversed with flat-bottomed vessels, and then to find out whether possession might not be obtained at the aforesaid places either by establishing trade or business with the owners or natives of these places, or by obtaining the same by means of goods and merchandize: such conquests and profits to be made and found for the Company.

Abstract of Annex to No. 43.

Instructions or information to Peter Van der Heyden Rezen, Commandeur of Essequibo, with reference to the Secret letter of the Honourable the Directors of the Chartered West India Company in Secret Committee, May 1714.

1. Choose a leader acquainted with the language of Indians.
2. Provide flat-bottomed boat; party of four or five.
3. Goods for traffic—victuals.
4. Leader to keep a journal
5. And to take notes
6. Concerning Indians, nature of ground, and minerals.
7. To treat all comers civilly and make friends.
8. Make particular description of Lake Barima and of Manoa El Dorado.

Paragraph 9.—And when the aforesaid persons shall have come to the capital of Lake Parima and also to the gold city they must behave very circumspectly, and must inform themselves of all that is remarked for the commando and the direction, and shall try to see and speak to the Chief of the place, if that may be feasible, and under constraint address themselves to the other notables.

10. To establish friendship and barter goods for gold and silver.
11. To give presents to the Headmen.

Paragraph 12.—The aforesaid persons shall, if they are admitted into strongholds, take careful though apparently idle notice of the strength of the places and of the number of the inhabitants, as also with what nations or men they trade, and whether they be free men or vassals of others, and if in the latter case, under whose sway they stand.

13. Their religion, weapons, police, &c.

Paragraph 14.—If also decent possession in their land should further be taken of them, and if we should be able to keep the possession, and what would be required for that object.

15. To ascertain what other minerals besides gold and silver the land produces; what fruits, agriculture, &c.

16. What sorts of European goods are most in demand.
17. To get permission to dig and ascertain what mines exist.
18. To obtain from natives information as to likely spots for trial diggings.
19. Full report of voyage to be sent to Directors.

No. 44.

Memorial to the Directors of the West India Company of the Zealand Chamber.

PRESSING difficulties compel those who are distressed to look out for proper remedies in order to prevent them; in this condition the undersigned free settlers of the Colony Essequibo in America find themselves compelled to take the freedom to trouble your Noblenesses with the following representation, trusting that you will favourably consider the same, and will grant its requests.

It is now nearly five years since we have been prohibited by the Heer Commander Pieter van der Heijden, acting under the orders of Y. N. from trading, as well within as without this Colony in Red Indian slaves, balsam, &c.; through which prohibition we find ourselves deprived not only of the advantages the said business, however small, would have been able to bring to us, but further must see the profits, which were to be expected therefrom, accrue before our eyes to our neighbours, to wit, the colonists of Surinam and Berbice, and seeing that it has pleased Y. N. to make a prohibition of such a character take effect, we trusted that it, through the serious recommendation of our aforesaid Heer Commandeur, would have been suspended, so we take the liberty, Y. N., simply and directly to show how little advantage it is for the Noble Company that the aforesaid prohibition continues to remain, how much prejudice we suffer therefrom, and how it favours the inhabitants of Surinam and Berbice, and also encourages them to push on the business more and more to their profit.

Your Noblenesses are well aware that it is permitted to those of the said provinces to traffic in everything they can get, nothing else is left for us than the bartering for Indian vessels, canoes, and corials, and occasionally some hammocks or cacao from the Spaniards in Orinoco; so that we are restricted in a river, which is outside the territory of the Noble Company, where the same

has no more power than a private merchant, which is in Spanish possession, and where the commonest person of our neighbours is allowed to carry on trade in anything that he pleases, as well as the Noble Company, without exception from what place they come. Y. N. are also aware (or at present we suppose so) that Orinoco is a river which is accounted as the property of the King or Crown of Spain, which is consequently the nation their master, and whenever a vessel from Essequibo (we represent the matter truthfully) be now come in Orinoco, whether it be for trading in vessels or otherwise, and likewise a canoe out of Surinam or Berbice find itself there, and that according to the fashion of the Indian traffic one of these Indians with some of his wares (whether it be slaves, balsam, or anything that for us is contraband, and nevertheless to those of our aforesaid neighbours is allowed), be come alongside of the Essequibo canoe (to which be it said without flattery they also sell more eagerly partly because they have better cargo, partly because they are able to come to an agreement with us more peaceably), then are our settlers obliged to answer the Indians that such merchandize can not be traded in by them, thus sending them back to the Surinam canoe; in consequence against their will they are obliged to contribute to the profits of the same, or otherwise the French and English barques know well how to pass up. Yet further, whenever a canoe, be it of Surinam or Berbice, having set sail, has in the neighbourhood of this river or elsewhere met any free Indians who have red slaves for sail, they buy the same in, yes, bring the purchased slaves within the river, deliver them to one or another of our inhabitants, proceed on their voyage, traffic in the Rivers Marocco, Weijne, Barima, Pomeroon, Orinoco, Trinidad, and wherever it is convenient to them, aim at the greatest profit, and when they have got everything they can in repassing, take in again their slaves that they had left here, and push on their journey to Surinam, being well pleased that the Essequibo inhabitants were oppressed by those who ought to protect them and their gains (from which honour the Noble Company can make no profit) taken away and driven into the Surinam purse. That which relates to their business presents itself to us very painfully, seeing that the Indians get just as good payment in cargo, no matter with whom they deal, yet they of Essequibo are much the best supplied, and being the nearest situated have always before the prohibition been on the most friendly terms with them.

We cannot so far comprehend what is the object of Y. N. in prohibiting the business to us, seeing that you cannot hinder those from Surinam and Berbice—yea, not even French, English, and other foreign nations—it appearing to us as if Y. N. wished to place the yoke on our neck alone, because, so long as Essequibo has been in European hands, there cannot be any instance shown that the inhabitants of this Colony alone were restricted so as not to be able to carry on this traffic, &c.

Y. N.'s very obedient servants, the free settlers of the Colony of Essequibo in America,

(Signed) A. HOLANDER (and others).

In River Essequibo, May 24, 1717.

No. 45.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 9, 1717.

SO is it also with a certain gum, named agoune, to be found in the River Essequibo, a cask full of which I am likewise sending as a specimen. This is possibly the same gum whereof Y. N. were pleased to make mention. I have most strongly recommended the Postholders of Wacquepo, of Demerary, and of Maycoene to learn among the Indians with whom they traffic, whether there be any other gums to be got whereof to make future essay.

No. 46.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

September 22, 1718.

ON the 1st and 4th August there have by my orders been seized by Herman Winkler (the sergeant), from a certain Surinam trader, named Hans Pieter Widdrigh, thirty-one red slaves, both great and small, two cases, a cask, and twenty-four calabashes of balsam oil, brought here by the same out of Orinoco, pretending distress for the purpose of supplying himself with water and bread for pursuing his journey to Surinam, being the old trick which they use in order to dispose of a part of their slaves here, and then to make a real Blankenburgh reckoning with their principals in Surinam. He was properly provided with a pass on Orinoco, but not longer than for a period of ten to twelve months at the outside, but he has spent there fully twenty-one months, so as to play his part the better. When in Orinoco he has had the hardihood to wound a free Indian badly in the head with an axe, to bind him hand and foot, and so to fling him into his canoe; but fearing that for this he might be attacked by the other Indians, he let him loose again; the Surinam guests performing such pranks would be cause that serious hostilities might break out with the natives there.

*Extracts from the Minutes of the Court of Policy held in Essequibo.**September 5 and 6, 1723.*

THE Councillor and assistant, Johannes Keyts, has petitioned the Court, in the name and on behalf of Mr. Henriques van Genée, Councillor of the town of Axel, also receiver of taxes in the Province of Zeeland, for permission to enjoy, without prejudice to the Honourable Company, 300 roods of land in Cajoeny, reckoned along the river before the opening, and to be allowed to clear the ground for that distance in an inland direction as far as it may be possible; which permission was unanimously granted him.

The head surgeon, Laman, has asked for permission to lay out a cassava plantation right opposite Dronkeman's Eyland, for his own use; 1,000 paces bushwards, and not along the river, was granted him.

Jan Batiste, Postholder in Wacquepo, asked for an increase in his wages; and it having been stated that he was a faithful servant, and that this Post, being of great advantage to the Company, could not be without a good superintendent, it was unanimously decided that from the 1st of this month his wages should be raised from 14 to 16 guilders, subject to the approval of your Lordships.

* * * * *

October 19, 1723.

It having been proposed by the Commandeur in Court that it was highly necessary to send two equipped boats up in the falls of Essequibo for a month, with three or four Christians, in order to keep an eye upon the Maganouts, since evil reports were daily heard from that nation, and they caused continual disturbance and trouble in this river, it was to-day resolved to send thither four Christians, with two equipped boats, with strict orders to keep a sharp look-out, and to give information immediately they detected any treason.

* * * * *

January 9, 1724.

The Commandeur proposed to lay out another coffee plantation for the Honourable Company (above the cassava plantation already laid out in Cajoeny), and to make each of the Company's plantations send two male slaves for that purpose, which was fully approved by the Court.

No. 48.*The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.*

(Extract.)

March 23, 1724.

THERE are at present on the cassava and coffee plantation in Cajoeny under the management of Jan ver Eyke more than 7,000 coffee shrubs, which are all thriving well, and at the corner of Barritique there are about 2,000. A new coffee plantation has also been laid out in Cajoeny, half-an-hour above that of your Lordships'; it will be properly burnt out, cleared, and planted with coffee shrubs.

No. 49.*Commandeur in Essequibo to West India Company.*

(Extract.)

March 26, 1724.

WITH the consent of the Court, I have this season also had a new clearing made for a coffee plantation in the River Cajoeny, about half-an-hour above the cassava plantation, where the ground had been found to be very good.

No. 50.*The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.*

(Extract.)

June 15, 1724.

THE plantations belonging to your Lordships are all in a very fair state, and the growth of the coffee is, thank God, flourishing well. It is computed that both in Cajoeny and at Barritique there are about 15,000 coffee shrubs, which are all in very fine condition, and that we have fully an equal number, which will be transplanted thither as soon as they are ready.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Court of Policy held in Essequibo on August 16, 1724.

The Court received a Report from the Indian Jackannarie that the Magnouw nation had killed all the Caraibans and Acuways they could get hold of, and that those whom they captured alive they sold at other places, he (Jackannarie) having himself been wounded, and having escaped with great difficulty out of their hands; he further reported that that nation intended to come and kill the Christians and ruin this river at the first opportunity, he (Jackannarie) believing that the Magnouws would remain in the cassava plantations of the Caraibans until a fit opportunity presented itself for carrying out their undertaking. It being impossible to place any reliance upon such reports, it was resolved, upon the advice of four of the principal Colonists, to send the following men, with proper slaves and boats, up the river to investigate the matter.

The said Frederick Pool was commanded to proceed with the aforesaid men and slaves as far as the old place of the Indian Commare, of which, and other cassava plantations, the Magnouws have, according to report, taken possession, and, on finding the same, to shoot them all down, and to destroy all the cassava which might be there, which having been done, he (Frederick Pool) was to come back to this river with his people, and take good care that no disorder was anywhere done, the Court finding it necessary to draw up these instructions since the Acuways and Caraibans who have been killed, and are under the protection of this river, are a source of great advantage to the same, being frequently sent up above, salting, by the Honourable Company and by the colonists, it being, moreover, a great and insufferable insult for Christians to be told by heathens that they were coming to kill them.

No. 52.

Minutes of the Court of Policy held in Essequibo on September 3, 1724.

AFTER invoking the name of God, the Commandeur Laurens d'Heere informed the Court that, according to reports received, the Magnouw nation were killing all whom they could lay hands on up in Essequibo, and that they were driving away all other nations who were our friends. His Honour maintained that it was very necessary for the protection of the whole Colony to extirpate and annihilate these rebels if possible. This having been taken into consideration, it was unanimously agreed to order Jan Batiste, the Postholder at the Company's trading-place, Wacquepo, to come up the river about the beginning of next month, December, with as great a force of Indians, well armed with bows and arrows and the necessary ammunition of war, as he shall be able to collect, and that he shall be ordered by the Commandeur and Court to proceed against the said Magnouws, and to kill or capture all he can find, on the condition that for each head which he and his men take they shall receive two large axes, and for every slave taken and brought here as much in cash as such slaves are worth in public sale.

Resolved and concluded in our Court.

(Signed)

LAURENS D'HEERE.
(And Councillors.)

No. 53.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy held in Essequibo on January 31, 1725.

THE Commandeur declared that diverse and doubtful reports are daily received concerning the Magnouw nation, and that attention should be paid to the matter, whereupon it was resolved to send two proper soldiers to the plantation Nieuw Cortrijk on behalf of the Company, with orders to keep a good look-out, together with the other soldiers, and to be careful with their arms, which have been abundantly given them for defence; and in case of treason they are ordered to give immediate information to Mr. Van der Kaay, as well as to the nearest plantation, which is Oosterbeek, and which shall further be obliged to send immediate warning to the Commandeur, and to give these soldiers a 3-pr. and ammunition, this being considered necessary since the Magnouws must first pass there if they wish to come by water and injure this river.

(Signed)

LAURENS D'HEERE.
(And Councillors.)

No. 54.

The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

ON the 22nd September, 1725, we sent two creoles up the River Essequibo for the purpose of buying balsam, and they having brought down a small quantity on the 25th February of this year, and the greater part of the cargoes remaining outstanding, they again departed up the river on the 18th March, to obtain payment for the same, but up to the present they have not returned, and are daily expected.

August 4, 1726.

On the 14th March Jan Batiste and Hendrik van der Win were sent to Orinocque to buy the aforesaid [balsam] and also red slaves, and were given a letter to the Governor of that river, as your Lordships will see from the Minutes of that date and their instructions sent herewith; up to the present, however, we have received no tidings from them.

The coffee plantation in Cajoeny bearing at present 22,000 shrubs, your Lordships can well imagine of what dimensions the ground must be to hold such a quantity (every shrub being planted 7 feet from the next).

The grounds in Cajoeny being better for this culture than any in the Colony, we shall, on the receipt of fresh slaves, be compelled to transplant thither all the coffee from the corner of Barritique (which will not grow there, and is much damaged by ants).

Inclosure 1 in No. 54.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy held in Essequibo on March 3, 1726.

THE Court having taken into consideration the fact that Jan Batiste had up to the present been prevented from going to Orinocque for want of bread, and that this was now ready, it was resolved to send him off to-morrow to see whether he could obtain permission from the Governor to proceed up the said river to buy maraen balsam, and slaves, to facilitate which permission the Commandeur was to write to the aforesaid Governor of Orinocque, and send as a present by Jan Batiste a barrel containing 200 lbs. of sugar, 15 bottles of kiltum, 2 old cheeses, 10 dozen knives, and 10 branches of coral; and Jan Batiste, together with Hendrik van der Win, were ordered to follow their written instructions exactly.

Inclosure 2 in No. 54.

Copy of a Letter sent by the Commandeur to the Governor of Orinocque.

To the High and Mighty Governor of Orinocque, &c.

March 4, 1726.

OUR Lords and masters, the Directors of the Chartered West India Company, having ordered us to purchase in Orinocque some slaves and maraen balsam for their service here, we send two of their servants, named Jan Batiste and Hendrik van der Win, with some merchandize to buy the aforesaid slaves and maraen, but with special orders that they shall not enter upon such business without your Lordships' permission.

(Signed) LAURENS D'HEERE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 54.

Instructions for Jan Batiste and Hendrik van der Win.

(Extract.)

ARTICLE 2. The said Governor having read the letter, and the contents of the same having been interpreted to him, Jan Batiste shall ask his Honour for permission to go up the river for the purpose of buying slaves and maraen for the Honourable Company.

Article 3. Permission for this business having been granted by the Governor, Jan Batiste shall present the Governor of Orinocque with a barrel of sugar, 15 bottles of kiltum, 2 old cheeses, 10 dozen knives, and 10 branches of coral, in the name of the Commandeur of this Colony.

Article 4. But in case the Governor shall refuse his permission for the business aforesaid, and shall ask for the presents, Jan Batiste shall make a polite excuse, and inform him in the most civil manner that his orders are not to hand over the presents before he has obtained permission to go up the river and buy the said slaves and maraen.

Article 5. If the Governor persists in his refusal, Jan Batiste shall tell his Honour that he has orders to return, and to buy boats on the way back for the Honourable Company.

Article 7. Before his departure from Orinocque Jan Batiste shall take care that the thirty pieces of eight which are still owing there to the Honourable Company shall be paid in kind.

No. 55.

The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extract.)

September 5, 1726.

WE have received news to-day that Jan Batiste has arrived in Marocco from the Orinocque, and that he is about to proceed hither, but we are not yet informed how his journey has turned out, and trust that it may have been to the advantage of your Lordships.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy held in Essequibo on December 2, 1726.

IN October last the Commandeur informed the Court of his intention to proceed to the Post of Wacquepo, lying between Orinocque and this river, at the end of the aforesaid month, and to inspect the same in company with the Councillor and Secretary; knowing that the said Post lies far out of the ordinary course of boats which come hither through the inland waters, it was his intention to choose a fit place in the River of Marocco to which he might transplant the house and Post, since all vessels which come through the inland waters must pass that way. Everything having been closely examined by the said gentlemen, they decided that the fittest place was where the horse-dealers from Orinocque generally moor their boats in the river of Marocco (called in the Indian language Accoujere), it being possible to build a house there so close to the river side that a hand grenade can be thrown into the boats, the river being at its narrowest there. The unfortunate state of affairs in Europe having been taken into consideration, it was resolved to establish the house and Post of Wacquepo upon the aforementioned site as soon as possible, and thus have an opportunity of being kept well informed of the hostile boats that had any intention of coming to disturb this river, and so enable us to place ourselves in a position to resist the same.

No. 57.

The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

March 1, 1727.

ON the 16th September last Jan Batiste arrived here from Orinocque, and brought with him 200 stoops of maraen, two female slaves, and one child. The journey would have been more profitable if the expenses had not been so high, consequent upon the length of time it took.

We are sorry to be obliged to inform your Lordships that we find the coffee in Cajoeny will not yield a sixteenth part of that which it did last year, and that the shrubs at the corner of Barritique will bear no fruit at all.

* * * * *

At the end of August of last year twenty-three red slaves ran away from the plantation belonging to Pieter la Rivière to Orinocque, and he having sent his son there to claim them, but without any results, resolved to go there in person, but on arriving at the usual mooring place in that river he was attacked by a vessel flying the Spanish flag, and was unfortunate enough to be killed. Those with him begged for quarter, whereupon the Spaniards took all their merchandize, and told them that they had orders from the Governor of Trinidad to stop the trade in that river.

No. 58.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

September 26, 1727.

TURNING now, my Lords, to the matter of the River Essequibo, it is now about two years since I myself with Mr. van der Kaey proceeded up the river to find out whether it was not in any way possible to successfully set on foot some enterprise up above the falls, but we found the river very dangerous, so that in some places we were obliged to be drawn up in a corrial through the falls, with great danger to our lives. It is absolutely impossible to navigate the river with large boats, such as canoes, and it is equally impossible with barques, because above the plantation Nieuw Cortrijk there is fall upon fall. With regard to the land out there, it seems to me very good, but having inquired how high the water rose in those parts, it was pointed out to me in different places that it rose in the rainy season between 25 and 30 feet, so that nearly all the land is then under water, and there are also many great hills there which are nearly all rocky and very steep at the river side.

I have also carefully inquired, my Lords, what kind of trade might be done there with the Indians, and have up to the present not been able to discover any other trade but a little maraen which is brought thence, and sometimes a few red slaves. To this end two creoles went up the river only last year, who, having been out for seven or eight months, brought very little home. The only profit that this Colony derives from the River Essequibo is that the latter is very rich in fish, and is therefore visited annually both by the Company and by the private colonists for the purpose of salting, to which end two boats have again been prepared for your Lordships, which will be ready to depart in the month of October. I see no profit for your Lordships in sending any man up the river, because I can discover nothing of the savage nation.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy held in Essequibo on May 12, 1728.

THE Secretary. H. Gelskerke, having communicated to us a certain letter written by Jan Batiste from the Post in Wacquepo, and opened by him (the Secretary) in the absence of the Commandeur, in which information was given that the Spaniards of the Orinocque had with armed force taken possession of a Suriname vessel fishing in the neighbourhood of the aforesaid river, and having also received information from Barbadoes that there was great probability of a war:

It was resolved to reinforce the aforesaid Post of Wacquepo with two soldiers, and to direct Jan Batiste to keep the necessary beacons in order, so that we may receive the earliest information in case the Spaniards should send any armed vessels to this Colony in accordance with the rumours afloat. And in case the Post of Wacquepo should be attacked, the aforesaid Jan Batiste shall defend it to the utmost and immediately inform the Commander of such hostilities, the Secretary Gelskerke being hereby authorized, in the absence of the Commandeur, to give all the necessary orders for the accomplishment of the aforesaid.

Annex to No. 59.

Secretary Gelskerke to Jan Batiste, Postholder at Wacquepo.

May 13, 1728.

HAVING received your letter of the 7th of this month, in the absence of the Commandeur, I considered it necessary to communicate the same to his Honour and the other members of the Court, who resolved to reinforce your Post with two soldiers who are sent herewith.

In the name of the aforesaid Commandeur you are ordered to place proper beacons where such are necessary, so that we may be informed betimes should the Spaniards wish to send any vessels to this Colony to molest the same; and you are further ordered to give us immediate information by express of such matter. And in case the aforesaid nation might come and attack your Post unexpectedly, you shall defend the same to the utmost, and immediately inform us thereof by every means at your disposal, so that we may send you as much necessary assistance as is possible. You are expressly forbidden to meddle in the least in the matters of Marozé, or other similar occurrences, and still less are you to enter into any agreement with other nations to cause the Spaniards any annoyance, but, being attacked, it is always excusable to return blow for blow. These orders must be strictly observed, and you can regulate your conduct accordingly, and especially take care that we are informed of all occurrences as speedily as possible.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) H. GELSKERKE.

No. 60.

The Secretary in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 26, 1729.

REFERRING to the documents and papers sent your Lordships by this vessel, showing the state of your Lordships' property here, and referring also to the letter of the Court of Policy in this matter, I shall now proceed to inform your Lordships that for some years past your Lordships' slaves, as well as those belonging to the colonists, run away to Orinocque as soon as they think they have any grievance. There the Spaniards keep them, and will not give them up when we have claimed them. This makes them so insolent that measures have been devised to provide against this, and having been informed that the Governor of Trinidad was acquainted with the French language, the late Commandeur sent the accompanying letter to his Honour, but having up to the present received no reply, we shall see whether, by presents or by setting a price upon each slave, we shall not get them returned.

(Signed) H. GELSKERKE.

Inclosure in No. 60.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to the Governor of Trinidad and Orinocque.

February 27, 1728.

HAVING learnt that your Excellency is at present at the fort of Orinocque, I am very desirous of assuring your Excellency of my most humble respects, and of taking the liberty to inform you that several slaves belonging to the inhabitants of this Colony have dared to run away and to remain under your protection in the River Orinocque, refusing to return to their duty; and since amongst these deserters there are also some slaves belonging to my lords and masters the Honourable West India Company, and since the good understanding which reigns between His Catholic Majesty and their High Mightinesses the States-General requires to be kept reciprocally in the interests of their subjects, I beg most earnestly, Sir, that you may be pleased

to return by the bearer of this all the slaves who deserted from this Colony. For this we shall be deeply obliged to your Excellency, and will seek by every possible means to assure you of our gratitude. If your Excellency is so kind as to do this you will save us the trouble of making our complaints to our lords and masters, who will certainly find means of laying them, through the medium of their Ambassador in Madrid, before his Spanish Majesty, who, with his usual goodness, will certainly have justice done us.

If there be anything that can serve your Excellency in this Colony you may fully dispose of him who has the honour to be, very respectfully, &c.

(Signed) LAURENS D'HEERE.

No. 61.

*Proclamation made by the Commandeur, Essequibo, April 2, 1730.**

IT having been found by the Commandeur that divers inhabitants of this Colony allow trade to be carried on in the rivers of Masseroeny and Cajoeny through the medium of their slaves or free Indians whom they send out for that purpose, both for the exchange of red slaves and other things; and whereas those two rivers had for years past been kept for the private trade of the Honourable Company, each and every one is hereby expressly forbidden to carry on any trade in them under the penalty of confiscation of the vessels, slaves, and other goods, and the imposition of an additional fine of 50 Caroly guilders.

(Signed) H. GELSKERKE.

Rio Essequibo, Cartabo, April 2, 1730.

No. 62.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 30, 1730.

ON the 29th and 30th September I inspected the coffee plantations in Cajoeny both above and below the fall, and found many of the oldest trees withered, and most of them in a bad state, wherefore I ordered the Director Saigné to go and inspect the surrounding lands, and to have a new coffee and cocoa plantation laid out towards the next season in order to see whether it would not be possible to grow the last-mentioned fruit in Cajoeny (where the ground is best fitted for it).

On the 18th April last I engaged for your Lordships' service one Jan van der Meers, of Ostende, as foreman at the coffee plantation in Cajoeny, at a salary of 12 guilders per month. He has been in all the French and Spanish islands, and coming into this Colony about a few years ago he served as foreman with the ex-Councillor Teriens, and he assures me that he can make indigo as well as it is made anywhere on these islands, and I having expressed a desire to see a sample of this, a small piece of land in Cajoeny has already been cleared and sown with indigo, which is growing very prettily. He has been promised that if he succeeds to such an extent that the sample is approved by your Lordships, he shall be appointed Director of an indigo plantation at a fair salary.

The Director Saigné is at present engaged in laying out a new coffee plantation upon the Island Batavia, in Cajoeny, which, according to computation, will hold 4,000 or 5,000 coffee and 2,000 cocoa trees. . . . The ground seems to be very good, and I shall do everything in my power to cultivate the cocoa, even were it only sufficient to send your Lordships some for your own consumption.

(Signed) H. GELSKERKE.

No. 63.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 15, 1731.

I SENT your Lordships by Captain Daniel Bellein a small box containing a sample of the indigo made by Jan van der Meers. If your Lordships approve of the same, and are pleased to appoint him a Director, he has asked for a salary of 30 guilders a-month, adding that he will not serve for less, and that he must then also have all the provisions to which the other Directors have a right. I wish from the bottom of my heart that heaven might be pleased to bless this plant (as being the surest means of further populating this Colony).

(Signed) H. GELSKERKE.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy held in Essequibo, April 1, 1731.

ACCORDING to a report submitted by the Director of the coffee plantation [in Cajoeny], it was found that from December 1730 to February of this year he had planted 12,000 coffee shrubs and 200 cocoa trees in the new plantation.

The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 14, 1731.

CONCERNING the advantages of the trade in the rivers of Masseroeny and Cajoeny for the Honourable Company alone, this consists only in red slaves, and the order has been renewed because the veto was one kept up by all former Commandeurs. But most of the Indians having left those parts that trade is now of less profit, except for the orange dye. The plantation Poelwijk, lying up in the first-mentioned river, sometimes buys one or two red slaves in a whole year, but they are mostly children of about 8 or 10 years old, who are bought for about twelve or thirteen axes and choppers, together with a few provisions. The red slaves, too, cannot work together with a black slave, and are mostly used on the plantations for hunting and fishing, the women looking after the cassava for the daily consumption of the plantation. The great number of rocks which lie in these two rivers, and which occasion the falls by reason of the strong stream rushing over them, makes these rivers unnavigable for large vessels, wherefore it is impossible to establish any plantations there, although the soil is very well fitted for it.

The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 4, 1732.

WE are honoured with your Lordships' letter of the 19th July of last year from which we see that the sample of indigo sent for examination was found to be of common quality, and that in order to value it thoroughly at least 18 or 20 lbs. were required. This quantity we will try to send on the next occasion. A commencement has already been made to-day, and a clearing made and planted with indigo up in the River Cajoeny. The planter, Van der Meers, has been placed there, with twenty-two slaves, to proceed with the cultivation as speedily as possible, if the season permits of it. The said Van der Meers has assured us that the indigo of which a sample was sent to your Lordships is as good as that made in the West India Islands. We therefore hope that the cultivation may be attended with success. The materials and necessities required for this were received in good condition by the ship "Oosterbeek" as *per factura*.

The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

April 5, 1732.

CONCERNING the coffee, we have the honour to inform your Lordships that the greater part of the trees on the Island of Batavia are still in a thriving state; but the cocoa, being a very tender plant, much of this crop has withered and died. Every possible thing is done to further the success of these two articles, and we trust that Heaven will favour us with its blessing hereupon.

* * * * *

Captain van der Port will also hand your Lordships a small square box containing about 1 lb. of indigo. We think this will be sufficient to constitute a fair sample; meanwhile every effort is being made to further the cultivation of this plant, of which the indigo planter entertains fair expectations.

The Commandeur in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

April 5, 1732.

ON the 12th August of last year a beginning was made by nine negroes with cutting an opening for a new indigo plantation in Cajoeny, with making the houses for the negroes, and with all other matters required for the plantation at a place which the planter thought best fitted for the cultivation of the indigo. This opening being burnt at the beginning of October, was cleared of all the wood and rubbish on the 8th and following days, and indigo and cassava were then planted thereon. On going to inspect the newly-planted indigo on the 26th November, I found

it was coming up very nicely, but shortly afterwards quite two thirds of it was spoilt and carried away by the heavy rains. The fresh seed that was sown here has come up very slowly, but the indigo planter has hopes that the undertaking will turn out fairly well, which I cordially trust, and I assure your Lordships that nothing shall be left undone on my part to animate him further.

* * * * *

In order to attempt to carry out your Lordships' wishes concerning the cultivation of the trade with the natives inland (if such be possible), I thought it best to use one of your Lordships' servants and two creoles for this purpose, and considering that Jacobus van der Burg, who has salted for the plantation Poelwijk for many years in the falls, was best fitted for this purpose, because he was used to the climate, I sent him above the falls in Essequibo on the 15th October, 1731, with orders to go as far as he possibly could, to deal with the Indians in a most friendly manner, and further to see whether he could not induce any Chiefs to come here, so that I might talk to them myself by means of interpreters; but he not yet having returned I shall have the honour to report to your Lordships further on this matter at the proper time.

No. 69.

The Commandeur in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 21, 1733.

AT the end of April of last year Van der Burg returned from his journey up the river, and having found insufficient water in the creeks, on account of the long-continued drought, he was unable to go so far as he had been ordered, and was only able to salt some fish. In October he again departed, and is still up in the country, so that I can make no Report concerning his journey.

(Signed) H. GELSKERKE

No. 70.

The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

December 5, 1733.

IN reply to the orders given us by your Lordships to look out for fit grounds both for coffee and cocoa, we beg to reply that the coffee and cocoa plantation in Cajoeny having a fairly good soil for the cultivation of the aforesaid two commodities, all possible means are being employed there that can serve to further and increase the same, as your Lordships will see by the inventory of that plantation. But since we are not in a position to lay out new plantations for the further cultivation of the aforesaid two commodities with the number of slaves at our disposal here, seeing that the respective Directors regulate their work according to the slaves under them, we shall only be able to turn our attention for the present to the aforesaid plantation at Cajoeny, and further it as much as possible.

The sample of indigo sent herewith—but only prepared in a barrel because the pits were not yet made—could not, in the Director's opinion, have turned out better.

* * * * *

Every possible means is being employed here to cultivate the trade with the Indians, but the many branches in which the nation is split up, and the absence of good interpreters, are great obstacles to success, and there is no probability that we shall discover any gold or silver mines so long as your Lordships find no opportunity of sending some able miners here.

No. 71.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

June 8, 1734.

HIS Honour [the Spanish Governor of Oronoque] further gives me to understand that he has brought some troops to the Oronoque, and that he expects ten or twelve barques more with militia, whereof his Honour informs me, in order that there may be no uneasiness, or any the least apprehension, giving as reasons for this sending of so many troops to these frontiers, that he was persuaded by advices (received) that the Swedish nation were intending to found a colony in the River of Barima, lying between the Oronoque and your Honours' post at Wacquepouw, and he could not persuade himself that the Dutch nation would tolerate in their neighbourhood so proud and haughty a nation as the Swedes; he declared in good faith and open-heartedly that this was the cause of his arrival with so many troops, and he also earnestly requested me also to impart to his Honour any advices thereof I might have.

* * * * *

Considering it my bounden duty to inform your Lordships of these particulars, I have further the honour to submit to your Lordships' consideration—first, since the Spaniards are making themselves so formidable by the collection of a considerable number of troops, and we,

on the contrary, are very weak here, whether it would not be of the greatest necessity to send hither some reinforcements of militia, especially since the real object of the Spaniards is unknown to us. Secondly, if the Swedes undertake to try to establish themselves between the Oronoque and this Colony, on your Honours' territory, I should be obliged to try to prevent it, which, with the few soldiery that there are here, could hardly be attended with an expectation of success, and it will serve for your Honours' information on this subject that, after the departure of Captain Laurens Brander (who, in the year 1732, in the month of March, arrived in this river to provide himself with water and wood on the little ship the "Fortune of Gothenburg"), a rumour spread in this Colony that the said Captain Brander would again return in order to take possession in the River Barima of a tract of land which the King of Spain presented to the deceased Elector of Bavaria, who was Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and the Elector again had presented it to the King of Sweden; but concerning that, nothing until now has been undertaken. It appears to me that the Spaniards are using this as a pretext to conceal their real aim. They also are spreading rumours that new forts will be built for them, and then their mines are going to be opened. But all this is uncertain.

No. 72.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 3, 1744.

IT is very agreeable to me that your Honours have been good enough to approve the measures taken with regard to the deserters received. The desertion has not only cost your Honours much money, but in itself it constituted a clearly visible danger for this Colony, for had it remained unnoticed, their place of abode would have become a strong hiding-place for all the slaves who might have a desire to run away, for which only too many had made up their minds.

This is also the reason for which I did not rest, and spared no promises or threats to obtain either alive or dead the three remaining [deserters], by all of which means I moved the Indians of Barima at last with much trouble to make an attack; their first journey miscarried, but their second journey was successful; and having, under personal command of the Jew, Moses Isaakse de Vries, broken their necks and brought their hands here, I caused them to be nailed to a post as a warning to others.

The Chief of the Indians aforesaid has offered to become responsible to me for all the runaway slaves of the Colony who take the way to Oronoque if I will station a Postholder in Barima, which would be a matter of great profit for the trade of vessels and slaves; but I have not dared to undertake this without your Honours' orders.

I have changed the Postholders of Arinda, Demerary, and Mahaikony.

No. 73.

Extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court of Justice of the Colony of Essequibo, held at Fort Zeelandia, November 23, 1744.

THE Commandeur represented that two Spaniards on their way hither from Oronoco had been arrested at the Company's Post in Wacquepo, and asked if they would be allowed to arrive in the Colony or be sent back.

It was resolved to allow them to come here this time.

No. 74.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Court of Policy for Essequibo, held on January 3, 1745.

THE hereafter-named inhabitants have petitioned for lands, viz.:—

Stephanus Gerardus van der Heyden has asked for the Island of Acajoe, in Cayoeny, which is granted upon condition that on inspection this island does not prove to be too large.

Christien Finet and Daniel Couvereur, having both asked for the same lands up in Masseroeny, have been put off until they have come to an understanding.

No. 75.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 11, 1745.

A DAY after his return I received a letter from Mr. Jan Dudonjon, with an intimation that Paulus de Berry, of Oronoque, had arrived at his house bringing six black slaves whom he had taken at the mouth of the Marocco, and that they said their ship lay below on the shore there,

abandoned by all the white people, and that the greater part of the slaves were on shore. On receipt of that information I dispatched immediately the pilot Jan Willems with a canoe from Duynenberg, giving him a corporal with six of the best soldiers, as well as good creoles all well armed, with orders to take possession of the ship, and to do his duty to the utmost extent possible in order to obtain and bring here the slaves, with an order to the Postholders at Marocco, to bed him with all his Indians for them; and he departed the self-same day.

When outside the river, encountering two canoes of Mr. J. Dudonjon full of slaves on the return journey, he himself, at the peril of his life (although conscious thereof), caused his vessel to lie aboard, and therein he found the negroes aforementioned sitting with muskets ready. Through some slaves of Mr. Dudonjon, who understood the language, he prevented them, with much trouble, from shooting himself. He stationed one of the soldiers he had with him in each canoe, which the slaves did not allow without incurring some peril, and ordered them to come directly to the fort without stopping anywhere, which one canoe performed; but the other containing 135 slaves, pretending want of bread, stopped first at Mr. Dudonjon's and then afterwards came to the fort. There I myself, not without apprehension from slaves, caused them to be landed. It was through the good sagacity of the second gunner of the ship (under promise of freedom for himself) that they were prevented from massacring all Mr. Dudonjon's people, and that the slaves were got into the canoes. The promise was performed by the Council, which has declared him free; he has well deserved freedom twice over.

The slaves which are on the shore I have myself taken good care of, and placed them in good keeping till such time as the notification of their auction can be spread throughout the entire Colony. This has been a matter of great difficulty, as we are so badly provided with lodging room.

* * * * *

That the ship ought to have been sold at a high price (but this was not to be expected here), that in a long time it would not even realize the half of the expense, and, moreover, the danger arising so close to them from the Spaniards must be considered. I have resolved to demolish the aforesaid ship, and to take from it everything which could be of any value which should be sold, and the same was carried into effect.

No. 76.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 19, 1746.

ON the 7th of this month one Ignatius Courthial made an application to the Court for permission to cut a road through the wood in the River Cajoeny, in order to bring mules and cows into the river overland by that road. It being possible that this may be of great profit and advantage, the permission was granted him on condition that there shall be paid to the Company 3 guilders recognition money for every mule, and 2 guilders for every horse or cow, and in order to prevent any fraud in this matter, it is my intention to place the Post which lies in Demerary (and now unnecessary there on account of the opening of the river) on this road instead, which Post, in addition to the trade which it will be able to carry on for the Honourable Company, will be amply provided for out of the recognition-money.

I have not yet established any Post in Barima because I have not yet been able to find any competent person to my liking to whom to intrust the same, for I think that Post might become of great importance.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 77.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 20, 1746.

HAVING had the honour the previous week to write to your Honours by the vessel the "Vlissing Welvaaren," Captain D. de Borie, I should have allowed the opportunity to pass, had I not thought it my duty to give your Honours information that the Postholder of Wacquepo and Marocco came the day before yesterday to inform me that a nation of Indians from above from Oronoque have come away and have attacked the Caribs subject to us in the River Wayne, have killed different persons, and have threatened that they would extirpate them all, which would entail very bad consequences for this Colony.

Wherefore I have provided him with powder and shot, with an order to collect together all the Indians subject to him, and, as far as practicable, to assist the Caribs aforesaid with a promise that I will give him support from here if a note comes to require it; and I have ordered him that if, for important reasons, he is led to suspect that the Indians have been sent by the Spaniards of Cumana, that he must investigate the matter as far as practicable; and I have expressly forbidden him to set foot upon the Spanish territory—not even to go below the River Wayni.

The inhabitant C. Finet, who has arrived from up the Cayuni, has informed me that the report of the Caribs made to me some months ago is true, namely, that the Spaniards have established a mission above on the said rivers, and have built a small fort there, he himself having been there and spoken with the priest and soldiery; that they were busy in making many bricks,

with the intention next year of coming to found yet another mission and fort some hours further lower down in this river.

All the Indians from this side are flying hither and praying for protection. I take the liberty humbly to entreat your Honours, finding myself very diffident in this matter, that your Honours will be pleased to have the goodness to honour me most speedily with your orders how I am to conduct myself, and assuring your Honours that they will be carefully executed.

I feel not the least diffidence as to dislodging them from that place and storming the fort, but such a step being one of great consequence, I dare not take upon myself to take it, as the proper frontier-line there is unknown to me. The River Cayuni, where the aforesaid works have been constructed, is the same in which your Honours' indigo plantation is, and where the coffee plantations are situated, and falls into the River Essequibo at the place where the old plantation, Duynenberg, used to stand on the one side, and where M. Van der Cruysse dwells on the other, half a cannon shot distance below Fort Kykoveral.

Jan Stok, having returned home to Essequibo from his wanderings above in Cayuni, has reported to me that he had heard from several Indians that Nicholas Hoestman was on his way to return hither, but I can hardly believe this to be true.

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(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 78.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 7, 1746.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Honours, viâ Rio Berbice, of a Mission erected with a little fort by the Spaniards above in the Cayuni, in my opinion on your Honours' territory, and that I had information from a certain source that they were thinking next year of founding yet another, lower down, whereat the inhabitants are very much aggrieved, and the Carib Indians a great deal more so, since it perfectly closes the Slave Traffic in that direction from which alone that nation derive their livelihood. They are also all wishing to surprise the mission and level it to the ground, which I, not without trouble, have prevented, because they belong to our jurisdiction, and all their trade being carried on in the Dutch Colonies, such a step would certainly be revenged upon us by the Spaniards. It is very perilous for this Colony to have such neighbours so close by, who in time of war will be able to come and visit us overland, and especially who make fortifications in our own land, in breach of all custom.

I say upon our own land—I cannot fix this, however, with full certainty while the limits west of this river are unknown to me.

* * * * *

In the month of October last nine soldiers deserted from Berbices to Orinocque, and came to the plantation of Mr. Persik here, to get bread, but made no show of violence. I was not advised of this until three days later, otherwise I should have prevented them from going any farther. On their arrival in Orinocque they joined a vessel from Trinidad which was cruising about there to prevent trade, and captured three canoes from this Colony that were out fishing, one of which, belonging to your Lordships, was in charge of salter H. Cleyman, with twenty-four hogsheads of salt fish; another belonged to Mr. Persik, and one to A. Christiaense. This Colony from its very beginning having been in the possession of that fishery, and never having suffered the least hindrance or opposition from the Spaniards, this appears to me to be a kind of piratical act which cannot be tolerated, especially since the stopping of that fishery would deprive all our slaves of food, those belonging to your Lordships, as well as those of the colonists, being supported by it, and we should then be obliged to buy our provisions for the slaves from the English at any price they ask, because these people must eat, and although they only get 3 lbs. of fish each every fourteen days, this would soon amount to a considerable sum if we had to buy it, the fish that is salted in the Orinocque, and which is incomparably better than the English cod, scarcely costing us, after reckoning all the expenses, an "oortje" a lb. Your Lordships will certainly understand the great importance of this matter, and I have no doubt that your Lordships will take such measures in setting it right as may be deemed necessary.

The new Governor being due in Orinocque in February next, I shall send there to claim the boats and cargoes, but I am certain that such will be in vain, having profited by the example of the Postholder, Jurge Gobel, whom they had promised me by letter to deliver up, but nothing came of it, the man now living in the Spanish village in Orinocque.

* * * * *

The miners have just come down the river, and have reported to me that, notwithstanding the sufferings caused by illness and want, they have examined the heaven-high mountains up in Essequibo; that many of them, being absolutely treeless, presented a fair appearance of containing ore, among others, the Calikko or Crystal Mountain, the top of which is full of brimstone and vitriol, and almost covered below with crystals and beautiful veins of silver ore; but that the Indian nations living in that district had not permitted them to approach it without a deal of difficulty, terrified by the ill-treatment they had suffered at the hands of the neighbouring Portuguese; that the working of those mines would, moreover, entail a deal of trouble and expense, they being situated full three days' journey inland; that their greatest obstacle had been the want of good interpreters, since the creoles who had been with them had been observed to interpret very faithlessly, being continually in fear that they would again be employed in the

mines; and that the Indian nations were all at war with each other, and were nearly all at war, too, with the Portuguese, who were continually making raids upon them and carrying them off, and that this was a source of great danger to any Christians who came there.

They also told me, and this was corroborated by one of our runners, that N. Horstman, who ran away some time ago, is continually with those Portuguese who ill-treat the Indians; this, too, has caused a report to spread that he was coming back.

Seeing, therefore, that in the present state of things there was nothing to be done just yet, I discharged the miners from the Company's service on the last day of November. They have told me that they wished to stay and reside in the Colony. I am very glad of this, as it is possible that they may at some time or other be of use to me—especially Moshack, who is a good honest fellow.

I have frequently felt the want of a good sworn interpreter of the Indian languages, such as there is in Surinama, and this want has often been to our loss. I have frequently been assisted by the Jew, Moses Isakse de Vries, but he being now dead, there is not a good faithful one to be got, and I am obliged to trust to the negroes or creoles, who say or conceal whatever they wish.

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(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 79.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 23, 1747.

YOUR Honours' favour of the 1st November last year by the ship "Jalousie" was welcome to me, and I have the honour to reply thereto:—

That in Wacquebo and Marocco all is again still, as the nation which arrived there with the intention of killing the Caribs dwelling there was received by them reasonably, and thereupon they again retired back up the Oronoque. But the undertaking of the Spaniards go so far that, if proper provision be not made for them, it may cause in future times the total ruin of the Colony.

I have, in my previous letter by the ship "Vrindschap" (copy of which herewith), had the honour circumstantially to inform your Honours of the outrages perpetrated through the taking away of the fishing canoes (the consequences whereof we already feel, not one salter daring to take the way again, thereby English cod have already become between 3 and 4 stuyvers per lb.), as also of the mission and fort above in Cayuni, and of the intending to build that year yet another fort there, but some mijls lower, for which they now are beginning to make ready, according to the report of all those who come along the river with mules.

Besides, it has been reported to me through the Burgher, Captain L. Persik, on his arrival from Oronoque, and confirmed by some Spaniards, that the Spaniards there had made a journey in the south-western direction right behind us, and had there discovered the origin of the Rivers Cayuni and Mazaruni (which two are the proper origin of the River Essequibo), both flowing out of a great lake or sea which is 60 mijls long and 20 mijls broad, and very deep; the water azure blue, without fish therein; from seventy-five to eighty hours in a straight line above Fort Kykoveral. That their intention was to establish a permanent settlement for themselves near the origin of the rivers mentioned, and to fortify it, so that we then should be hemmed in by a cordon.

They say that this is the so notorious Lake of Parima; it is also thus named by the Indians dwelling thereabout, so that we have this much nearer than we ever thought, it having been sought much more to the south.

Mr. Persik, whom I have mentioned, has not only conversed with the Fathers and officers who made the journey, but has seen the map being made thereof (copy whereof I shall try to obtain by every possible means); but he has also seen some Indians whom they have brought back thence with them, who are reasonably white, and clothed with cotton stuff that they themselves had sewn.

I take the liberty once again to direct your Honours' earnest consideration to the above-mentioned, because it will be of the last importance in future to this Colony, which, by the blessing of the Most High, is beginning to attain a prosperous state.

I should already long ago have removed and demolished the first fort above in Cayuni (which even now is easy of accomplishment on my part through the Caribs), if I were but rightly conscious how far the limits of your Honours' territory extend, both on the eastern and northern sides, as well as south and westwards, for the decision whereof not the least help is to be got in this office here. I therefore earnestly request your Honours to be pleased to deliver here the necessary information concerning that matter, because an error in this might be the cause of all evil consequences.

No. 80.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 16, 1747.

I HAVE discharged Pieter de Laet, the Postholder of Maroco, on account of his bad behaviour, and since that Post is of great importance, and it is essential to the Colony to keep up the same, I have appointed one Jan der Scharden, a native of Berlin, a Protestant, and a very competent man; I was very pleased to be able to find such a person.

No. 81.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 11, 1748.

I SHALL also, as soon as a favourable opportunity occurs, execute your Honours' orders emanating from the Committee of Ten, concerning the forts of the Spaniards, and as regards the fishery. I have brought the matter so far with the Commandant of Oronoque, that I believe myself that no further disturbances will occur, but I can obtain no satisfaction for the three canoes taken away because he pretends that this took place through a privateer of Trinidad, and thus out of his jurisdiction.

The captain of the privateer, aforesaid, is in chains in Trinidad, at the accusation of the Governor of Cumana, who himself cannot make good our loss. This is, however, very satisfactory for the future.

No. 82.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court of Justice of the Colony of Essequibo, held at Fort Zeelandia, August 1 and 2, 1748.

COUNSELLOR BRUSSON having complained that one of his corials had been unlawfully detained at the Company's trading-place at Maroca, and praying to have it returned free of cost and charges.

The Postholder, Jan de Sclarden, is heard, who states that he personally went to Mr. Brusson to speak to him on the matter, but that Brusson would not listen to him, and only said, "I shall summon you;" and further declares that the corial was not at the Post, but was taken away by the friends of the Indian who had brought it there, and had only left a musket behind.

He further calls as witness Hendrick Cleyman, who, being heard, confirmed the statement of the Postholder.

The Indian being absent, the case is put off to next meeting.

* * * * *

The Honourable the Commander represented that a certain free Indian named Baraca, belonging to the Company's trading-place in Maroca, had complained that a person named Jean Pierre Maillard some time ago arrived with a pretended letter from his Honour to take his daughter away to his wife, and that he, the Indian, had allowed her to go, and now asks for her to be returned: His Excellency had sent the Indian with written orders to Maillard to let the girl follow her father at once, but that he had not respected such order, and refused to comply with it, and that the Indian had returned in vain to his Excellency.

This having been considered informal (?), his Excellency the Commander is authorized to send for said Maillard and said Indian woman.

No. 83.

Extract from a List of the Honourable Company's Servants, November 30, 1748.

JAN DER SCHARDEN, Postholder at Wacquepo.

Hendrik Kleyman, Assistant.

Johannes Stoete, Postholder at Maykoeny.

François Poot, Assistant.

Jan de Ketel, Postholder at Arinda.

Johann Christoffel Mollé, Assistant.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 2, 1748.

THIS is only to accompany the copy of my previous despatch sent by the ship "Juffrouw Margareta," Captain I. Silertse, which I learn, to my regret, has been captured by the French. However, I flatter myself that the map* of this river thereby transmitted may yet come into your Honours' hands, because I am given to hope that all the books and papers of the ship will be returned again to their owners.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 2, 1748.

BUSINESS with the Spaniard begins to grow better as time progresses, and we should have advanced somewhat better if the absence of goods through the long-deferred arrival of ships had not been a very great obstacle thereto. Some Spanish merchants have been obliged to wait here nine, ten, yea eleven months, to their great inconvenience. Pity that the business here is in so few hands, and necessitates such bitter jealousy, each grudging the other the slightest profit. That is also one of the reasons for the exasperation against the Postholder at Marocco, because he is an orderly man and conversant with the Spanish language; they are afraid he will cause them prejudice, while he has never until now been in a position to cause the least. I shall try, as far as lies in my power, to encourage the trade and to advance it, and as far as possible to make it general. I hope now, with good reason, to succeed therein, because I think that now the ships will arrive somewhat more regularly and punctually to their time.

I hope that the letters and papers by the "Juffrouw Margareta" may yet come to hand because I sent by her a map* of this river made for your Honours out of different small ones which have been taken up from time to time, and whereof I kept no copy because it was impossible to find time therefor, and I would not defer complying as quickly as possible with the orders of your Honours in the Committee of Ten; and now for want of good paper for the purpose, I cannot make one. If it has not yet been delivered to you, I take the liberty of requesting your Honours to cause to be transmitted to me a book of the largest medium paper that I may once more perforce make it clear.

The Spaniards begin to approach above in Cayuni the more as time goes on; but for some weeks a war between the Carib nation and that of the Warauwas having broken out, which is carried on very obstinately, it will stop their further progress, and possibly, if the Caribs obtain the upper hand, they may even be driven somewhat further off, without our having in the least degree to meddle therewith. I wish, however, that if it were possible, I might know the proper limits. According to the testimony of old men and of the Indians, the jurisdiction should begin to the east at the Creek Abary, and extend westwards as far as the River Parima where in old times a Post existed; but these sayings give not the slightest certainty.

A wanderer† of the name of Pinet having gone up the River Cayuni to obtain hammocks by barter with the Indians, was requested by me carefully to spy out the goings of the Spaniards in that region—a duty for which he is very well fitted because he understands the Carib language thoroughly, and is by no means destitute of intelligence. He returned here on the 13th November, four months after his departure, and has made report to me that the Spaniards had not yet undertaken the building of any forts or missions as had been their intention lower down, but that they cruelly ill-treated the Indians subject to us, continually taking them by surprise in their dwellings and carrying them off, with their wives and children, to send them to Florida; that he had spoken to the Chief of the Spaniards, and had placed before his eyes the unfairness of this treatment, as well as the consequences of it, but that the latter had replied that the whole of America belonged to the King of Spain, and that he should do what suited himself, without troubling about us.

Pinet also reported to me that the Indians were in the highest state of indignation; that four of their Chiefs were on the point of coming down in order once more to come and complain to me, and that they had already sent knotted cords to all the Indian houses, which is their sign to meet on a certain day.

Seeing that all my remonstrances and letters to the Spaniards are of no avail, and no redress is obtainable, I intend to tell the Chiefs of the Indians when they come to me, that I can provide no redress for them, and that they must take measures for their own security. Then I feel assured that in a short time no Spaniard will be visible any more above in Cayuni. I have always, but with great difficulty, restrained them, and prevented all hostilities by fair promises. However, before we come to that, I will next month send once more a letter to the Governor of Cumana, who is expected at that time in Oronoque, and explain this matter to him seriously, with all courtesy, as well as the consequences, which cannot but be disastrous for them, and then await his reply, in order to govern myself thereby.

Ignace Courthial, who has constructed the road above in Cayuni, and now has gone up the Oronoque for some hundred cattle and mules to import for trade, before his departure showed me a letter which he had written to be sent by this ship to your Honours, wherein are some proposals which are somewhat strange, and proceed from his Gascon ideas.

* It is understood that this map never reached the Hague.

† This expression is constantly used in the despatches to denote a roving trader not in the Company's service.

I have told him my opinion thereon, and advised him to leave out some points, but I believe he has not done so.

The man is very enterprising, and in a position to do much service to the new Colony of Demerara, by breeding there some hundreds of cattle for food, the traffic in hides from which will produce much profit, and also inland to advance very much the planting of tobacco, cocoa, &c.

The basis of his undertaking is well founded, and he is also quite in a position to perform the same, wherefore I take the liberty of requesting your Honours' serious consideration of this as a matter which will prove of great use and profit, and that your Honours will be pleased to have the goodness to make your intentions known by the first opportunity, because I expect him back again within five or six months.

Inclosure in No. 85.

I. G. Courthial's Petition, dated Essequibo, August 18, 1748.

(Extract.)

IT is notorious to all this Colony that I was the first who, in 1736, ascended this river, and having wandered several months from river to river, I discovered the mouths of these different rivers, and taught them to the Spaniards, who till then were ignorant of them, and from that time the Island of Martinique, and even the Colony, began to derive some advantage from my discoveries. . . .

This enterprise will scarcely appear to you less bold than that which I have executed, viz., to open and make, at my cost and expense (a work for a Colony), a road across the forests, until then unexplored, of 130 or 140 leagues, to the old fort, and thence to Berbice, by means whereof one can, at a very moderate expense, perfect it, so as to be able to go on horseback, and with consignments, from Fort Nassau, of Berbice, up to Peru.

No. 86.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to Directors' Committee of Ten.

(Extract.)

March 27, 1749.

THERE should sometime be some profit gained with the Spaniards, though the attempt is made as far as possible to pay attention thereto. But many Spaniards, come and go out of the river without coming under my observation: that is in breach of all rules and custom, but being there at the instance of some great persons, and also in order not to frighten away the Spaniards, I have until now remained quiet in consequence of pressure, and have only ordered the Postholder of Marocco always to advise me when any come, stating their names, and to whom addressed, so that I have always been informed thereof.

* * * * *

Upon a despatch written by me to the present Governor of Cumana, named Don Diego Tabarez, wherein I have circumstantially gone into our grievances, I, in January last, received a reply from him in very courteous terms, wherein he replies to everything very circumstantially and sensibly, and declares himself to be ready for the observance of good neighbourship, and to be willing to contribute thereto in everything which is in his power, and not contrary to the commands of his Sovereign. He has also ordered the Commandant of Oronoque to pay over the capital proceeds (arising from) two slaves, deserters from the Honourable Company's indigo plantation, which were sold there, which I must send to fetch, as also the Honourable Company's fishing canoe, as he himself declares he cannot give up the other canoes because they were found to contain merchantable goods.

His Honour has made a proposal to me—through the Contador, or Secretary, of Oronoque—to conclude a Cartel for the rendition of deserters from either side, concerning which I am at present in negotiation, since he is willing to grant that we should deliver up deserters bodily, but that they should restore the price alone. I expect every day a reply to my proposition, and shall try to bring the matter quickly to a favourable conclusion, as being very profitable for this Colony. I shall send the Postholder of Marocco, who is at present very ill, to Oronoque as soon as he has recovered.

No. 87.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

March 29, 1749.

NEVER hath any vessel of Surinam coming here paid anything for dues, either on entering or leaving, although all the wanderers which go from there in order to deal in slaves stop here, as all go to Barima, which is situated under this jurisdiction, to the great prejudice of the inhabitants, because they pay far more for the slaves than we usually do, and thus mostly run away with all, and we here can scarcely obtain any more.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 10, 1749.

INCLOSED is the copy of a Proclamation which has been placarded by the Marquis of Cailus, the Governor of Martinique, all over the Island of Tobago, the original of which was torn down there by Captain Sayer, commanding His Britannic Majesty's war-ship the "Richmond," and sent to me by Mr. Gidney Clarke on the 6th of this month, from which your Lordships will plainly see that it is the firm intention of the French to establish themselves there—an intention which they have already fairly carried out.

The title of "Governor of the Continent from the River Amazon to the River Orinoco" (in which district Surinama, Berbices, and this Colony are situated), which that Marquis gives himself, seems to me somewhat strange, although the title itself is of little importance when it is not accompanied by immediate possession, and I would by no means grudge him the title of Governor of Tobago, in the same manner as that of these Colonies, where he has the title and we the possession.

No. 89.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

September 8, 1749.

AT the same time, I have the honour to send herewith the map* of the Colony. It is not so well made as I wished, but that was impossible, because I had no colours or pencils; all that I had being entirely ruined by black beetles. If Captain Grey had not placed at my service two indifferent pencils, I should have been entirely unable to fulfil your Honours' instructions.

Having written to the Governor of Cumana that, if he persisted in the design of founding a Mission in the River Cayuni, I should be obliged to oppose myself thereagainst effectually, he has replied to me that such was without his knowledge (not the founding of the new [Mission], but the site), and that it should not be progressed with; at the same time also nothing previously had been done really. On the map your Honours will find the place marked, as also the site of the one already established. For six months I have seen no Indians from that side, so that I do not accurately know how matters go on there.

Your Honours will also find marked on it above in the Essequibo River in the Creek Siparouni an active volcano, which was discovered there by the present Post-holder of Arinda a year ago, which, as he was then afflicted with a great pain in his eye, he was compelled again to come away from, but his intention is at the close of the present year to go there again, in order to observe everything carefully. The Indians say that about six years ago it began to burn continually, and to cast out stones. They are excessively afraid of it, and almost all have retired from thereabout.

Of the runaway slaves from the new plantation, of which I had the honour to inform your Honours, five have been brought back again as prisoners, but two are still wanting who were the ringleaders, these having been slain by the Carib Indians, by whom also the last one brought in was wounded, but not of any consequence. They have to all appearance wished to resist, in order not to be taken prisoners. I don't yet know the circumstances, as the aforesaid Indians have not yet arrived.

No. 90.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

November 20, 1749.

THE discovery made in our neighbourhood by the Spaniards in the year 1748, a copy of the map whereof (notwithstanding its being prohibited on pain of death) I have been able to obtain cognizance of, is also of no small advantage for us.

Now at last that notorious Sea of Parime, of which so much has been written for and against, by many believed to exist, by others held as a fable, has been discovered and found, and is even, according to the map, within our jurisdiction.

The information which I have obtained surreptitiously from the free Indians convince me that the map has been accurately and well drawn up by the Jesuits, who were of the expedition, with an officer and forty soldiers.

No. 91.

Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

January 10, 1750.

YOUR Honours know that in one of my previous despatches I had the honour to give your Honours information of the intolerable and inexcusable dealings of some of our wanderers above

* This map was not found in the Hague archives when search was made a few years back.

in the River Essequibo, which caused me to fear that the nations there would be induced to revenge themselves. Whatever means I employed I have never been able to obtain proof which was sufficient for a Court so as to be able to punish any of them according to their deserts.

Wherefore, being convinced of the justice of the Indians' complaints, I closed the river, and forbid individuals trading there. Subsequently I was compelled by the Council of Justice again to make the trade open under certain conditions, although I sufficiently demonstrated the danger that was to be expected therefrom.

Now finally it has come to pass that my prophecies have been confirmed, as one of the wanderers, by name Jan Stok, a brutal and Godless man, according to unanimous report committed horrible enormities there. Accompanied by a party of Oronoque Caribs, they attacked the nations our friends close by the Post Arinda, caused all the men to be killed, and carried the women and children away as slaves, ruined all the provision gardens, and perpetrated many other unheard of things.

In one word, they made the Indians desperate, who intended to take vengeance therefor, so that the other wanderers who were still up [the river] were in extreme peril of life, and the plantations up the Essequibo ran the risk of being deserted. On this account the Director of the Plantation Oosterbeek (now St. Jan), has come away in order to ask assistance in case of need.

In my journey which I made up [the river] I was already visited by a party of Akuwaya Indians to make their complaints, but did not yet learn one-fourth part of them.

I then summoned the aforesaid Jan Stok to appear before the Session of the Court on the 5th instant, which order he hath not obeyed, whereof return has been made to the Session, and the Postholder of Arinda having been heard with others, a warrant of arrest was ordered against him, and the ensign and a sergeant and four men were sent to arrest him, wherever he may be found, and bring him in custody here. An extraordinary Session for this matter will be holden on the 19th of this month.

I have immediately caused the nations to be informed of this, and caused them to be promised satisfaction, with a request to send their Chiefs, so that they may be personally present. This some have already assented to, but some lie so far off, and are so scattered through panic, that I have not yet been able to warn them. I believe, however, that as soon as they learn of the arrest of this man they will quite return to calmness.

However, to obviate all further misfortunes (for a war with the natives would be the ruin of the Colony), I think it would be best (with your Honours' approval) that your Honours should be pleased to prohibit until further orders traffic with the Indians on the Rivers Essequibo, Mazaruni, and Cayuni.

I hope within a few months to have the honour verbally to describe it, and therefore I will not enlarge further touching this matter.

No. 92.

The Acting Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

June 8, 1750.

JACOB FRIEDRICH MUSHACK, Postholder at Arinda, up in Essequibo, came down in the beginning of April, bringing for the Honourable Company three Indian slaves whom he had bought—namely, a man, a woman, and a boy—and whom I have provisionally placed on the plantation Duynenburg, and as the Assistant, Pieter Leenderse, has been brought from there very ill, and the aforesaid Mushack has asked me to let him have Jan Jacob Steyner, the constable, in the place of the latter as Assistant, I have granted him his request, and have appointed in the constable's place the soldier, Bartholomeus Cantineaux.

Jan Dudonjon having also sent a canoe to the Varinas, in charge of Adrian Christiansen, has had the misfortune to have it captured on the return journey by the Spaniards and taken to the Castle of Guayana in Orinocque.

(Signed) S. ADRIAAN SPOORS.

No. 93.

Acting Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

September 8, 1750.

THE Commandeur at his departure gave me to understand that there was information that the Spaniards had begun to construct a new Mission close by here, and that it was necessary to pay attention thereto. I have carefully informed myself about it through the colonist, Frederik Persik, who in person has gone thither, and has the greatest intercourse with the Spaniards. He has assured me that the last Mission which is being constructed is in a certain little river called Imataca, situated far off in Oronoque, and which (in my opinion) is directly far outside the concern of this Colony.

And concerning that which men say has been constructed above the River Cayuni, I am instructed that it is very much nearer to the side of the Spanish than to our territory. I have, for reasons aforesaid, and because I judged it to be my duty, caused report thereof to be made to your Honours.

Persik aforesaid has also informed me that the Fathers above in Oronoque were inclined to open a trade with this Colony in cattle, which they (being able to obtain permission therefor), would transport overland. If permission for this be asked, and the Commandeur be still absent, I shall refuse it, until your Honours shall be pleased to frame the necessary orders thereon which I hereby request.

On the one hand, this would contribute very much to the raising and cultivation of trade, but on the other hand this would be a safe and open way (not to mention times of war) for the slaves who might come to run away from the Colony, unless a good Post were established hereon.

On account of the consequences, I have thought it best simply to mention the proposal to your Honours in order that you may be pleased to deliberate thereon as to your Honours' high wisdom may be judged most convenient, trusting that as the Commandeur in person is near your Honours he will have spoken thereof also.

No. 94.

Extract from a List of the Honourable Company's Servants in Essequibo, dated December 18, 1759.

JOHANNES STOETE, Postholder in Wacquepo and Maroco.
Hendrik Kleyman, Assistant.
Johann Stephen Iskes, Postholder at Maykoeny, Assistant (vacant).
Jacob Frederick Mushack, Post-holder at Arinda.
Peter Leenderse, Assistant.

No. 95.

Acting Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 23, 1750.

THE 29th of the said month [October] it was reported to me that the runaways aforesaid were on an island (to which they got by means of a raft) up in Essequibo, eight days navigation from this fort, but they comprised six men and two women, well provided with fire-arms.

These tidings were brought by the colonist, Jacobus Maximilian, with the addition that they were trying to obtain a vessel to take them to the mainland. I paid attention to the news as of a matter of great concern for the future for the runaways of this Colony who might find a safe hiding-place there. I ordered the aforesaid Maximilian to stop, informed myself of everything, and found confirmation of what is mentioned above. Next day I sent the man as guide, with the Adjutant and a commandor of four men with six negroes, and as many creoles and light Indians, but I must tell your Honours that fifteen days thereafter they returned empty handed, reporting that the aforesaid runaways, seven days before their arrival, had been able to get away from the island by means of the vessel wherewith the creole of the colonist, Badris Pieters, lay there, to salt fish. Three of the runaways having (during the absence of the Indians at the fishery, while the creole was alone in his vessel) overpowered the creole, tied his hands behind his back, taken him in their company, navigated to the mainland, taken all the food with them, made the creole pilot, and having let him go again, they took the way along the river Siparuni. I immediately caused information thereof to be given to the Carib and the Akuwaya nations, and entertain no doubt that they will be taken alive or dead.

No. 96.

Extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court of Justice of the Colony of Essequibo, held at Fort Zeelandia, January 4, 1751.

IT having been represented by Councillor van Doom that certain runaways are in the Upper Pomeroon in a branch called Waini, and that a Carib named Jan de Nen, and an Indian woman named Flora, were both living in that river:

This is noted as a prejudicial matter, and likely to be of bad consequences to the Colony, and it is further resolved to send the Postholder of Moroca for the Carib Jan de Nen and for the Indian woman Flora, and to bring them to the fort in order to investigate the matter carefully and then to make such orders as shall be found proper for the welfare of this Colony.

Acting Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 6, 1751.

THE aforesaid Persik further informed me that in the month of January the Caraiban nation made a raid upon three Spanish Missions, and murdered four or five priests, which caused much disorder and bitter feeling amongst the Colonists there.

Acting Commandeur, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

June 10, 1751.

THE Postholder of Arinda up the Essequibo, pursuant to the order of the Commandeur, having to remove the Post to the River Ripenuny, has, from the abundance of water on the place, found the site unsuitable, but has judged another place close by to the side to be a better site, of which, having given me information, it was transferred thither, as being the most suitable place; a provision garden being already there, and well formed.

The aforesaid Postholder has also reported to me that those of the Maganau nation are attacking and driving away the other nations far up in the Essequibo, and that, according to information furnished by Indians, they had killed a certain trader named Pieter Lons, further confirmation of which is still required.

Memorial of the Shareholders of the Chartered West India Company (Chamber of Zeeland) to their High Mightinesses, under date 30th November, 1751.

(Extract.)

NOT otherwise than with the most extreme respect and dutiful gratitude do the Zeeland chief shareholders of the General Chartered West India Company, as charged by Your High Mightinesses' Resolution of the 2nd September last, take the freedom to address themselves again to the high assembly of Your High Mightinesses, with an intention, however, not long to trouble or detain with any great detail of circumstances, unnecessary refutations of arguments or repetitions, the attention of Your High Mightinesses already too much encroached upon by reports and counter-reports and prolix Memorials, touching the Resolution of the Ten of the 11th August, 1750, we are about to lay, as it were in passing, before the penetrating eye of Your High Mightinesses some few, but yet essential remarks on the Memorial of the 31st August, 1751, of the gentlemen, representative and other Directors, of the West India Company, belonging to the Presidial Chamber, Amsterdam, and afterwards pass on to the acceptance of the representation that has been made.

In all this we will endeavour to express ourselves in less animated language, seeing that such could not in any way becomingly be considered by Your High Mightinesses' high assembly, and also nothing can result therefrom than heart-burnings on either side, which must incontestably draw after them the ruin and absolute destruction of the general interest.

Imploring therefore still for a short time with all submissiveness the attention of Your High Mightinesses, the Zeeland chief shareholders . . . affirm at the same time in the very strongest fashion that the assembly of the Ten on the 17th October, 1685, and thus eleven years after the erection of the new Company would have thrown open the Colony of Essequibo . . . because when they attempted to throw open the River and Pomeroon for all private planters, should they not at that time have introduced that same argument of the abolition of this Convention against the legitimate opposition of the gentlemen of Middelburg? But on the contrary they were at the time convinced that the Convention was truly and indeed included in the privileges, freedoms, exemptions, as well as all other resolutions and dispositions, which their High Mightinesses in Article 45 of the New Charter desired and ordained to be of the same strength and vigour, as if the same all together were inserted anew, which now from henceforth must have regard to foreign Powers only.

Of not the least support can be the weak reed of the pretexts that Essequibo and Pomeroon should be reckoned among the common possessions of the General Company; since on the contrary in the place of the Charter, where mention was made of Essequibo, their High Mightinesses only fix the limits of the General Company and in no way define possessions of the same, because were it otherwise one must conclude that the Portuguese St. Thomé also belonged in full possession to the General Company.

What is more, since the aforementioned Convention of the year 1670 must have relation only to the old and not at all to the new Company, the question remains: In what manner the Colony of Essequibo passed to the General Company?

* * * * *

And since there is not the least trace in what manner either by later Convention, by purchase, by gift, or by other means it is in any way mentioned in the Charter how Essequibo should have been handed over by the Chamber of Zeeland to the General Company, it is certain that either the

Convention of 1670 has relation to the new Company, or the Colony with all its dependent rivers remains to this very day a separate estate.

In order to fulfil our promises, High Mighty Lords, the Zeeland chief shareholders . . . take the liberty to pass on to the next point, namely, that the chief shareholders not only make no difficulty, but also are resolved, should the Noble Mighty Heeren States of Zeeland deem it good, to remain in possession of Essequibo with all her subject rivers from River Berbice down as far as the River of Orinoco, according to the latest representation of the Representatives and other Directors, made in their Report of the 31st August, 1751, in order that this matter, that has made so much stir in the closely united provinces of Holland and Zeeland, at last might be settled to the satisfaction of both contending parties, whereto we most submissively beg the all-powerful intercession of Your High Mightinesses.

No. 100.

Extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court of Justice of the Colony of Essequibo, held at Fort Zeelandia, January 3 and 4, 1752.

SOME Caribs from the Barima came and complained that our Christian Fousel continually puts them to inconvenience, and that he took away their children and friends as pledges for debts.

Bastian Christaansen also represents that the said Fousel had taken away a boy slave belonging to him, and offers as proof the evidence of the present Indians.

This having been all considered, the said Fousel is sent for, and after appearing, he is reprimanded and ordered to deliver to the Carib his children, and to Bastian Christaansen the boy in question.

No. 101.

The Secretary (for Director-General), Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 19, 1752.

IT is very agreeable to me that my idea regarding the not allowing the Spaniards to trade overland in cattle with this Colony, has your Honours' approbation. With esteem I take the liberty of saying that such permission whereby a safe way would be opened and converted into a road, can never prove of anything but the most extreme prejudice to this Colony, both with respect to white men who are of bad behaviour, as also especially with respect to slaves who are inclined to desertion; by such men the concession would be received with open arms, to say nothing of the consequences which might result therefrom in time of war.

No. 102

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 4, 1752

IF your Honours will please refer to the 6th Article of the project aforesaid, you will find that I there distinctly speak of the trade in arms with the Indians, and especially with the Carib nation, in which proposal I earnestly persist, and now more than ever, because the Spaniards have attacked and driven away the Caribs below Oronoque, and these have all retreated to our side, and thus their number has considerably increased.

Now they are more than ever incensed against the Spaniards aforesaid; they lately overran two Missions and have murdered everyone there, and since my return here they pitifully murdered a certain B de Beaumont, as well as six of the men he had with him when on their return journey with tobacco. The other two, although severely wounded, were rescued by our colonist, J. Smit, who was returning from Oronoque with horses, so that the reasons for not supplying these men with fire-arms grow weightier as time goes on.

No. 103.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 31, 1752.

THERE is a rumour here that some negroes have made their appearance up in Essequibo, but since the Post-holder of Arinda has not yet come down (being prevented by the high water), I am not yet certain about the matter, but have, under a promise of good payment, strongly persuaded the Indians of the Acuwai nation living below the Post to go out and capture them, and they have promised me to do so. I presume they will turn out to be runaways from Berbices.

One of the creoles has just come down from Post Arinda, bringing with him four slaves for the Honourable Company. The Postholder writes me that he has been compelled to flee from his house, the water being 12 feet higher than it has ever been in the memory of man. He will come down at the end of October.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 104.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

November 1, 1752.

I RECEIVED a letter last week from the Commandant of Orinocque informing me that he expected the Governor-General of Comana there about New Year, wherefore he kindly requested me to send him one of our yachts, such as we use here to go up and down the river. I shall send him one about the middle of November, together with some hardware for which he also asks, and shall receive mules in payment, which are in readiness there; it is my opinion that we must keep on friendly terms with this man, since that will always be more to our advantage than to our disadvantage, and I doubt not that in this I shall have your Lordships' approbation.

No. 105.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 14, 1753.

I FORESEE that in a short time everything will have been granted, and there will be no more land remaining. Wherefore, I have sent away Pilot J. Grotendorff to measure the Rivers Weyne and Pomaroon; he has returned, but he has not entirely satisfied me with his report, so that I shall [order] it to be gone over again once more by the other pilot.

* * * * *

P.S.—A rumour is current here that Emissaries of Sweden are to arrive in Surinam in order to make inquiry respecting the River Barima lying between Oronoque and this river, in order to bring over a settlement there. I cannot well credit this; but correspondence brings me many particulars, wherefore I urgently request that I may be honoured with your Honours' orders how I am to conduct myself in this case.

No. 106.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

October 20, 1753.

C. MARCAUD, Porret, and Walye, three of our inhabitants, having gone up to the Essequibo with intention to try to establish some trade with the Portuguese along the Amazonas, have been killed in a murderous way by the nation named Magwissanae, without having given the slightest cause therefor. This is not the first occasion that these have so acted, becoming daily more bold through impunity, daring to say openly that they will act thus to all the whites who fall into their hands, because they are not men, and take no revenge.

As it is necessary to take measures hereupon, I have instructed Muschak the Postholder carefully to inform himself of their villages, number, and strength; to ascertain the way, and everything exactly, and to make me a circumstantial report thereof: as then I intend (with your Honours' approbation) to attack them with the assistance of the Caribs, who have come and offered their services for this purpose, and to drive them away inland far from the River Essequibo, so that we may have the passage free. This will take place much the more easily because they have also murdered some Caribs and Macusis, who are their nearest neighbours, and who accompanied the traders aforesaid. I take the liberty of requesting your Honours to be pleased to honour me as soon as possible with your rescript relative to this.

No. 107.

Extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court of Justice of the Colony of Essequibo, held at Fort Zeelandia, January 7, 1754.

SEEN the Petition of the Militia Captains to place a Post on the side of the Maroca to prevent the desertion of slaves. Councillor E. Pypersberg is commissioned with the above-mentioned gentleman to inspect the proposed site.

This matter to be disposed of after the report.

No. 108.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 19, 1754.

IN reply to your Lordships' letter of the 23rd July of last year, I have the honour to report to your Lordships, firstly, concerning the trade with Orinocque, that I shall do all that lies in my power to further the same as much as possible, and that I have only to-day received a letter from that place with the news that a new Governor has arrived in Comana, who assures me that he will do all that lies in his power to maintain friendly relations, advising me also that, in conformity with the agreement come to some years ago between the former Governor and myself, he had ordered three negroes who had run away from this Colony to be apprehended and publicly sold. Among them was one belonging to the Honourable Company's plantation Aegtekerke, who had fetched 150 pesos, or 300 guilders; this (after deducting the expenses) amounting to about 250 guilders net, which sum he would certainly not be worth here, being one of the greatest rascals that we had. I was requested to send some one to fetch the money, as well as the proceeds of the two others belonging to colonists, amounting to a total of 400 guilders, without deduction of the expenses, which is much better than losing the slaves altogether, as used to be the case before. This, too, will be some intimidation when the slaves know that they are not free there, but, on the contrary, have to work much harder than here.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 109.

Extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court of Justice of the Colony of Essequibo, held at Fort Zeelandia, April 1, 1754.

MR. C. PYPERSBERG, who was commissioned along with the Militia Captains at the last meeting to view the place in Maroca which was proposed for the erection of a Post to prevent the desertion of slaves from here to the Orinoque, has sent in at this meeting the Report of his Commission, stating that a Post could be erected at this place, and that the place was fairly good, though subject to some inconvenience, but that the place would not, in his opinion, answer for the proposed object for several reasons.

This having been maturely considered, and the expenses of the Colony being high enough, it is resolved to do nothing at present.

No. 110.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy in Essequibo, June 30, 1754.

MR. ABRAM VAN DOORN . . . asked in his own name, and on behalf of several colonists, whether the River Pomeroon had been thrown open, and having been answered in the negative, he further requested, in the name of the aforesaid, that the same permission and liberty might be granted to them as to Edward Ling and Co. to go and cut timber in that river. This request, having been considered, was found to be contrary to the consent accorded by this Court on the 6th January last to J. S. Swartz and Edward Ling and Co., liberty having been given them to cut down timber in the River Weyne, but by no means in Pomeroon, and it was therefore agreed that the aforesaid request should certainly be refused, and that Mr. van Doorn and those whom he represented should be permitted to cut down timber in the River Weyni, on the condition, however, that such colonists should always be obliged to give notice here beforehand of the places they selected for cutting timber, and should pay the recognition money fixed by the above-mentioned resolution of ours.

No. 111.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

September 2, 1754.

SOME weeks ago a rumour was spread here that a Major-General with three or four engineers and some troops were expected every day at Oronoque. Having inquired into this, I was told and also written to from Oronoque, that it was true, and that the object was to measure and examine the mouth of the Oronoque to see if it were not possible for a register-ship to come there every year to bring the pay of the garrison, &c., so that it might never more have to be fetched so far overland.

To me that appeared very apocryphal, because for that one sailor and coxswains would be more suitable than a General, and I surmised that there must be something more behind this. The inclosed letter from Mr. Clarke lays the secret bare, and my surmises turn out to be not unfounded.

According to the reports of the Indians, there are between Oronoque and here two or three very rich silver mines, by no means at or near the River Oronoque, but far south of it to our side, and even, in my opinion, south of the Weyne, and in the chain of mountains commonly called the Blaauwenberg, which forms the end of a whole long line of mountain chain, which your Honours will find laid down on the little map* handed over by me at my interview in Zeeland. This being so (and I fear it is only quite too certain) what will this be? or what shall I do? with the small number of soldiers I cannot turn the least aggression in this region. It is even impossible for me (however necessary at this conjuncture) to detach eight or ten men to garrison and defend as far as possible the post of Marocco, which will, I fear, bear the brunt. All that I can do is, with the aid of the Carib nation, whose flight from Barima is daily to be expected, to cause all possible hindrance to the undertaking; but then I shall want ammunition and food, and have none of either.

I have the honour to assure your Honours that I shall not slumber in this matter, but shall do everything in my power, and meanwhile await most speedily your Honours' orders respecting the so long sought definition of frontier so that I may go to work with certainty. (Has not this been regulated by the Treaty of Münster?)

There are also Swedish Emissaries (as I understand) arrived at Surinam to examine Barima, so that this old matter begins to revive again, but I am not so much disturbed about this as about the former matter.

* * * * *

I have at this moment received information that the Spaniards (apparently in order to facilitate their undertaking) have established two Missions above in Cayuni, and garrisoned them with men.

Your Honours will certainly recollect that I had the honour some years ago to inform your Honours that they had located a Mission in the Creek Mejon, which flows into the Cayuni, whereupon your Honours did me the honour to command that I must try to hinder it, but without appearing therein. I did not agree in the reasons which have actuated your Honours to command this secretly, because this Mission was so absolutely and indisputably in our territory; yet when I was honoured with your command I had already done myself the honour of writing to the Governor of Cumana to make my complaint, with a request that he would cause the Mission to be moved away from thence, adding also that I should otherwise be compelled, however, unwillingly, to use means which would certainly be disagreeable to them. This had the desired effect, because, I received a very polite reply, and the Mission was not only actually moved back, but even one of their ecclesiastics was sent here with the assurance that this had been done unwittingly.

Having attained my object, I accepted this as sterling value. But the present is quite another affair. These two Missions are not in the Creek Mejon, but some miles lower on the River Cayuni itself. This, taken in conjunction with the other reports, makes the matter very serious, and a very weighty one; and I shall with much impatience await your Honours' orders.

I am yet thinking of navigating this week up [the river], the 8th of this month being the inauguration of the new church at Ampa, and I am going on the 7th with Mr. Spoors to your Honours' provision plantation to dismiss Feytler, the Director, and install in his place the head servant Cantingnon, from thence I shall send to Cayuni to cause ocular inspection to be made.

Inclosure in No. 111.

Mr. Gidney Clarke, in Barbadoes, to the Director-General in Essequibo.

August 8, 1754.

ALTHOUGH I have not been favoured with a line from you for some time past, I have, notwithstanding, constantly inquired after your welfare. I cannot omit this opportunity to inform you that the master of a vessel who arrived this day from Trinitada assures me that a large number of small vessels, with 500 men, were arrived there from Cumana. They are bound up the river of Orinoque, the branch that trends away to the south-east, at the head of which there are mines, and which they are going to take possession of. I therefore think it is incumbent upon me to give you this notice, as they may, perhaps, enter upon land within your district. If I hear anything further I shall communicate the same to you at once.

Your Excellency's most obedient Servant,
(Signed) GIDNEY CLARKE.

* This is the map reproduced as No. 5, in Appendix III to Blue Book "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)."

Extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court of Justice of the Colony of Essequibo, held at Fort Zeelandia.

Extraordinary Meeting held at Fort Zeelandia, September 10, 1754.

THIS extraordinary meeting having been summoned by his Excellency the Director-General, he has communicated the sad intelligence which he had received, that it was the intention of the Spaniards to invade and ravage the Colony, and he recommends to take all such measures as would serve by the grace of God, and be of the greatest avail and protection to these countries under such critical circumstances, and to disappoint such wicked intentions.

All of which having been considered, it is unanimously resolved to make the following arrangements and orders:—

1. That Jan Peter Thoman be sent to Guiana as an express messenger, with a letter from his Excellency to the Commandant, and to inform that Chief that these rumours are known here, and to ask for the cause and reason for all these preparations, and that in a time of peace.

2. That an armed boat be placed at Maroca to keep guard, and to notice all movements, with instructions, at the first signs or suspicion of the approach of the enemy, to come and inform the Director-General as soon as possible.

3. That by same messenger a safe conduct be sent to one named Meyer, who has lived in Surinam, and is at present amongst the Indians in Barima, for him to arrive safely here, in hopes that the man will be of service here.

4. To regulate the different militia Regulations, and to publish these with such further alterations and amplifications as will be found necessary by which a third of the militia, after the signals of distress are given, shall come to the fort under their officers.

5. That the English vessels which are in the river shall come and lie under the guns of the fort at the first alarm, and their sailors (in case of need) be pressed, under payment, and be employed in the service of the Colony.

6. To order the captains of the militia to take up their companies, and to make a list of their men, in order to be able to make a proper division.

7. A light canoe manned with Indians, and with two or more creoles, and provided with a swivel gun under the command of one or two persons who are to be hired, say, either Adriaan Christiaansen, Hendrick Seler, or another, to cruise off Capoey, and to give signals of distress at the least sign of the enemy, and then to return and report.

No. 113.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

October 12, 1754.

I HAD the honour to write to your Honours, via Berbice, per Captain E. E. Boon, and to give your Honours information of the advices which I had received from Barbadoes from Mr. G. Clarke concerning the movements of the Spaniards in this neighbourhood. I had, however (although placing little confidence in their pretences), no thought at the time, that they would have fixed their aim directly on these colonies, but shortly thereafter the advices from St. Eustace, and even from Oronoque direct, mentioning to us that in reality the intention would be to deliver an attack upon these and neighbouring colonies, I had the honour to give information thereof to your Honours (per Captain Errauds fourteen days after Captain Boon left Berbice).

I have also sent order to Marocco to cause all inland waters and passages to be cut, so that they may not be able to pass with small vessels (and according to information, they have, as yet, no great vessels fit for outside, to come over the sea).

All the Caribs have also been warned to keep themselves ready and armed, but I find this warning in no instance was necessary, since I have learned from one of their Headmen who came to me last week the nation is furious with the Spaniards because they have located a Mission in Cayuni between them and the nation of the Panacays, and hereby try to hinder their communication with that nation, and entirely to prevent their whole Slave Trade on that side; already, too, they have impressed and taken away some.

Wherefor they have made an alliance with the Panacays aforesaid, who were as malcontent as themselves.

And both together surprised the Mission, massacred the priest and ten or twelve Spaniards, and have demolished the buildings; after which they have sent knotted cords to all persons of their nation (as is their custom) for a general summons to both together to deliberate on what further remains for them to do.

23rd of this month I have received this information from Mr. C. Boter, who thereupon told me the common rumour was that one of our colonists had been near by there, and upon further inquiry, having found that that person had been about the same time up the Cayuni, I caused him to be apprehended and brought to the fort. Because such a matter would be of consequence, and would afford the Spaniards real and well-founded reasons for complaint, I have always taken punctilious care therefor.

However, this sad accident for the Spaniards has covered us on that side, so that we have

nothing to fear from that direction; on the contrary, if luck will have it that we are to be attacked, these nations will make plenty of play on their side for the Spaniards.

The negroes of your Honours' plantation Pilgrim, when the Director told them to keep good watch, so that at the first alarm they might retire above the creek, have replied that in such a case they request the Director to be good enough to retire with their wives and children, but that they were not inclined to yield a foot, that they would station themselves on the other side in the forest, and then they would see if any Spaniards would come through the creek and to the plantation.

The able-bodied men of Duynenberg and of here are to retire into the fort in order to serve near the artillery. The wives and children are to go above to Bonasieke, where a proper refuge has been made ready, and where our white wives and children are also to betake themselves.

With regard to those of Agterkirk, whom I do not entirely trust, I have given orders to the Director to retire, on the first signal of alarm, with all his slaves up to the place where Poelwijk used to be.

And the few creoles of your Honours will, in case we are attacked, go up the Cayuni with some of the steadiest whites and mulattoes in order to range themselves under the Chief of the Caribs and make an attack on Guayana.

Two small vessels have been made (whereof one is, and the other is almost, ready) to keep the way between Marocco and Pomaroon, and the Arowakkas of the post are in single canoes spread along the sea coast so as to be able to give timely warning.

I have no doubt that the Burghery will arm a barque if only we can keep ammunition, O'Leary having already promised of over forty English sailors who present themselves for service.

Already some days ago I dispatched the pilot Grootendorft outside to look out. He comes back inside early every night, and goes out again early in the morning.

Thus all possible precautions having been taken, we must with patience await what may come of it, although to us this matter appears inconceivable, and we cannot comprehend for what reason and on what account the Spaniards should wish to invade these Colonies, to which they have not the slightest pretension, especially when the news from Europe predicts nothing of the kind. As, however, our advices are so numerous, and some come from such good sources, I know not what to think, and find it my duty to use all human precaution that I may not have to employ that bad excuse, "I never thought of that."

The single information to the contrary comes from one of Ignace Courthial's people, who has brought some tobacco to Mr. Spoors, and from a mulatto of Demerara, who not long ago arrived from up the Oronoque, who brought word (which to me appears most probable) that the Portuguese of Brazil descended Rio Negro last year with the Magnauw [Indians], and these have taken possession of a gold mine close by Oronoque, and that all these preparations were made to drive the Portuguese away from thence. I think it will not be long before we shall be out of dreamland.

While busy in writing this there comes to me a trusty Indian bringing me a letter from Oronoque with a circumstantial account concerning the intention of the Spaniards. This informs me that their intention is to attack this Colony and Berbice; that the General-in-chief will be in Oronoque on the 20th September; that in Cumana twenty, and in Oronoque eight, vessels were being made, which must be in readiness by the last of November, the intention being to come down upon us in the end of December or beginning of January; that they were busy with all their energy to recruit and press people, and the corps was to consist of 3,000 or 4,000 men.

As the matter becomes more serious as time goes on, we have to-day resolved to send a vessel to Barbadoes on the 30th September, and to order thence a lot of ammunition and cart-ridge cases, because it is impossible without these to make proper resistance.

The militia here has resolved undauntedly to devote their property and blood to the defence of the Colony, and have made all possible arrangements therefor. Two well-armed barques are being fitted out with all possible speed, and made ready so that when the ammunition has arrived they may go to sea and cruise before the mouth of the River and as far as the River Weyne. One will mount thirty pieces of cannon and twenty-four metal swivel guns, the other six pieces and twelve swivel guns, properly provided with other guns and forces, for which [service] Messrs. O'Leary and Persik have generously offered their barques without making any claim therefor.

A very good and fit barque of M. Dudonjon has also been equipped to go and lie by the angle of the Pomaroon. Honourable Sirs, in one word I have to assure your Honours that whilst imploring the merciful support and help of the Most Highest, everything shall be done that it is in our human power to do to frustrate hostile designs.

Your Honours will please not take it ill that I in these circumstances, being incessantly busy from early morning till late at night, cannot have the honour to write circumstantially about other matters to your Honours, but must defer this to a later ship's opportunity.

The Council was again assembled on the 7th of this month for the second advice from Oronoque, and our Emissary, with a letter for the Commandant there, returned just one day previously. He has informed us that he had found there Señor Don Eugenio D'Alvarado, Knight of St. James, and Colonel of a regiment of infantry, a Captain of a man-of-war, and three engineers, and some other gentlemen, but no foreign troops. That the eleven vessels which had brought them were daily expected back (being returned to Cumana), with two barques to fetch the necessary goods. That the aforesaid Colonel, then commanding in Oronoque, had told him that he should very much like to know who had given such information here, that if he could catch him he would cause him to be punished, that he thought it had occurred through a

Barbadoes barque which he had seen at Trinidad, but that, if he could have supposed that, it should never again have seen Barbadoes.

Moreover, the Emissary had in Oronoque conversed with one Nicholas Collaart, who fled from here some years ago, who had related to him that the Colonel aforesaid had caused him to be brought to Oronoque, and had made him make to the best of his ability a drawing of the course of the River Cayuni.

For the rest, a thousand assurances were given him that they had no aims on us, but that the preparations were for the navigation of the Rio Negro, and to regulate the delimitation of the frontiers between the Spaniards and Portuguese.

The reply of the Commandant Valdez to myself contains the same thing, copy of which I have the honour to send your Honours.

Different persons in the Council were of opinion that we now have nothing to fear, and all danger is over, especially because the Contador or Secretary, Don Felix, has written to Persik, and declared with many assurances that nothing was aimed at us, with the addition, however, "unless, however, other orders might come from the Court of Spain, of which he was unaware." Others were of opinion with me that we now had not the least reason for confidence more than we had previously, because we ought to be most assured that, whatever might be their aims, they would write nothing else than they have done. They would not be so foolish as to reveal their intention.

That however improbable such an undertaking might be (which it really is), and however plausible and acceptable the pretext of the delimitation appears, different circumstances appear very suspicious, and therefore our duty was to be on our guard and to use all possible precaution, although therein moderation must be observed as far as possible, which was generally acknowledged, and a Resolution framed accordingly.

No. 114.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

October 27, 1754.

SINCE the departure of Captain Tikrey, who, on the 16th October, took his course for the sea outside the Demerara, I have learned no particular news from Oronoque except alone that three barques and nine large canoes have arrived there, and have sailed up to the fort, and that the Surinam wanderers and most of the Carib Indians have retired from Barima, and have departed to the Wayne.

We shall still be in uneasiness here for the period of about three months. Before the end of January they must discover everything, because, by the middle of February, the time for navigating up the Oronoque River will have expired.

No. 115.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

November 26, 1754.

THE spies sent by me, both to the Oronoque and to the Cayuni, have not yet come back, but the Indians above in Cayuni have still this week caused me to be assured that they will well guard the passage, and that I had nothing to fear from that side.

Since the receipt of your Honours' very respected [despatch] of the 25th February last, I have not seen that same Ignace Courthial. One of his people came here with a lot of tobacco (which was dispatched by the "Essequibos Welvaren"), and is here still expecting him. I fear the man will have changed his mind owing to the long duration of the negotiations. As soon as he has arrived, I will speak to him and try to encourage him, because I think he will be of great use to the Colony.

P.S.—At this moment Ignace Courthial has arrived here.

No. 116.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 13, 1755.

THE opportunity of a ship lying ready to sail from Berbice to Europe makes it my duty to acquaint your Honours that the fear of some undertaking by the Spaniards against these Colonies is almost over. I have received last week a letter from one of the missionaries, who informed me that it had been the common talk of the whole coast that all the preparations served to make an attack on us; but that now, he himself having read the Royal Orders, he could assure me that they extended only to the expedition to Rio Negro and the Amazonas in order to regulate the delimitation. That moreover, matters were in a sad state with the [party] sent out from Spain:

the Royal orders contained provision that the Provinces of Cumana and Carácas must provide the necessary revenue for General Ituriaga.

This was confirmed by the unanimous information received from both Oronoque and Barbadoes, so that our vessels are again beginning to sail to Oronoque, one barque of I Courthial's and a canoe with cattle having already returned thence.

No. 117.

Extract from Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court of Justice at its Ordinary Meeting, held at Fort Zeelandia on April 7 and 8, 1755.

(Present: The full Court.)

HIS Excellency the Director-General having informed the meeting that complaints had been received from the Upper Essequibo about the treatment of Jan Pierre Maillard, through whose fault, or at least with whose permission, one or two Accowais were killed, and that his Excellency had caused the said Maillard to be here to-day, as also the negroes, Andries and Domingo, belonging to Maximilian and Dudonjon, in order to be interrogated on the matter.

The negro Andries, having been first called and asked about the case, declares that Jan Pierre Maillard, in the Upper Essequibo, having placed his pistol on the breast of an Indian called Awacnoie, who was indebted to him, said, "You must and you can pay me; these are Accowais; kill them." That thereupon Maillard's people killed two Indians, an Accowai and an Arawak, one being in his boat and the other in the river.

The creole Domingo, having been called and examined, tells the same story as the negro Andries, with this difference, that it has been told to him by a Carib.

Jan Pierre Maillard, having been interrogated about this matter, acknowledged to having placed the pistol on Awacnoie's breast; also that Accowais had been killed in his presence, but that he took no part in it, either directly or indirectly.

All this having been considered, also that the Indians must tell falsehoods for the whites who trade in the Upper Essequibo, and commit many extravagances, and to prevent all these disorders, which would be very prejudicial to the Colony, it has been unanimously resolved to discontinue this trade in the Upper Essequibo, and to send, by the next meeting, for the Indian Awacnoie and the slayer Armanary, in order to examine the case as far as practicable, and then to make such arrangements and fix such orders as will be found necessary.

No. 118.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 31, 1755.

THE fear of an invasion by the Spaniards is, as I have already had the honour to advise your Honours, mostly passed away, and there is now a peaceful lull on that account.

Reasons to the very slightest extent are not afforded to the Spaniards to enable them to show the least appearance of discontentment; of that I have always taken the most scrupulous care, and have done everything that was in my power to maintain good friendship and neighbourliness; but then, on the other hand, I have always been very attentive to permit no encroachment on your Honours' territory or jurisdiction, because in such cases, if men yielded the least bit, such can involve very evil and irreparable consequences.

Honourable Sirs, it is only too true that the intention has existed of attacking and surprising us, and it is, I believe, still complete; but the accident of the disgrace of the Spanish Minister, the Marquis de Ensenada, has entirely turned the tables here in America. Mr. Gedney Clarke has given me the first information thereof, advising me to do my best to make it public in Oronoque, following which wholesome advice I immediately sent a letter, per express, to the General commanding there, under pretence of imparting this important news as a friend and good neighbour; and I inclosed therewith, for his greater assurance, the English newspaper. I have obtained a most polite reply, with an expression of great thankfulness, and am informed for certain that a ship was immediately dispatched to Spain with the object of bringing further orders.

Since which time they have continued diligently to recruit, but everywhere experiencing want, the majority of their people have dispersed. The Commanding officer and head engineer, who stood ready to set out so as to come here (under pretence of buying necessities), are dead, and most of the rest are very ill.

All this notwithstanding, they will try to creep in softly, and, as far as possible, to approach and surround us; another is certain, that they have taken in complete possession the Creek Iruwary, which flows into the Cayuni, which indisputably is your Honours' territory. The Post located by order of the Council above in Cayuni is situated not more than ten or twelve hours from the Spanish dwellings.

The Chiefs of the Panacays (a mighty nation which has never before been here) have expressly come down to offer their help against the Spaniards if required, and they are going to settle down with their dwellings round the Post. I am sure and certain that they have their eye upon some rich mines, although this as yet is kept very secret. I am of opinion that it is my unavoidable duty, so long as your Honours may be pleased to intrust this Colony to my care, to

prepare for preservation the profit thereof, and indefatigably to provide therefor, and that under the Lord's blessing I shall do, and in such a manner that I may be always prepared and ready to answer for my conduct before omniscient God and before man. Your Honours are far from being at hand. It is impossible for your Honours to be able to know as minutely as was necessary the ins and outs of things.

How I have exerted myself to perform every duty, and to be of assistance as far as possible to the colonists, is abundantly known to your Honours; but the place swarms with enemies, who tried in all possible ways to disgust and make me downhearted, they even tried to mislead your Honours, and to give evil impressions with regard to myself. Of this I am only too well aware.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.S.—As this is being prepared I receive information that four ecclesiastics have departed to Spain simply in order to inform the King of the richness of the mines situated above between Cayuni and Mazaruni, where a great inland sea has been discovered.

No. 119.

Extract from a List of the Honourable Company's Servants in Essequibo and Demerary, dated June 1, 1755.

HENDRIK KLEYMAN, Postholder in Maroco.
 Abraham Mattee, Assistant in Maroco.
 François Poot, Assistant in Maroco.
 Matthys Medegaal, Postholder at Maykoeny.
 J. Wurtemberg, Assistant at Maykoeny.
 Frederick Jacob Mushack, Postholder at Arinda.
 Jacob Steynert, Assistant at Arinda.
 Johannes Neuman, Postholder at the new Post in Cajoeny.

No. 120.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 27, 1755.

THE nation of the Acuways, which is very strong in the interior, and some of whose villages both in Essequibo and in Mazaruni and Demerary are situated next to our plantations, commenced [the war] with attacking the dwellings of some free creoles belonging to the plantation Oosterbeek, and massacring those they found there. Thereupon they spread themselves and caused terror everywhere. Most of the planters living in Masseroeny retired to an island with their slaves and their most valuable goods, and none of them dared to stay at night on their plantations. A few days after that the aforesaid Acuways attacked the plantation of a certain Pieter Marchal (who, according to general report, is the chief cause of this revolt) at half-past five in the morning, killing two of his people and wounding five, most of whom have since died.

Many of the colonists, and amongst them several Councillors, have requested me to send out an invitation to the Caraiban Indians to take the field against the Acuways, but as there are many difficulties connected with this, I have not yet decided to do so, and am of opinion that such measures should not be taken until absolutely necessary. Because, if the Caraibans come (which they will certainly do at the first invitation), they will come several hundreds strong, and ask for bread and other provisions, of which we have none.

We must also consider whether we can take the responsibility of causing so much bloodshed as would certainly be occasioned here, the more so since I presume and really believe that actual cause has been given to the Acuways, in which belief I am confirmed by the fact that up to the present no plantation has been attacked except those whose owners, according to common report, are accused of having grossly ill-treated that nation, and who were the cause of several Acuways being killed by the Caraibans.

What gives me further cause for suspicion is the fact that although I have already sent several orders for some of the Aruwaks, neighbours of the Acuways, connected with the latter and well acquainted with all their affairs, to come to me in order that I may examine them and send them to the Chiefs of the Acuways to try and establish peace, these Indians have immediately vanished, and are nowhere to be found, but a few days before they had been seen in their houses and spoken to. At the bottom of this are no doubt the people who are afraid that those Indians will bring to light too many hidden acts of injustice. I have sent orders to Demerary, to the Posts, and everywhere to bring me some Acuways here either by persuasive or forcible measures, and I have hopes that when I get some to speak to I shall be able to make peace with them. But if I am unable to succeed in so doing, and if, as I hear, they assemble in

larger numbers and persist in their hostilities, I shall be compelled to choose the lesser of two evils and set the Carib nation at work, which I cordially hope will not be necessary, and which step I shall only take in the last extremity.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.S.—Your Lordships' canoe has just arrived from Orinocque with ten mules. The people on board report to me that the place swarms with soldiers and boats.

No. 121.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

September 9, 1755.

AFTER the despatch of my last, the Postholder of Marocco has come, and has brought me a letter from a missionary Father written to him from Orinocque, wherein he has requested him to deliver up and send to him some Indians of the Chiama nation, by us called Shiamacotte, and who have already (over ten years) been dwelling under the Post, adding that, in case of reluctance, he would come with sufficient force to fetch them, and take them away in chains. The letter has appeared to me a very surprising one. I have given the Postholder a written draft how the letter is to be answered, copy whereof herewith. I have already caused to be purchased a lot of ammunition, and shall therewith continue, as far as possible, to follow your Honours' commands; but, honourable Sirs, I know not whether they will be very carefully performed in those circumstances of times when the flames of war begin to approach us so closely.

Inclosure in No. 121.

Postholder in Wacquepo and Maroco to the Missionary Father in Orinocque.

Reverend Father,

YOUR letter of the 20th July has been handed to me by the Indians, and I learn from the same your request to have some Indian Chiamas living in these parts sent to you, to which I beg to reply—

That the aforesaid Indians have been living here already some years, and being free men I cannot compel them to depart from here, still less can I use any force with them, such being directly contrary to my instructions, in which I am expressly ordered to protect the free Indians as much as lies in my power, to be of service to them, and to ward off from them all violence and injustice.

Should they, however, be desirous of departing of their own free will, I should not keep them back, but let them go as freely as they came. Concerning what you write, that if they will not come of their own free will you would come and fetch them with violent measures, I do not think that you meant this seriously, but that you only said so to frighten the Indians.

Because I cannot believe that you would undertake to violate in such a manner the jurisdiction of their High Mightinesses, my Sovereigns, the allies of His Catholic Majesty, and take a step of such immense consequences.

My instructions are also to take great care that nothing whatever is done either by me or by the Indians living under me that would give the least cause of displeasure to our neighbours; but, on the contrary, to do everything that is possible to keep up friendly relations, which I am always ready to do. My instructions, however, further provide that in case of any violence I must return violence with violence.

Many of the Indians of the Arwai nation who have slaves for their wives on the plantations in Essequibo—and children by them frequently desert them and run away to Orinocque. Such have never been claimed, and we are quite certain that such claim would be refused. How then can we be asked to give up free Indians, although this is a matter which does not concern me, and if anything relating to it be asked I must humbly refer to our Governor; I am only a servant, and can do nothing without his Excellency's orders.

I thank you very much for the bottle of maraen sent to me, and whenever I am in a position to do you a favour or service shall always prove myself ready to do so.

A proof of my respect for you is the return of the Indian who brings you this, because if I had done my duty exactly I should have taken him prisoner, since he is an accomplice in the murder of three Roman Catholic Christians that was committed up in Essequibo, but considering him as an envoy from you I have let him return.

With which, recommending you to the protection of the Almighty, I remain.

No. 122.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

November 24, 1755.

MOREOVER, the Council has sent to Barima a certain An. Christiaansen to invite hither the Chief of the Caribs who murdered the Akuwayas in Mazaruni, to be present at the Session for January next, that we may learn from the same who here have been the causers and inciters thereof, so that I think the tumult of these will now be mostly allayed.

No. 123.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Justice for Essequibo, held on January 5, 1756.

WHEREAS Jan la Riviere has sent in a Petition in which he complained that a certain piece of land situated in the River Bouweron (Pomeroon) has been taken from him in consequence of an action instituted against him by the late Erasmus Veldermans, praying that he may again be put in possession of this land. The petitioner, as his case is without any antecedent, is referred to the Court of Policy, this being the proper body to deal with such requests.

In satisfaction of the Resolution of this Court, dated the 7th October, 1755, concerning the proposals of the respective burgher officers with regard to the removal of the Company's trading post of Moruca; having agreed to hear their opinions, whether it would be advisable and how to employ slaves to perform this work of removal, it having been advised on this day that this work should be done by free and hired Indians, after deliberation it was found good that this removal should be proceeded with without delay, that Captain Stephanus Gerardus van der Heyden is to have the supervision of this work; that after the Captain has given all the required information to his Excellency, the Director-General will order the Postholder to go and take charge of this Post.

No. 124.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 12, 1756.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordships that the accusations made against Pieter Marchal concerning the war with the Acuways were brought up at the last meeting of the Court, when the Caraiban Chief, Aretanna, otherwise called Maraywakke, appeared in person, in consequence of my orders sent to him, and was examined through the medium of the Burgher Captain, L. G. van der Heyden, and Bastiaen Christiaense, both perfectly acquainted with the Caraiban languages. The Chief repeated the charge he had already made to me against the said P. Marchal, and stood his ground without the slightest variation, his language to his accuser being very courageous.

I had previously charged Adriaen Christiaense, sent by the Court to summon the aforesaid Indian, to narrowly examine the man in Barima concerning these matters, and to write down his answers, in order to see whether this Indian would stand by his words and make no variations in his tale, but found that his words, both to me and to A. Christiaense agreed in every detail with what he said before the Court. I have the honour to send herewith a copy of the aforesaid interrogatories made by A. Christiaense and the answers of the Indian. P. Marchal, being heard in the presence of the Indian, persisted in his flat denials, whereupon the Indian told him that he was no honest man, that he retracted his spoken words from fear of punishment, and that he dared not stick to what he had said. "I," said he, "committed the deed by your advice, and killed the Acuways, from whom I brought you four slaves, and although I am an Indian, you do not hear me deny what I have done, as you do." With other hard expressions.

But since, however, it is a prescribed custom here that no Indian's testimony can hold good against that of Christians (a custom that rests on good grounds, because most of them are not to be trusted, and many of them can be made to say whatever one wishes for drink, or other considerations), Marchal was declared innocent of the charges, although I, and many with me, think him really guilty.

He, consequently, returned to his plantation, but on his arrival there the Acuways (who had remained quiet, and done nothing for a very long time) appeared again in large numbers, and compelled him, if he wished to save his life, to take flight as speedily as possible, so that he was obliged to leave his place, and has, so I hear, entered the service of Mr. Secretary Spoors on his Honour's plantation. I should by no means advise him to think of returning to his place, because, whether he be guilty or not guilty, the Acuways would certainly kill him.

It is my belief that this business will quiet down slowly, the Acuways up in Demerary being already perfectly satisfied, and coming here to trade with the Christians as before.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE

Inclosure in No. 124.

Examination of Arraytana, the Caraiban Chief, by A. Christiaense.

DECLARATION of the Owl Arraytana concerning the murder committed by him with regard to the Acuway nation, and also at whose incitement such was committed, as follows:—

Q. To the above-mentioned Owl in what manner he had performed the journey to Essequibo and what his intention was?—A. My journey was because I had been summoned by the orders of my ally, his Excellency, who told me on my coming to him that his Honour had understood that the Spaniards were persecuting us and also killing us; that that was the reason why he had summoned me, in order to tell me that I must hold myself in readiness to come and help him resist the Spaniards, and also that I must warn all the other Caraiban Owls to be in readiness with their subjects to come and help him.

Q. What did you do further?—A. I asked my ally, his Excellency, for permission to go to Upper Essequibo in order to make my bread in Masseroeny before my journey to Essequibo, whereupon my ally, his Excellency, asked me what I wanted to do in Upper Essequibo, whereupon I answered my ally, "Because my brother, Tarawera, has been killed by the nations, therefore I wish to take revenge." Whereupon my ally answered, "It is good. The nation who killed your friend lives in Coenawaroeka." Whereupon I replied, "It is good. I shall also take my revenge there." Whereupon my ally replied, "It is good. But kill no nations who are in alliance with us." Whereupon I replied, "No. I know that such may not be done." So I left my afore-mentioned ally and went to Masseroeny, as far as Tawaaykoere, near Cawaritana, where my bread was made. Then I came away from there—my boat by water and I by land—as far as Marchal's, to get into my boat there and complete my aforesaid journey. I, my brother, and two women came to Marchal, sat down, and were welcomed by him, whereupon he asked me, "Have you been at war?" I answered, "No; because this is the beginning of my journey to the place to which I intended to go." Whereupon Marchal answered me, "What are you looking for, then; because the Acuway nation is looking for you. They have asked me to kill you, because the nation have told me that you have killed their friends. They are therefore seeking to kill Arraytana, Awarawe, Kayrochpo, Aurachpo, and Oerakayare for revenge. They have had a large number of arrow-heads made to kill your people upon their departure, and then they intend taking flight to Camoeran, above Masseroeny; and would you not kill those who seek you?" I answered, "No; because your lord, my ally, only recently forbade me most expressly to do no harm to the nation, who are his friends or allies." Whereupon Marchal again answered, "No; go and kill them, because they are not his Excellency's allies; therefore go and kill them. I shall be answerable for this to his Excellency, and I will write his Honour a letter that I gave you orders to kill them." So on the second day I left Marchal and went to Mr. Pypersberg to speak to him about it. On coming to him I told him that Marchal had directed me to kill the Acuways, and that he had also informed me in what manner that nation intended to murder me, whereupon Mr. Pypersberg asked me, "Are you going to do it?" whereupon I answered him "Yes; because Marchal has incited me against them." Thereupon Mr. Pypersberg answered, "It is good. When are you going?" I said, "To-morrow." Whereupon he said to me, "Go, then, and warn all the other Caraibans of Masseroeny, especially Oeracajare; and when you have murdered the nation, let Oeracajare bring the women to me." Thereupon I departed from thence and came again to Marchal, who asked me what Mr. Pypersberg had said, and I told him all the aforesaid. Whereupon Marchal answered me with gladness, "Did I not say so? And yet you say that our masters will not allow you to kill the nation. Go, kill them, and come back within five days, and bring me the women." Therefore did I, together with the Masseroeny Caraibans, kill the nation by Marchal's order, and brought the women down, three of the best of which I sold to Marchal, and also had to give him a boy into the bargain as a present for encouraging me to commit the murder, because he said, "Did I send you, or did his Excellency do so? Nay, indeed, I think that I gave you permission to kill the Acuways, wherefore the slaves belong to me by right." I answered him, "It is well." I departed thence to Mr. Pypersberg, to whom I also had to give two of the best slaves, because he said to me that he was as much a master as the other. I was therefore obliged to bring to my ally, his Excellency, one old slave. I related all that occurred to me, and the reasons why I killed the Acuways. Then I departed from my ally, his Excellency, and encountered Marchal at the corner of Varken Eyland, and I shouted out to Marchal. He answered, "I am now going to your ally." Whereupon I said to him, "It is well," and I thought Marchal would do according to his promise, and so I went home.

This declared the Owl Arraytana before me.

(Signed)

ADRIAEN CHRISTIAENSE.

Aymara-Aykoeroe, December 17, 1755.

No. 125.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy for Essequibo, held on July 4.

ISAAC KNOTT has obtained permission to cut wood in the Rivers Bowweron and Weyne he offering to pay to the Company for the time of six, eight, or more years the sum of 1,000 guilders, besides the usual charges.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

July 7, 1756.

(Extract.)

A REQUEST from Isaac Nott and Co. to the Council aforesaid to cut timber in Pomaroon and Weyne for the English, for which they have offered to pay annually to the Honourable Company 1,000 guilders over and above the tonnage duty of the barques which come to fetch away the timber, which request, I believe, will be profitable for the Honourable Company, and afford a small revenue from an article from which the Company derives not the very slightest profit, being of opinion that it is good to make money when one can, when no loss afterwards is involved.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

February 15, 1757.

(Extract.)

COMPLAINTS having been many times caused on the part of the Commandant of Oronoque by reason of the evil conduct in Barima of the traders, or wanderers, as well from Surinam as from here. I have written circumstantially to the *ad interim* Governor there, Mr. T. Nepvue, whose reply is awaited daily.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

Rio Essequibo, June 27, 1757.

(Extract.)

IN the matter of J. Knott's request my feelings were quite different from theirs (the Court of Policy), and since I was outvoted in this affair I consider it my bounden duty to respectfully lay before your Lordships my views and the grounds upon which they are based. Your Lordships are pleased to say that the question of opening or not opening the River Pouwaron is bound up with the consideration of J. Knott's request. In reply to this, I beg to observe with all due deference that this does not appear to be so. Because it is a certainty and as clear as the light of Heaven that the opening of the Pouwaron would be most injurious to this river and to the Demerary. It is a matter—and I say so with all respect—that ought not to be thought of until Essequibo and Demerara are so thickly populated that not a foot of unappropriated land is to be found.

The opening up of the Pouwaron is really, my Lords, what has been desired and aimed at for some time past, although the Court of Policy will propose no such measure because the arguments with which I have always opposed it have been found to be so unanswerable and so convincing that nothing in the world could upset them. I ask your Lordships to consider what advantage it would be if some of our well-to-do planters were to ask for a piece of land there to be laid out as a plantation, and employing their best slaves to cut down timber in Pouwaron, raised no produce here except as a blind, and so much less in proportion as they employed slaves in Pouwaron. Would that not be considerably to the disadvantage both of the Company and of the shipping interests? to say nothing of the less wealthy planters both here and in Demerary breaking up their establishments and going to live in Pouwaron. They would then share in the profits of the timber, plant nothing of importance, and draw the inhabitants away from these parts.

A few strangers might possibly establish themselves there, but would there not also be some who only sought to profit by the timber business? since the soil in Demerary, being as good as any in America, no one, *ceteris paribus*, will choose to settle on an uninhabited river when he can enjoy the same advantages on an inhabited one, especially since there is usually a lack of everything in an uninhabited one? In proof of this, I may mention that I have been obliged to have the landing-stage in front of Mr. Van Eys' plantation removed from here to Demerary.

The following is a striking proof of what strangers do when they are granted the privilege of the timber:—Mr. Croydon, of Barbadoes, has a plantation here in Suppiname on which he keeps about forty able-bodied slaves, whom he already had some time before my departure for Europe. he has, however, to my knowledge, not yet sent a single pound of cultivated produce by any ship and has raised nothing but timber. Had there been more like him here, we should have been compelled to stop this kind of thing.

In this matter I am entirely impartial, since neither I nor any of my people have ever raised or sold a single foot of timber. I have therefore not the least interest in the grant or refusal of J. Knott's request, and he being a stranger, I have not the slightest reason for being either for or against him. The only thing that I have in view is the interest of the Honourable Company, according to my oath and duty.

I regard the river of Pouwaron as a district bringing no earthly profit to the Honourable Company, and I am, moreover, convinced that if we should at any time be so fortunate as to see this river and Demerary fully inhabited (which is not to be expected for the next fifty years), it would be somewhat difficult to lay out more than 300 plantations.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy for Essequibo, held on July 3, 1757.

GENET DIRKSE VAN LEEUWEN has asked for the Island of Noriwaka in the Upper Masseroeny, which is granted, provided that this island occupy not more than 500 acres.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 6, 1758.

IGNATIUS COURTHIAL, having undertaken another voyage to the Spanish coast, in which he was very successful, was watched for by the Spaniards as he came down the Orinoco, and deprived of all he had. He and his crew (with the exception of two, who are prisoners) managed to escape overland, and have now arrived here. The man is almost entirely ruined.

I have sent I. Neuman, the Post-holder in Cuyuni, who was recently discharged on account of his bad behaviour, back to Europe by this ship in order to prevent him from doing mischief amongst the Indians—behaviour of which his insolence makes him fully capable.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 15, 1758.

IN the current year many people have died in this Colony, and the garrison is in a very lamentable state; one soldier dies after another, and of those who fall ill there is scarcely one who recovers. We have, therefore, not more than fourteen men at present who are capable of doing duty, none at all in Fort Kijkoveral, which I have had to leave unprotected, and one solitary man in Demerary.

Inclosure in No. 131.

Extract from the List of the Company's Servants in August 1758.

AT the Company's Post, Maroco—
William Lussis, Postholder.
Abraham Mallet, Assistant.

At the Company's Post, Maykouny—
Peter de Wee, Postholder.
Jan Vermeere, Assistant.

At the Company's Post, Arinda—
Anthony Thollenaar, Postholder.
Wolfgang Snoers, Assistant.

At the Company's Post in Cuyuni—
Johan Stephen Iskes, Postholder.
Guilliaem Baptist de Bruyn, Assistant.

Director-General Storm van 's Gravesande to West India Company.

My Lords,

Rio Demerary, September 9, 1758.

HAVING had the honour of writing to your Lordships but a short time ago respecting the state of affairs in Essequibo, I should have very little to say in this letter were I not obliged to inform your Lordships at the earliest opportunity of an occurrence that caused me not only great surprise but also great embarrassment. Nearly all the Caraiban Indians living on the River Cuyuni came down the stream last week, and informed the agents of your Lordships' living just below the great fall of that river that the Spaniards of Orinoco, according to their computation about 100 strong, had come down the stream, and made a successful raid upon your Lordships' Post; that they had carried off as prisoners the Post-holder and his assistant, and a creole belonging to your Lordships, together with his wife and children; that they had laid waste the Post and all round it, and had threatened to come down stream again and serve the whole Colony in the same way.

I immediately sent two trusty creoles up the river with Manna, the old negro who buys our turtles for us, and told them to find out all that they possibly could. They cannot get back before the departure of the ship which is to take this letter, but I will not fail to inform your Lordships of the result of their mission as soon as they return.

The deed I have described appears to me to be not only a violation of international law, but also entirely contrary to the usual mode of procedure followed by nations who are at peace with each other. Had Don D'Ituriaga, who has recently been appointed Viceroy of this portion of America, and who resides in Orinoco, been of opinion that the Post of your Lordships' Company was on Spanish ground, which is utterly and indisputably untrue, it would have been his duty to draw my attention to the matter in a friendly manner, to demand the removal of the Post, and in case of refusal to abstain from any act of violence until he had first reported the case to his Sovereign.

They have had their eye on the river for some time, and I have always had to defend it most vigorously. All these attempts of theirs furnish convincing proof that the stream must be of much greater importance than we are aware of. It is my opinion that this river is of the greatest importance to your Lordships, much more so than any one of the others, and also that it is perfectly certain and indisputable that they have not the slightest claim to it. If your Lordships will be pleased to look at the map of this country, drawn by Mr. D'Anville with the utmost care, your Lordships will clearly see that this is so. Our boundaries, too, are defined in a way which proves that the compiler was very well-informed.

As soon as my people have returned, and I am in receipt of reliable information, I will send someone to Orinoco to ask for the reason of this behaviour and to demand satisfaction. It would not be very difficult for me, by making use of the Caribes, to pay them back in their own coin and drive them from their present position. But since the Indians are unwilling to go without having some white men at their head, and since the arms and supplies of such an expedition would cost a great deal, I shall not think of it without having received express authority. I trust that this may not be necessary, and that everything will be satisfactorily settled without proceeding to such extremities. My only fear is that this man will devise some fresh attack before orders come from Europe, in which case we shall have to return blow for blow.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 133.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

My Lords,

[No date.]*

THE fact of Captain G. E. Boef having changed his mind and put into Rio Demerary for another fortnight, in order to avoid all cause for complaint, affords me the opportunity of writing your Lordships the present letter, my last being already on the way to Essequibo, and of informing my Lords that the men I sent to the Upper Cuyuni to inquire into the reports of the Indians have returned. The said reports turn out to be only too true, the Post-house being burnt down to the ground, the Post-holder and his assistant, together with the creole Ariaen, and his wife and children, carried off to Guiana as prisoners, and all that the Post contained taken away.

There not being the slightest difficulty or doubt concerning the ownership of this portion of Essequibo, most undoubtedly belonging, as it does, to the West India Company, this unexpected and unheard-of act is a violation of all existing Treaties—a violation even of the universal law of nations, and as a matter of the greatest importance it demands your Lordships' attention and vigilance.

Yesterday I sent Mr. Spoor a letter addressed by me to the Commandant of Guiana, to be communicated to the Council, and then to be sent per express to Orinoco. In this I spoke of the raid in the most serious terms and demanded full satisfaction and compensation. As there will be no meeting of the Council until a day after the departure of the "Peter and David," I cannot have the honour of sending your Lordships a copy of the above-mentioned letter, not knowing whether the Council might not consider some alterations or additions necessary. I shall not fail to send your Lordships a copy of the letter at the earliest opportunity, together with whatever answer I may receive. I have explained to them amongst other things how easy it would be for me to exercise the right of reprisal, but have added that I have not the slightest intention of doing so unless I receive express orders to that effect, or my hand is forced by extreme measures on the other side, being convinced that their High Mightinesses would be able to obtain full satisfaction from His Catholic Majesty.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 134.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

January 24, 1759.

THE Governor of Berbice having acquainted me that a clipper there is to depart for Europe in the beginning of next month, I profit by the opportunity to inform your Honours that my emissary to Oronoque has returned back from thence with a very unsatisfactory reply of the Governor of Cumana to my letter to the Commandant of Oronoque, wherein he maintains, *inter*

* In the Volume this comes immediately before the preceding despatch, though clearly later in point of time.

alia, that the River Cayuni is Spanish territory, and refuses to give back the imprisoned Postholder, settler, and creoles.

I have the honour to send herewith to your Honours copy of my letter and of the reply.*

Also, the address of the Governor of Cumana's letter is, "To the Dutch Commandant residing in Essequibo," which sounds very haughty and contemptuous, so that I have caused the same to be replied to by the Commanding Officer here, of which reply a copy also goes herewith.

This treatment, against all justice, and contrary to the right of nations, and these so far-reaching pretensions, being of the most extreme importance for this Colony, I do hope, and doubt not, that your Honours will employ all due means, through their High Mightinesses, to obtain proper satisfaction therefor.

* * * * *

On closing this letter, I take the liberty earnestly to recommend to your Honours' attention the case in Cayuni as being of the greatest importance to this Colony, which river, and the three arms composing this river, comprehend your Honours' indigo and coffee plantations, and a great portion of Duynenburg is situated there.

If the Spaniards hold possession thereof we have them in the heart of the Colony, and no one is for one hour certain of his possessions, the mouth of the said river being only a cannon shot from the old Fort Kijkoveral.

No. 135.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 20, 1759.

THE despatches received from Orinoco having been translated by Mr. Persik, I found one to be from the Commandant Don Juan Valdez, in which he informs me that, being forbidden to enter into any correspondence concerning the matter of Cajoeny, he is obliged to send back my letter unopened; he adds that he has brought the matter to the notice of the King of Spain, and that he has no doubt that I, too, have informed their High Mightinesses of the same, and that, therefore, the case would have to be decided not by ourselves but by our respective Sovereigns. This matter is of very great importance to the Colony, because if the Spaniards remain in possession of Cajoeny, which is one of the arms of this river, and in which there are coffee and indigo plantations belonging to your Lordships, as well as the estates of Old Duynenburg (now allotted to private holders), there will be no safety at all in this Colony. A way for all evil-doers, deserters, and bankrupts will be quite open and free, and the Colony will be ruined immediately there is the least misunderstanding with Spain. Your Lordships will therefore see that this matter is fully deserving of your attention. The Spaniards continue to stay where they are, and to entrap and drive away all the Carabians living there. The latter, on their part, are not taking matters quietly, but are beginning to make a vigorous resistance, and to do much mischief in Orinoco itself. Two well-armed boats have been kept cruising up and down the river, and the Spanish commerce has suffered a good deal.

The second despatch is written by order of the Government, and signed by the Commandant and the Contadoor. I am informed in this that the measure providing for the apprehension and restitution to the owners (on payment of costs) of all fugitive negroes from this Colony and Berbices has been approved.

No. 136.

Extract from the Register of the Resolutions of their High Mightinesses the Lords of the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Tuesday, July 31, 1759.

READ to the [States-General in] Session the Remonstrance of the Directors of the West India Company of the Chamber of Zeeland, acting on account of the General Company as having the special direction and care of the Colony of the River Essequibo and the rivers thereto subject, setting forth that they, in the aforesaid capacity, have been from time immemorial in undisturbed possession, not alone of the aforesaid River Essequibo, but also of all the branches and tributaries which belonged to the river aforesaid, and flow into it, and especially of the northernmost arm of the same river, called the Cajoeni.

That they, the Remonstrants, in virtue of that possession, have always considered the said River Cuyuni as a domain of this State, and have, in consequence, built on its banks a so-called Post, being a wooden habitation, which, like several others in the aforesaid Colony, they have guarded by a Postholder and outpostman† with some slaves.

That, accordingly, it is only with the most extreme astonishment that the Remonstrants have learnt from the Director-General of the said Colony, Laurens Storm van 's Gravezande, that a troop of Spaniards, reckoned at 100 men, had come from Orinoco towards the end of August of the last year, 1758, had attacked, overcome, and burned the said Post, and, further, had led away as prisoner the Postholder and Assistant, as well as a creole man and woman with their children, and carried them off to Guayana.

That the said Director-General, Storm van 's Gravezande, suspecting that the said outrage was committed by a troop of brutal people, without the knowledge or orders of the Spanish

* See inclosures to No. 136.

† Or "scout."

Government, addressed a letter, in the first instance, dated the last day of September, 1758, to Don Juan Valdez, Commandant of Guayana, requesting in language which, though earnest, was not the less discreet, reparation for the said outrage, as may be seen from the copy of the Director's letter which forms Inclosure No. 1 to the above-mentioned Remonstrance.

But that he, the aforesaid Commandant of Guayana, instead of satisfying this just demand, had simply ordered to be written by one Nicolas de Castro from Cumaná, and in every respect haughty and unsatisfactory despatch, addressed curtly to the Dutch Commandant at Essequibo, as is shown by the copy of this letter which forms Inclosure No. 2 to the Remonstrance aforesaid.

The Remonstrants therefore pray, for the reasons alleged, that their High Mightinesses may be pleased to cause such representations to be made to the Court of His Catholic Majesty, that reparation may be made for the said hostilities, and that the Remonstrants may be reinstated in the quiet possession of the said Post situated on the banks of the River Cuyuni, and also that, through their High Mightinesses and the Court of Madrid, a proper delimitation between the Colony of Essequibo and the River Orinoco may be laid down by authority, so as to prevent any future dispute.

Whereupon, the above question having been deliberated upon, and the Lords Deputies of the Province of South and West Friesland having taken copies of the aforesaid despatches and addenda in order to become more conversant thereof, without prejudice thereto, it is resolved as follows:—

"That a copy of the said letter and the documents annexed shall be sent to Herr van Wassenaar, Ambassador of their High Mightinesses to the Court of Spain, and that he shall at the same time be instructed to make this incident known in such quarters as he shall judge useful, to represent the injustice of the aforesaid conduct of the Governor of Guayana on this occasion, and to insist on prompt reparation for these said hostilities and on the reinstatement of the said Directors in the undisturbed possession of the aforesaid Post, as well as to demand that the necessary measures be taken to obviate such causes of complaint in the future."

Extract of this their High Mightinesses' Resolution to be transmitted to Señor de la Quadra, His Catholic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, with a request that he will be so good as to second to the best of his ability the representations of their High Mightinesses at his Court.

Inclosure 1 in No. 136.

Director-General, Essequibo, to Commandant of Guayana.

Sir,

Rio Essequibo, September 30, 1758.

IT was with very great surprise that I learned a few days ago from the Indians that our Post in the River of Cayuni had been attacked by the Spaniards, the master of the said Post, his second, a creole slave of the Company, and a creole woman with her children taken as prisoners, and the house burned, &c.

This news, to which I could give no credence, appeared to me to be fabulous, and the thing an impossibility, and therefore I was still unwilling to take the least step, but I sent first persons to make ocular inspection. These people on their return confirmed not only the truth of the fact, but by another report I learn that the above-mentioned persons are actually prisoners in Guayana.

What am I to think, Sir, of an outrage so directly opposed to the rights of nations and to the Treaties of Peace and of Alliance so happily and so long existing between His Catholic Majesty and their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces?

How is it possible to have the audacity to act in a manner so violent, without reason, without any previous complaint? I am perfectly sure that His Catholic Majesty, far from approving such an outrage, will not fail to render full justice to my Sovereigns and exemplary punishment to those who dare thus abuse their authority.

This great King has given such signal proofs of his amity for our Republic that I shall be well content to make report to my Sovereigns of the affair, leaving it to their discretion to procure for themselves the satisfaction required. But the position which I have the honour to occupy obliges me to take the first step, and in their name to apply to you, Sir, and demand of you not only the release of the prisoners, but also proper satisfaction for so manifest a violation of Treaties and of the rights of nations. As long as I have had the honour of being at the head of this Colony, I have ever tried to cultivate the friendship of the Spanish nation, our nearest neighbours. I have always used all my power to prevent the savage Caribs doing them the least wrong, and if the persons who have been employed on the irresponsible act in question have taken the trouble to seize the papers which were at the Post, you will see that one of the principal articles of his (the Postholder's) instructions contained an express order not to give the slightest subject of complaint to the Spaniards.

It would be by no means difficult for me to take reprisals, having quite sufficient means ready at hand, but I find no reason to use them, considering it as contrary to the duty of an honourable man, contrary to that of a Christian—means which it is not permissible to use except in the last extremity, and when all other expedients have been tried fruitlessly.

By a vessel which is leaving this week for Europe I have reported this incident to my masters. I have not the least doubt that they will be as much surprised as myself at this outrage, and will lose no time in causing complaint thereof to be made at the Court of His Catholic Majesty.

Thus, Sir, in the name of their High Mightinesses, my Sovereigns, and of the Directors of the Company, my masters, I demand of you the liberation and immediate return of the prisoners, and a proportionate satisfaction for the loss and damage suffered, protesting very expressly, in case of refusal, against all the consequences which such an affair must naturally entail, in order that there may never be any subject of reproach against myself, who have always been inclined to cultivate friendship and reciprocal dealings with our neighbours, and I shall persist in these sentiments as long as I am not compelled to do the contrary.

Awaiting with impatience your reply hereto, I have the honour to be, with all the esteem and consideration possible, Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant.

(Signed) L. S. VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 136.

Don Nicolas de Castro to M. Storm de 's Gravesande, Director-General of the Colony of Essequibo.

(Translation.)

Monsieur,

Cumaná, November 10, 1758

THE Commandant of Guiana has sent me, with other papers, a letter which you have written to him, demanding the delivery of the two Dutchmen, a negro, and a creole, with their children, and of all that was found by the guard in command there on an island in the river called Cuyuni, which is, with its dependencies, a part of the domains of His Catholic Majesty, my Master, and on which these prisoners publicly kept up an illicit trade with Indians, Poytos, although it is incredible that their High Mightinesses, your masters, should have authorized you to enter the said domains, or to treat with these Indians in order to make slaves of them. This being so, and our action being a justifiable one, I cannot consent to the restitution of the prisoners whom you demand until I know the will of my Master, to whom I have made a report of all that has passed, with papers in justification of my action. In the meantime, I offer you my services, and pray God to preserve you many years.

(Signed) DN. NICOLAS DE CASTRO,

To the Dutch Commandant resident at Essequibo,
from the Governor of Cumaná.

No. 137.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy, held at Essequibo.—April 1, 1759.

ABRAHAM VAN DER CRUYSSSE transfers to Abraham Cousijn a certain piece of land situated in Masserouny from the creek Cattony to the little creek Assakoeroe, running 25 roods deep.

And John Crynse Versteeg transfers to Mr. Abraham Van der Cruysse his land in Ytoeribisse stretching from the tree Obvedy to the creek Cariaka.

No. 138.

Netherlands' Envoy, Madrid, to States-General.

(Extract.)

August 27, 1759.

I HAD the honour to receive by last post your High Mightinesses' Resolution of the 31st July, and, pursuant to your august orders, I gave information orally of the matter to Señor Wall, and yesterday I repeated my complaint against the Commander of Guayana by a written Memorandum thereof, and pressed for prompt reparation for the hostilities complained of. I must now await reply to the said Memorandum, but think that, meanwhile, I have fulfilled your High Mightinesses' orders; and I shall, further, not neglect to keep the Minister alive to the matter, and thereby as soon as possible seek to obtain a satisfactory answer.

No. 139.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Justice for Essequibo, held on April 8, 1760.

HIS Excellency the Director-General brings to the knowledge of the Court that certain complaints have reached him concerning a certain wanderer named Nicolas Stedevelt, who, without giving any notice, had gone to the Upper Cayoeny, and, making a frivolous use of his Excellency's name, had not only ill-used the free Caribs, but also bound and put them in irons, and taken a wife unto himself.

His Excellency, being very much surprised at such proceedings, had ordered to arrest the said Nicolas Stedevelt, and lock him up in the fortress, until he would be judicially dealt with.

The accused and the complaining Indians being heard, it was stated by the plaintiffs that defendant had put an Indian in fetters and taken his wife, saying that he had orders from his Excellency to act in this manner.

Defendant denies having made use of the name of his Excellency, saying that he was prompted to do what he had done to recoup himself for the robberies committed by the Indians, who had stolen all his goods.

Defendant calls upon one Bastiaan Christiaansen as his witness.

This witness states that defendant had bound a Carib, of the name of Arinopo, which Carib confessed that the Indians had stolen certain goods from Van Stedevelt, and that he himself had received three pieces of iron.

After due deliberation it is resolved :

That as Nicolas Stedevelt never had any authority to act in such a manner, and as only lately a Law was published prohibiting such proceedings, the Court hereby condemns Nicolas Stedevelt to pay a fine of 250 guilders, cautioning him at the same time that, should he not be more prudent for the future, he will be banished from the land.

No. 140.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

My Lords,

Rio Essequibo, May 2, 1760.

I AM in receipt of your Lordships' letter of the 3rd December last, and since there has been no opportunity of writing you prior to the departure of the "Essequibo Welvaeren," I have now the honour to discharge that duty, and will first speak of the matter of Cajoeny.

I trust and doubt not that their High Mightinesses will obtain proper satisfaction for an act that is so entirely contrary to the law of nations, and I can very well understand that the death of the King of Spain must delay the settlement of the matter.

I have very little to add to what I have already had the honour of submitting to your Lordships in several of my despatches, and although I was not aware of what your Lordships are pleased to inform me, viz., that some Treaties were made which decided that the dividing boundary in South America should run inland in a direct line from the sea-coast, as is the case with the English in North America, it still appears to me (*salvo meliori*) to be an irrefutable fact that the rivers themselves, which have been in the possession of your Lordships for such a large number of years, and have been inhabited by subjects of the State without any or the least opposition on the part of the Spanish, are most certainly the property of your Lordships. I am strengthened in my view of this matter by the fact that Cajoeny is not a separate river like Weyne and Pouwaron (which last has been settled, and still contains the foundations of your Lordships' fortresses), but an actual part of the River Essequibo itself, which is divided into three arms about 8 to 10 miles above Fort Zeelandia, and about one long cannon shot below Fort Kijkoveral, and to each of which the Indians give a separate name—the first Cajoeny, the second Masseroeny (in which is Kijkoveral), and the third Essequibo—the principal stream below this division being called not Essequibo but Araunama by the Arawaks, the real aborigines of this country.

Although I do not doubt that your Lordships will now have received the map compiled by Mr. D'Anville, I have, in order to make the matter clear to your Lordships, copied that part of the map which relates to our possessions, and filled in with as much precision as possible the posts of your Lordships' plantation of Duynenburg, situated partly in Masseroeny and partly in Cajoeny. In Cajoeny I have marked your Lordships' coffee plantation, indigo plantation, the dwelling place of the half-free creoles (to which the Spaniards came very close), and Blauwenberg, and [the] Post which was sacked, together with your Lordships' three other Posts in Maroco, in Maykouny, and in Arinda, above Essequibo.

This copy I have the honour to inclose.

I am well aware, my Lords, that to undertake measures of reprisal a distinct order from the Sovereign is necessary, and I should be very careful not to take upon myself anything of the kind. Although an appearance of some such threat is contained in my letter to the Commandant of Orinoco, it has never entered my head to proceed to such extremities, because even in a case of the utmost emergency I should hesitate before authorizing the cruelties indulged in by the Carib nation. I only wished to show the Commandant what we could do if we were forced to it, and his Honour is well aware that what I told him is the truth.

* * * * *

In my former letter sent by the "Loo" I had the honour to inform your Lordships that the matter concerning the slaves who had run away to the Orinoco was almost settled, and I doubt not that soon all will again be at rest. Trade on the river is at present (as far as such trade can be) fairly open and free.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 141.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Essequibo, September 8, 1760.

I HAVE the honour to send your Lordships these few lines informing you of the arrival of Captain Robberts and his ship the "Jongen Abraham," and also of my intense grief that we shall be unable to ship anything from your Lordships' plantations in that vessel, and that it will be as much as we can do to get the required 150 hogsheads of sugar ready for the "Loo."

All this on account of the unfortunate affair that has taken place upon your Lordships' plantation Aechtekerke, where a young creole has hanged himself, and fifteen of the best young creoles have deserted on account of dissatisfaction against the Director. The occurrence has placed Mr. Spoor and myself in a state of great embarrassment; we are at our wits' end, fearing the total ruin of the plantation, the more so since, one misfortune seldom coming alone, both the water-mill and the horse-mill have caught fire at the same time and the roofs of both have been burnt off. The works were saved with the greatest difficulty, and it will be quite six weeks before they are in order again. I immediately sent the adjutant, a sergeant, and eight of the best soldiers to the plantation. This party probably prevented a great many more slaves from deserting, for they took measures to have the whole sea-coast guarded by Caribbians, so that it was impossible for the slaves to get to Orinoco. What I most feared was that they might take the road through Cajoeny where, since the raid upon the Post by the Spaniards there are no more Indians, and there was therefore no means of stopping them. Against my expectations, and with the help of Mr. Van Rode, and under a solemn promise that they should not be punished this time, they came home again, I had strong reasons for making this promise. Twelve have returned to the plantation. I have kept the three ringleaders at the fort until everything is again quiet.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 142.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Demerary, October 24, 1760.

ON the 1st September I received information that the fifteen fugitives were on the other side of the plantation Nieuw Walcheren, where it was impossible to take them with a few men, that being but four hours' distant from Cajoeny and the Blauwenberg. I immediately wrote to the Secretary to call a special meeting of the Court for the 4th, in order to deliberate upon the measures to be taken to put an end to this matter.

Meanwhile, I had sent warning to all the Posts, and had the coast guarded by the Caribbian nation, so that it should be impossible for the slaves to make off in that direction. The road to Cajoeny was open to them, because since the raid upon the Post there by the Spaniards the river has not been occupied, and the road to Orinoco is an open and easy one.

I have been obliged to send a detachment of four of the best soldiers to the Post of Maroco as quickly as possible because the Spaniards are beginning to put their horns out again. Besides a fine boat belonging to Mr. Persik, and used only for trade, they have also taken five canoes belonging to this Colony which were engaged in salting; on their way back they also took some canoes on this side of Barima, and thus within the Honourable Company's territory. Amongst these was the canoe of Aechtekerke and that of Duynenburg—a brand new one out on its first journey. They also threatened to deal with the Post in Maroco ere long in the same way as they had done with that in Cajoeny. I have given the Post-holder instructions that in case such a thing should happen he was to defend the Post with his subordinate Indians to the last man, and I also made the necessary arrangements for an effectual defence.

To what will this lead, your Lordships? If such acts of violence are not stopped, what will the results be? The River Cajoeny is still unguarded, and presents an easy road to fugitive slaves. I have not yet re-established the Post there, always hoping that the matter might receive redress in Europe. I could not act in the matter without using violence, and this I would not do without special orders.

It being presumed that the taking of the boats was really the work of the Spaniards who came up this river with tobacco and other commodities, I have, at the request of Mr. Spoor, supported by the principal inhabitants, sent an order to the Post to let no Spaniards pass this way on any account whatever, except a single one who might be the bearer of letters from the Government. To say nothing of the annoyance occasioned by the loss of two such necessary boats, your Lordships' two plantations are now without provisions for the slaves, and without any means of obtaining them, the river being as good as closed by the French pirates, one of which, called "La Minerve," Captain Bernard L'Escarpeau, was last week in Demerary for fresh water; she had ten pieces of artillery and ninety men on board, who behaved themselves in a proper and polite way. The second Captain, who came to me with the commission, told me that they were on the look-out for a vessel in which old Mr. Clarke was coming here at the beginning of this month; that sixteen of them had left Martinique together to catch him, and that five of them, of which his vessel was one, were cruising in the neighbourhood. About four days after his departure Mr. Buisson, who lives on the plantation De Goede Uytsigt, from which there is a full view of the sea, told me that he had counted more than 100 shots fired out at sea not far from the coast; it is very probable, therefore, that they met the afore-mentioned gentleman.

Under these circumstances, no English can enter the river with provisions, and I very much fear that two barques which we are expecting about this time from Rode Island have fallen into their hands. This would land us in terrible straits.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Essequibo, March 18, 1761.

I AM frequently coerced into taking a course which I really believe to be disadvantageous, and into which I am forced because I do not want to have seven-eighths of the Colony against me.

This is the case with the order I gave last year to allow no more Spaniards to come up the river, for this measure really appears to me to be injurious to our interests.

I have always imagined that it was best for our inhabitants to send few or no boats to Orinoco, and so compel the Spaniards to come here with their merchandize; in this way our people would not be exposed to the least danger, and the arrangement began to work very well. But the jealousy of those who had been accustomed to have that trade in their own hands caused many remarks to be made concerning the permission given the Spaniards, and brought me many remonstrances. Seeing that I took no notice of all this, and merely answered that the trade was free, and that it was only right that all the colonists should be able to profit by it, they brought things to such a pass that, just before the arrival of R. Robberts, a Petition was laid before the Court in the name of the colonists, asking, amongst other things, that the permission should be withdrawn from the Spaniards, and that they should be forbidden to come here.

Finally, on the receipt of a despatch from Mr. Spoors in Demerary, which I have the honour to inclose, I was obliged to bring myself to issue the desired orders, which still hold good. From that despatch your Lordships will see how Mr. Spoors is also deceived. The report of the negro (who was no doubt put up to this) contains a most evident falsehood. The Spaniards whom he accuses, and who had come here with a large quantity of tobacco, could not have got so far on their return journey, and it has also been ascertained that they were in reality still at the Honourable Company's Post at Maroco when the event occurred; and I am also informed on very good authority that the canoes were taken by an armed boat, commanded by Captain D. Flores, who was sent out expressly to catch the Surinama pirates in Barima, and who captured everything that came in his way.

Trade is now at an absolute standstill, because everything in Orinoco being in disorder, the Commandant having been summoned to Cumana to answer several charges brought against him, no boats dare to go to that place, and none being allowed to come here the people who have always devoted themselves to this trade are left with their stocks in a state of great embarrassment.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN S' GRAVESANDE.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

My Lords,

Rio Essequibo, May 28, 1761.

ON the 18th March last . . . I had the honour to send your Lordships a copy of the map of this coast,* which I had forgotten to inclose in my previous letter. I hope the matter concerning Cajoeny will be brought to a happy issue, because it is really of the greatest importance for the Honourable Company. As the case appears to me, there can be no dispute about it with the Court of Spain, it being only too clear and evident that the Post not only stood upon the Honourable Company's territory, but that that territory extends much farther.

I am informed by the Indians that messengers are still constantly being sent to that river evidently to ascertain whether we are re-establishing the post, in which case they would probably again make a raid upon the same.

In Demerary everything is, thank God, going on prosperously, and the plantations in that river are doing well.

Whilst I am speaking of that river, I feel it my duty to suggest to your Lordships that since the coffee plantations there are beginning to make good yields, and the cocoa crop is also very good, it will soon be time for your Lordships to recall the permission kindly given some years ago to sell these products to strangers (on payment of certain dues). There is a great difference between those times and now. At the time of the concession these products were merely extras and of no importance, but enabled the poor to buy what they required from the English. Your Lordships' favour was then of very great service, but since these things are now in a fair way to become some of our chief products, and apparently of very great importance, it would not be at all reasonable to allow strangers to profit by them, and so damage the shipping of Zeeland.

As soon as there is a big fall in sugar it will also be necessary to impose a duty upon kiltum, because the English planters are sure to take that in hand at once. It will, however, be impossible to carry out this measure in a proper manner in Demerary unless your Lordships be pleased to increase the number of the garrison there to about a dozen soldiers, so that the captains may be compelled to show their passports to the harbour-master in order that we may know whether they have paid their dues. At the present time they treat the matter as a joke; not long ago an English captain named Metcalfe, after having concluded his business, left the river without a passport and without having paid a penny of the dues, letting the sentinels shoot as much as they liked. The ~~we~~ soldiers there could not prevent him from going, and I could not send more

* This map has not been found.

because I have only seventeen more privates here, of whom but very few remain when there is some patrol to be sent out, as has frequently been the case lately. At the present moment I have sent one out to Weyne in search of a party of fugitives.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 145.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Essequibo, August 12, 1761.

THE Postholder of Maykouny has sent me word by his assistant that at 6 o'clock on the evening of Tuesday, the 28th July, he heard three cannon shots in Berbices and another at 7 o'clock, and a shot every minute right through the night. It is impossible to form any idea of what this means.

The sworn depositions for which your Lordships ask concerning the canoes captured by the Spaniards cannot possibly be made out, especially those relating to the canoes which were out salting, and which were consequently seized contrary to all right and reason. On those canoes there were no whites; there was only one negro, and the rest were free Indians. With regard to the others, the whites that were captured in them are prisoners in Orinoco and are in the fortress there.

After taking everything out of the Company's canoe of Aechtekerke they let it go, and it came home, but they have kept the fine new canoe belonging to the plantation Duynenburg. The latter having been captured this side of Barima I am of opinion that it was captured upon the Honourable Company's territory, for although there are no positive proofs to be found here, such has always been so considered by the oldest settlers, as also by all the free Indians. Amongst the latter I have spoken with some very old Carai bans, who told me that they remember the time when the Honourable Company had a Post in Barima, for the re-establishment of which they had often asked, in order that they might be relieved from the annoyance of the Surinama pirates; and then, lastly, because the boundaries are always thus defined by foreigners, as may be seen on the map prepared by D'Anville, the Frenchman, a small extract of which I have sent by the "Demerary Welvaeren."

These are the only reasons, your Lordships, upon which I base my opinions, because there are no old papers here out of which any information could be obtained. It appears to me that the Spaniards are not ignorant of this, else they would not have made so many complaints concerning the behaviour of the depredators in Barima. I believe that had they considered it to be their territory they would have found some means for stopping it, especially since they dared to do so in such a violent manner in Cajoeny, when they were perfectly convinced that that place was beyond their own jurisdiction. I hope this business will not be shelved, as it is of too great an importance for the Colony.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 146.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Essequibo, August 28, 1761.

EVERYTHING in the upper part of the river is in a state of upset, the people who live there bringing their best goods down the stream. This is because a party of Spaniards and Spanish Indians in Cajoeny have been down to the lowest fall where your Lordships' indigo plantation is situated, driving all the Indians thence, and even, it is said, having killed several. The Indians sent in complaint upon complaint. I fear that bloodshed and murder will come of this, because if they come below the fall the inhabitants will surely shoot upon them and not allow them to approach, and what will the consequences of that be? We leave the people in peace. So long as I have had the honour of holding the command here I have embraced every opportunity of preventing the Indians from annoying them, and in this I have been fairly successful. Why cannot they leave us in peace? It is really insupportable how, contrary to the law of nature and the right of nations, they first come and attack our post, make prisoners and ill-treat the people in such a way that the holder's assistant has died from it, burn down the house and all it contained, and now still constantly come and disturb us.

It is no use complaining because the Commandant, Don Juan Valdez, in Orinoco, whilst sending back the letter unopened which I had requested the Commandant to write to him, has written me to say that he is forbidden to enter into any written correspondence concerning the matter, and that we must address ourselves to the Court at Madrid.

If I were permitted, my Lords, to do as they are doing I would risk my old head once more and make them pay doubly for the annoyance they are causing us.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 147.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Justice for Essequibo, held on October 5, 1761.

CONSIDERING that a great deal of contraband trade is now carried on in the Cayoeni River, which must, of course, be very injurious to the free Indians;

Considering that it is necessary to put a stop to this as soon and as much as possible, found good to order every one trading or going up that river to provide himself with a proper pass, which must be shown to C. Crewitz, at whose residence they are to make a halt;

This C. Crewitz is in duty bound to investigate what kinds of articles are brought down from the Cayoeny, and especially by slaves; he is to send a Report of the result of his investigation to the Director-General; he is to watch such slaves as might be inclined to run away, to follow them, take them, and bring them back, and receive payment for all his expenses.

No. 148.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Essequibo, January 9, 1762.

TRADE with Orinoco is going on pretty fairly, a number of mules and horses having lately come from there. It is a pity that the mutual jealousy causes the trade so much hindrance. A little while ago a barque and some other small vessels belonging to Mr. Persik being on their way there, they fell in with a canoe belonging to Dr. B. Struys; the barque opened fire upon the canoe, and compelled it to hang back. The canoe, arriving late, could not get a single mule, and had to take only eleven horses. This causes bad blood, and such behaviour may possibly lead to the ruin of the whole business. I fear that this event may give some trouble to the Court when the barque returns.

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 149.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Essequibo, February 9, 1762.

I WAS very glad to see that your Lordships were pleased with my copy of D'Anville's map. That map is not only the best, but the only one in which this coast is exactly and truly given, wherefore I did not rest until I had it, I having seen the same in the hands of His late Serene Highness, who was kind enough to show it me as soon as it was published in the year 1751. I trust that your Lordships will not lose sight of the outrage in Cajoeny. That matter, my Lords, is of the utmost importance for many very weighty reasons, and more than any one in Europe could imagine. Neither my true zeal nor the real interest I take in the welfare of the Company or Colony, nor yet my oath and duty will allow me to sit still or to neglect this matter, and even if there were no important reasons which compelled the Honourable Company to take a real interest in the possession of Cajoeny, I cannot see why we should permit the Spaniards to disturb and appropriate our lawful possessions. Have they not land enough of their own, the possession of which is not disputed? Yes, much more than they can or ever will be able to govern.

They are not yet quiet, but send detachments from time to time, which come down as far as the lowest fall, close to the dwelling of your Lordships' creoles, by which both the settlers and our Indians are continually being alarmed, and take refuge each time down stream. This is very annoying. They must have great and important reasons to make such attempts to obtain possession of this branch of our river, and I have not the least doubt that such is the case, but I hope, too, that your Lordships may find a means of stopping them.

As long as the Almighty gives me strength I shall not relax my efforts in looking for and bringing back the runaways. I am far too deeply convinced of the important consequences of this matter to let it rest. So long as we have the good fortune to stand well with the Indians (and I shall always try to remain so), and keep them under our protection, so long, I say, we need have no fear, for every possible precaution has been taken along the sea-coast, and no negroes can get away unless the Indians connive at their escape or unless they go over to the Spaniards, which, since the occurrence at Cajoeny, can scarcely be prevented. It is some consolation, however, that those who do go to the Spaniards cannot do us any harm.

As it happens, about ten of those who were on their way to Cajoeny have been captured and brought back by the settler J. Cruysse, who lives below the fall, and who was asked and authorized by the Court to act in that way.

The settler, Jan Dudonjon, having been sent to Orinoco to claim some black slaves who had run away from here, and had been apprehended there, was not only unsuccessful in his mission, but was not even allowed to set foot on shore, and was obliged to return immediately. This treatment seems very strange to me. The orders of His Catholic Majesty are that either the

runaway slaves are to be returned to their owners or their value paid. These orders were obeyed at first, and several of our settlers received compensation for their slaves. What is in the wind now I cannot tell, unless it be that the Commander there, Don Juan Valdez (who I am told has three of the runaways in his house), has no desire to pay, and therefore drove our Envoy away. Meanwhile, if the Court of Spain were informed of this gentleman's behaviour in the forbidden trade, which he alone carries on, though forbidding it to all others, I fancy that he would fare badly.

I send herewith a register of this Colony, which I hope will meet with your approval.

From this register your Lordships will be able to see what a small number of slaves there are in this Colony, and that it is really a matter of wonder where all the produce comes from.

Whether the returns of the slaves are properly and truly made out by the settlers there is great reason to doubt, because there are many who have an elastic conscience, or probably none at all.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure in No. 149.

Register of the Colony of Essequibo and Demerary (1762).

(Extract—Title-page.)

REGISTER of the Colony of Essequibo, Demerary, and the dependent districts.

Situated on the north coast of South America, at about 7° latitude north and 42° longitude: from the Creek Abari on the east to the River Amacura on the north, and comprising the Rivers Demerary, Essequibo, Pouwaron, Weyne, and the large Creeks Maykouny, Maheyka, Wacquepo, and Maroco, being a stretch of land along the sea-coast of about 120 mijls, of 15 in 1°.

Belonging to the Honourable Chartered West India Company of the United Netherlands, under the administration of the Chamber of Zeeland.

[Here follows a list of the Company's officers, plantations, and of the colonists.]

No. 150.

The Court of Policy of Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Essequibo, March 18, 1762.

WE have given careful attention to the matters which your Lordships were good enough to submit to our consideration concerning the trade which is carried on between this Colony and the River Orinoco, asking us whether it would not be possible and more advantageous to the Honourable Company if such trade were so managed that the business would have to be contracted for by the Spaniards from Orinoco in this territory instead of our people going to Orinoco, as is now the case. In reply to this we take the liberty of respectfully answering that that trade is not nearly so profitable as appears to have been made out to your Lordships. It really consists of mere bagatelles, and is considered so risky and precarious that not more than two of our settlers (Persik and Struys) carry on trade with that Spanish river. Their boats are mostly manned by Spaniards, who are intrusted with the business both in cattle and tobacco. We also consider it inexpedient to take up this business, which, by the way, is forbidden by the Crown of Spain, seeing that none of our settlers are accorded a pass to Orinoco (as your Lordships know), but are only allowed to have one to St. Eustatius.

And now that England and Spain (as we hear) are again at war, it is very likely that Orinoco will soon be ruined by the English for many years to come.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.
A. SPOORS.
L. L. VAN BERCHEYCK.
DANIEL PIPERSBERG.

No. 151.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Essequibo, April 3, 1762.

I HOPE their High Mightinesses will be pleased to arrive at a favourable Resolution respecting the affairs of Cajoeny, and receive justice in this matter from the Court of Spain.

The reason why I did not claim the boats captured by the Spaniards is as follows:—

The settler Jan Dudonjon having been sent by me to Orinoco with special authority to claim (in accordance with the orders of His Catholic Majesty) a few runaway slaves who were prisoners there, the Commandant there, Don Juan Diaz Valdez, not only refused to give him a hearing, but forbade him to set foot on shore, ordering him to depart at once, and sending him word that he

might go to Cumana, though he knew full well that if the man was not allowed to land he could not possibly get there.

Prior to this he had also returned to me unopened a letter which I had asked the Commandant to write to him. Of what use would it therefore be to take further steps? One cannot even get a refusal when the letters are thus sent back unopened, and the Envoys are driven away unheard.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 152.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Essequibo, May 17, 1762.

FROM the reports received from the upper part of the river, I learn that the Spanish Indians of the Missions continue to send out daily patrols as far as the great fall (just below which your Lordships' creoles live); all the Caribbians have also left that river, and gone to live above Essequibo.

I do not know how matters stand in Post Arinda; the Postholder ought to have come down the stream in October last, or should have sent his assistant. Up to the present I have seen nothing of them, which astonishes me greatly, and whatever inquiries I make I can get to hear nothing of them, so that I do not know whether they are alive or dead. It is my intention to send someone out as soon as possible to make inquiries into the reason of this long delay.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 153.

Mr. A. Spoors, the Secretary in Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 25, 1762.

ON the 16th of this month the Director-General returned to the fort from Demerary.

On the 17th, whilst I was attending the funeral of the late Surgeon-Major Dijkman, the Director Pipersberg came and reported to me that his salter's canoe had been seized by the Spaniards near the River of Weyne, with $8\frac{1}{2}$ hogsheads of salt-water fish, the creole messenger, Jan Broeck, belonging to the plantation of "De Pelgrim," having fortunately escaped and come home. These occurrences do a deal of harm, and I immediately proceeded to the Director-General, and requested him to claim this canoe in the name of their High Mightinesses and your Lordships, although it was not worth half as much as the boat that was last captured from Duynenburg. His Honour promised me to do so, and I trust that it will turn out well. Acting upon some reliable information I received, I have allowed no canoe belonging to your Lordships' plantations to go out salting to Orinoco this year; but if we may not go as far as Weyne, which is your Lordships' river as much as this one, I do not know what to do in future to get food for the slaves.

We presume that this last canoe, as well as that of the colonist Buisson, was not taken by Spaniards from the Orinoco, but by pirates from Trinidad or Margarita.

(Signed) ADRIAAN SPOORS.

P.S.--I have just heard that the canoe of "De Pelgrim" was captured by a boat from Trinitados, and was afterwards stranded and broken, and therefore useless.

No. 154.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Essequibo, August 28, 1762.

ON my return from Demerary the news arrived at the fort that the canoe of your Lordships' plantation De Pelgrim (laden with salt fish) and that of the settler, Andries Heyse, had both been captured in the mouth of the River Wayni (indisputably the territory of the Honourable Company) by whom it is not known, since none of the Indians have come home. But the salter, a creole of "De Pelgrim," who, on the approach of the attacking party, jumped overboard and swam to shore, has told us that the capture was made by the crew of a small schooner, well armed and well manned.

It was thought that this was again an act of the people of Guayana, but Don Rodriguez,

who has lived in this Colony for about five years, and who has frequently performed the journey to Orinoco, coming home about four days after the tidings had reached us, assured us that no ship had left Orinoco, they being all kept in (except such as are lying on the watch) through fear of the English, and that this outrage could only have been committed by the French or by Pirates from the Island of Trinidad.

Heer Vleeshouwer, who had been lying in Trinidad on board the "Willem Zeelandus," also told me that he saw a schooner of that kind lying ready to depart.

From all these circumstances it appears that it was the same ship of which I spoke in my last.

The Postholder of Maroco has come up stream and has reported to me that he has been warned on three different occasions by the Warauws of Trinidad that it is the intention of the Spaniards to make a raid upon that Post, and has asked for reinforcements.

The garrison being extraordinarily weak, and finding myself compelled to send at least eight men to Demerary, I was unable to give him any men, but instructed him to engage one or two mulattos for three months at soldiers' wages if he could get them, telling him that I would provide them with arms and ammunition; in such cases these people are better than soldiers, for they can make their way through the bush and speak the Indian languages.

The Indians round the post are continually asking for guns and cutlasses; as it is impossible to spare these now I am compelled to ask your Lordships to send me a parcel of good guns and cutlasses. These will be urgently required, especially if the piracies continue, in which case we shall be obliged to employ the Carabian nation, who cannot or will not fight without guns.

Having written thus far I receive a despatch from Maroco in which I am informed that it is the people of Trinidad (as I thought) who commit the piracies. I have immediately written by express Indians to the Governor of Trinidad.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 155.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 29, 1762.

THE Indians have also informed me that the Spaniards up in Cajoeny are engaged in building boats. What can all these things mean, my Lords? I fear that this may lead to the entire ruin of the Colony (which God forbid) unless rigorous measures are taken. Our forbearance in the matter of Cajoeny makes them bolder and bolder. At the time of that occurrence the Carabians were full of courage and ready for all kinds of undertaking; now they are all driven away from there and have retired right up into Essequibo.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 156.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

November 6, 1762.

ONE of the prisoners, a negro, has often waited upon Mr. Vleeshouwer in the Captain's house at Trinitados, and one of the other prisoners lived for some years with Mr. Persik, and was brought up by him.

When they came on shore to Mr. Persik, a Spaniard from Orinoco, who happened to be there with his wife, hid themselves in a dark place. These rogues spoke amongst themselves in the Waykien language, which they well know is not understood here. Taking a good look round, they said there would not be much difficulty in plundering the plantation, which, being understood by the Spanish woman, she immediately repeated to Mr. Persik after their departure. As it is feared that the pirate may return, Mr. Zeagers' vessel is kept in readiness, and eight to ten citizens keep a look-out on Amwabiesjes by turns.

The Postholder of Maroco being here, as I had the honour to inform your Lordships in my last, I gave him a despatch to the Governor of Trinidad, with orders to send the same by Indians of that island as soon as possible.

Instead of executing that order, I understand from his assistant, who came here on the 14th September, that he has not even returned to the Post, but that he is staying up in the bush through fear of the Spaniards, and that he had sent to the Post for his belongings.

This reprehensible conduct made me very angry, and I have sent him orders to come here at once, it being my intention, should he not be able to exculpate himself, to give him a gun and make him serve the remainder of his time as a soldier.

I would like to give the Post to his assistant, a stout-hearted fellow, who was formerly the Postholder in Cajoeny, and unfortunate enough to be taken prisoner and sent to Communa, but he endured so much at that time that he is in a bad state of health, and only just able to walk.

It is also my intention to send an Envoy to Trinidad, but so long as I am not perfectly certain that the pirate has gone, I dare not do so, fearing that if he met my messenger he would murder him, in order that the complaints of his conduct should not reach the proper quarter.

On the 11th September the Caribian nation unexpectedly sent messengers down the river, inquiring how matters stood with the Spaniards, saying that they would certainly not allow the latter to obtain a footing here, and that they were ready to aid us with all their might.

I answered them that there was no great danger yet, it being only one small pirate who was causing this commotion, but I requested them to be good enough to keep their arms and boats ready to come down at the least warning, and that in such an event we would provide them with powder and shot. This they accepted and promised.

My letter to the Governor of Trinidad is sent off, but I have not yet received any reply.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 157.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

November 25, 1762.

WHILST I am writing I receive a letter from Mr. Persik, informing me that a flag-of-truce or cartel boat from Trinidad has arrived in the river with letters from the Government there to me the bearer of which, who was a member of the Council there, he himself, together with Mr. Van der Cruysse, would bring to me on Monday, the 15th.

These gentlemen having come to me, and the letters being opened, we understood, as far as we could make out from that of the Governor (who has only lately arrived from Spain) that he had had the goods that were captured by the pirate and mentioned in my last letter impounded, and that the same were lying at the disposal of the owner; he also requested that some one might be sent to claim them, together with the costs, &c.

The second, from the Governor and Council, was to announce that they had unanimously resolved to declare the communications between this place and that island open and free.

This may prove of great advantage to this Colony. I immediately wrote to Mr. Courthial, requesting him to come here to translate and copy the letters. Should he come before the departure of this vessel, I shall have the honour to inclose copies of the same, otherwise they will be sent by the next opportunity.

I shall send to Demerary this week for the prisoners who were put on board "De Hoop" by order of the Court (to be sent to Europe), and will let them depart with the Spanish Envoy. As things have turned out, it is a good thing that the ship has not yet gone.

Captain Minkevelt staying fourteen days longer, I am enabled to send your Lordships a copy of the translation of the Spanish letters from Trinidad, together with a copy of my first despatch to the Governor of that island, which the Commandant of Orinoco, Don Juan Valdez, was polite enough to return to me, refusing not only to deliver the same, but also compelling the bearers to depart at once. This is his usual mode of treatment. I sent off the aforesaid despatch with the flag-of-truce, and together with another letter containing, however, only compliments, and informing the Governor that the Councillor Abraham Van der Cruysse would leave here in the middle of this month as a flag-of-truce, and in order to settle matters concerning the pirate and the further contents of the Spanish letters. The papers for Mr. Van der Cruysse are ready. I have sent my letter for the Governor to Mr. Spoors this morning in order to have it entered.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure in No. 157.

Director-General Storm van 's Gravesande to the Governor of Trinidad.

Sir,

December 1762.

I HAVE had the honour to write to your Excellency by Don Fernando Felipe Lopez, and to reply to the letters with which it has pleased your Excellency to honour me.

These lines will be handed to your Excellency by Mr. Abraham Van der Cruysse, a member of the Court of Policy of this Colony, whom I take the liberty of sending as a flag-of-truce, with the commission and full power to demand justice from your Excellency and to claim the goods seized, contrary to the law of nations and contrary to the tenor of the Treaties existing between His Catholic Majesty and their High Mightinesses, by an armed vessel of your Excellency's

Government at the mouth of the River Demerary and also at that of the River Wayni, and also compensation for the damage caused by these depredations.

In the commission given by your Excellency to Dcn Fernando Lopez I have seen that the corsair had alleged that the boat which he took at the mouth and even in the River Demerary had no passport—a very frivolous excuse and an ungrounded one, since passports are never given to boats going from one plantation to another, and which are going to board vessels in the Colony itself, and since this is only done for boats which go from one country or from one Colony to another.

On the other hand, Sir, the Company's boat from which he took the salt fish at the mouth of the Wayni, and which he afterwards smashed, and that of our colonist Andries Heyse, which he pillaged, were both provided with passports in due form.

On the boat belonging to Mr. J. B. Struys, which he captured at Demerary, there was one white and four free Indians, and from that which was at Wayni he carried off a free Indian, saying that he had need of him to show him the way to Demerary. I therefore take the liberty to claim these six persons, one white and five Indians.

Mr. Van der Cruysse will have the honour to set forth this affair more fully by word of mouth. I beg your Excellency to be good enough to have faith in his representations, and I flatter myself that your Excellency will have the kindness to do him full and prompt justice, assuring your Excellency that on all similar occasions your Excellency will find me ready to act in a reciprocal manner.

I have taken the liberty to give the bearer another letter for your Excellency concerning what you were good enough to write to me respecting the inhabitants of your Excellency's Government.

I conclude with the assurance that I shall always be with the most perfect esteem and consideration, &c.

No. 158.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 22, 1763.

BUT do your Lordships not think that we might, meanwhile, and without exercising the least violence, again take possession of the Post in Cajoeny, and place a subaltern officer there with ten or twelve men as a guard, against which I do not think the Spaniards would dare to undertake anything? I take the liberty of recommending this to your Lordships' serious consideration as a matter of great importance both for the Honourable Company and for the Colony, several slaves having already run away in that direction, and the Colony lying open on that side to all Spanish undertakings.

I was very pleased to hear that the Directory of the Colony met with your Lordships' approval, and I have the honour to inclose herewith, according to your Lordships' instructions, a similar one made out on the 1st January of this year.

I shall not fail to address myself to the Spanish Government in future in case anything happens. But, my Lords, if letters are sent back unopened, and they are treated as my last one to the Governor of Trinidad was treated in Orinoco. I see no other advantage in doing so than that which your Lordships are pleased to mention—that it forms a better ground upon which further claims may be based. The gentlemen there are so ridiculously grand that they took it as an insult that I sent them a sergeant on the former occasion, and they asked whether no better qualified persons were to be found in this Colony.

Our Councillors and citizens are not at all inclined to undertake such commissions. Mr. Van der Cruysse (whom I expect back shortly) was good enough to undertake the last commission to Trinidad, but he would certainly not have done so had he not had something else in view, which it is very easy to understand.

Everything is going on pretty well at Post Arinda, I having discharged the Postholder on the last day of December 1762, on account of his neglect and unpardonable laziness, and appointed the assistant, Hendrik Bakker, in his place; but I have as yet selected no fresh assistant, because I would like to have a competent and trustworthy person.

Whilst considering the importance of that Post and the meagre knowledge we have of it, I came to the resolve last year to send two persons, named Elias Lindgreen and Joseph la Chau, who appeared to me very confident to undertake such a matter, up the River Demerary and so to the Post and further up Essequibo for discovery. But as the best planned undertaking often miscarries, ill-luck willed that these two persons tell out, Joseph la Chau returning to me from the Post, and the other proceeding on his journey alone, from which I promise myself but little good.

Joseph la Chau brought me one of the most exact accounts of his journey that I have ever seen, and since both that and the list of necessities made out by him in view of such an undertaking have convinced me of his fitness, I resolved to immediately send the list to Mr. de Bruyn, with a request to furnish me with the things at the first opportunity. It is my intention to send the same person up river again as speedily as possible and well escorted, and to risk a little sum in this, because I feel pretty certain that it will be of very great use, and bring us much profit, over and above the fact that an acquaintance with the interior and the course of our river is well

worth the trouble expended; the only reason why such was not done much earlier is that I had no proper people to do it.

I was very pleased to hear that your Lordships were satisfied with the map of Vlaggen Eyland, and I heartily wish that I could send your Lordships a correct map of this river. I have spoken about the matter to my son-in-law, and have strongly urged him to undertake the work. This he is quite ready and willing to do; but, my Lords, this is an entirely different work from that of sketching Demerary. The breadth of the river, the many islands that are in it, some of which are, I believe, a third of the size of the Island of Walcheren, and which would all have to be separately measured, because the map must be precise if it is commenced at all; all this makes the work difficult and tedious.

The Postholder of Arinda has reported to me, and his report has been corroborated by Joseph la Chau, who came down from the Post about that time, that the nation of Manoas (called here along the bank Magnouws), being dissatisfied with the treatment they received from the Portuguese of Brazil, had resolved to come to this Colony to make a Treaty of Commerce with us; and that a strong body had set out with that object. Also that the Caraiaban nation, jealous of its trade, had a few years before my arrival in this Colony (as the old Protocols show), been the means, by holding out false inducement of getting the Envoys of that nation badly treated (several of them having been killed), and that, moved by the same spirit, it had now assembled on hearing this news, and had lain in ambush for the Manoas in order to prevent their progress. This caused a sharp fight, in which both sides lost heavily; but the Caraiabans were totally defeated and put to flight. The Manoas, feeling themselves too weak after their losses, postponed their journey till this year, and sent word to the Postholder that they would come down in such numbers as to have no fear of the Caraiabans. On the other hand, the Caraiabans are assembling from all sides in order to oppose them, so that it is possible that we shall this year see one of the bloodiest and most obstinate fight that has probably taken place in these parts for 100 years or more. I hope the Caraiabans may get a good hiding, because I have always wished to see a few Manoas here, being convinced that it would be of considerable advantage to this Colony. Mr. Van Deyra, who was the second voice in Brazil, and who had fled from there on account of some difference with the Bishop of Fernambucq, and who had lodged with me here for some weeks, having given me full information concerning that nation and the great advantages the Portuguese derived from it.

I have informed the Chiefs of the Manoas, through the Parhawaens, their friends, that we should welcome them and receive them well; that in order not to give umbrage they should, however, not come down stream in such great force, but that on arriving at the Post their Chiefs could come here under the escort of the Postholder or his assistant, whilst the others would wait there; and that the Caraiabans would not dare to do anything to them whilst they were under that escort. I am very anxious to hear the outcome of this matter.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure in No. 158.

A REGISTER of the Colony of Essequibo and Demerary for 1763, similar to that for 1762.*

No. 159.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 9, 1763.

I HAVE just received information that a mutiny has broken out upon the principal plantation in Canje; that two whites have been murdered, and that all the slaves have run away. Desertion in Berbices is getting very common, and matters are daily becoming more dangerous. My garrison is very weak, and the citizens not very willing. I fear that I shall have to go to Demerary earlier than I intended.

I shall write to Post Arinda as soon as possible to instruct the Post-holder to induce the Caraiaban nation, by the promise of a recompense, to take up arms in this matter.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 160.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 2, 1763.

[After a long description of the slave-rising in Berbices, he proceeds:—]

AT the beginning of these troubles I had sent to Upper Essequibo to warn the Indian nations, and, if possible, to get them to take up arms. They did, indeed, hold their arms in

readiness, but went no farther. It has therefore been resolved by the Court that Joseph de Meijer a person who is well acquainted with all the inland roads, and has a perfect knowledge of the languages, is to go up the river and place himself at the head of the nations; that he is to closely besiege the upper part of Berbices, close all the passes, and capture, living or dead, all who take that road, the Postholder having strict orders to accompany him, and to afford him aid in all matters.

The aforesaid Meijer has orders to send expresses from time to time informing us of all that he learns, and to hold himself in readiness in case it should be necessary to attack the rebels from the side of Demerary (of which he would be immediately informed), to drop down stream with his men in order to assist in the attack.

I have written this week to the Governor of Surinama, and by a boat which I am dispatching in a few days' time to Berbices I shall write to the Governor there to acquaint him with these measures.

Mr. Van der Cruysse has at last (after we had already given him up for lost) returned from Trinidad, his journey having been of little use. He has, so he reports, gained the law-suit against the pirate, but as the latter has appealed to the [Court at] Margarita it is shelved for a time, and I fear that we shall receive but little justice. I have sent the letters which he has brought from the Governor of Trinidad to Mr. Courthial to be translated, their contents being still unknown to me. I hope that they may arrive in time to enable me to send them by this vessel.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 161.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

June 20, 1763.

I HAD sent one Joseph de Meijer (appointed for this purpose by the Court) to Upper Essequibo to unite the Caraibans and other nations who were already informed of his coming to closely guard the upper portion of Berbices, and to await my orders there.

Inclosure in No. 161.

Extract from a Journal kept by L. L. van Berckheyck in Demerary.

June 20, 1763.

ERHARD ATTINGH tells me that P. A. Scheuneman has written to him saying that Joseph Meijer, with the Caraibans up in Demerary, had killed ten out of the twenty corsairs who had come with the inland Indians to kill the Aaway Owl (or Chief), named Condo, that he had put the others to flight, and that he had already departed with his Caraibans to Berbice in order to fight the rebellious negroes.

No. 162.

Secretary, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 12, 1763.

THE uncertainty of how they would be treated by the Spanish is the reason why I have this year sent no boats belonging either to the Company or to myself out salting to the coast of Orinoque. The slaves are, therefore, obliged to make the best of what I can give them.

No. 163.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 18, 1763.

HAVING since received a report that our Envoy, Joseph de Meijer, had passed the upper part of Demerary with a considerable body of Caraibans, and had posted himself in Upper Berbices, I immediately dispatched a boat to Berbices to inform the authorities of this fact.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

September 27, 1763.

BEGINNING with Essequibo, I will first mention the Posts, or so-called trading-places, four in number, of the Honourable Company.

The first is Maroco, situated between this river and Orinoque, under the direction of which are the Rivers of Powaron and Weyni. full of Indians of the Caraiban, Arawak, and Warouw nations, whose help is always required, both by the Company and by private salters and traders, and who have also to be kept in a continual sort of subjection in order to prevent the escape of runaway slaves, and to facilitate their capture.

The road to the Spaniards leads past this Post, so that no one can go that road without the knowledge of the Postholder, who therefore, if he wishes, can generally get to know what is going on in Orinoque. This Post was of very great importance when trade was still carried on there for the Honourable Company; it then furnished orange dye and boats, and since the cessation of the trade there is a great want of the latter.

On the other side of the river is the second, namely, Maycouni, between Demerary and Berbices. The chief use of this Post just now is really to keep possession of the country, for without it Maycouni would already have been inhabited some time from another side, concerning which matter I had the honour to write fully some years ago.

Formerly this Post used to furnish a considerable quantity of orange dye and boats, as is to be seen in the old business books.

The third is Post Arinda, above Essequibo, really intended for the trade in red slaves and dye and for the further exploration of the lands and nations of the interior, as well as to prevent the slaves making off in that direction.

The fourth, and last, is the still abandoned Post in Cajoeny, abandoned since the raids of the Spaniards, a Post of the very greatest importance, because the Spaniards, in order to get to this river, and the slaves in order to escape to them, have a free and open road, and also because the Spaniards have driven away the Caraibans who lived there, and who could apprehend and bring back the runaways.

The Chief of the Acuway nation above Demerary has come down with two negro girls and three hands of negroes, bringing information that he had made a night attack upon the plantation De Savonnette, in Upper Berbices, and killed fifty-five negroes, men, women, and children, of the rebels; that on the approach of the neighbouring rebels he had been obliged to desist, his party being only twenty-seven strong, and that he had therefore retired without having had one man killed or wounded; that on the journey back he had met a considerable number of Caraibans making their way to Berbices, to whom he had given all the necessary information. He asked for nine rifles, powder and shot, to return to Berbices immediately, and join the Caraibans in attacking the rebels. These were given him, together with some necessary instructions, which he promised to bear in mind.

Three canoes full of Caraibans from Wayni passed this river on their way to Corentin, bent on the same errand.

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Commandeur of Demerary to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Demerary, October 5, 1763.

ON the 9th August I was informed by the oldest Captain of my civilian bands that the Accaways and the Caraibans had attacked the plantation Savonnette and had killed a pretty large number. This report he had received from the Indians, and on the 17th of the same month the Accaway and Caraiban brought me the proofs informing me at the same time that on their return journey they had met the Caraibans from Essequibo who were on their way to attack the rebels.

I have charged the aforesaid Accaways and Caraibans to return to Berbice, which they have agreed to do, and they will depart on the 4th September.

(Signed)

L. L. VAN BERCHEYCK.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

October 18, 1763.

IT is certain, your Lordships, that this not the time to think of the re-establishment of the Post in Cajoeny. That matter will give us plenty of work to do when, with the blessing of God, all is at rest and in peace, because, the Spaniards having driven all the Indians out of the river, it will be no small matter to get all the necessary buildings in readiness there.

No. 167.

The Governor van Hogenhèlm in Berbice to Director-General, Essequibo.

(Extract.)

February 25, 1764.

I AM delighted with the zeal and care which your Excellency continually manifests in urging the Indians to march towards our frontiers. This is really the means by which the country may be kept in order. If they all put forth their best efforts, I doubt not that matters will end well, and when Demerary is protected by a war-ship I trust that your Excellency will find no difficulty in sending the brave Caribans of Barima out upon our rebels.

No. 168.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 28, 1764.

THE Indians whom I had encouraged, and who had already undertaken two successful expeditions to Berbices, being encouraged by this, came to my house on the 19th December, to the number of fully 100, inquiring into the state of the Colony. I informed them, through the medium of Mr. Van der Heyde, who understands their language thoroughly, both of the Governor's journey up the river and of the overland march of the detachment, at which they were very pleased, and having been given a quantity of guns, powder, shot and flints, they departed with a promise to set out for Berbices, and to keep a look-out for the fugitives in the forests and other places there.

* * * * *

The Caribans, about whom mention is made above, have come back, bringing with them a large quantity of right hands from the rebels whom they killed, for which I paid them this morning, it being the custom in the Colonies to pay as much for a runaway's head or hand as for a slave.

The new Governor of Orinoco has sent a trustworthy man here, bringing an assurance from his part that it is his intention to allow trade to be carried on with this river (but with absolutely no other). I had written to his Honour by an earlier messenger, but that letter had not yet reached the Governor when this man departed. I am writing to him again this week about six runaway slaves belonging to Mr. Malgraef, who had fled in that direction, and also to warn him concerning the rebels of Berbices.

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure in No. 168.

Extracts from the Journal kept by the Commandeur in Rio Demerary.

November 2, 1763.—Have received information that five slaves from Berbices, who had been temporarily placed on the Honourable Company's plantation Duynenburg, in Essequibo, had run away with a corry (boat) in the direction of Demerary.

November 3.—Copy of a pass issued to day:—

"Permit the Caribian Owl (or Chief) named Jourawarie, to pass and return, with his accompanying men, from here to Rio Berbice and back, requesting every one not to stop their progress.

(Signed)

"L. L. VAN BERCHEYCK."

Rio Demerary, November 3, 1763.

November 27.—The Caribans and Arawaks have brought me three negro boys and one negro girl, saying that they had brought them from the plantation in Berbice upon which Mr. Hendrik van Dalen had lived, they having killed an innumerable number of slaves on the aforesaid plantation, both by throwing them into the water and by burning them in the house, and that they had also killed the two free Indians who had shown the rebels the Indian houses, and who had escaped from the house which had been set on fire.

No. 169.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 9, 1764.

I HAVE just been disturbed by a body of Carai bans collected by your Lordships' creole Veth (who, had I employed him in the beginning, would have been of immense service beyond all expectations). About six weeks ago I sent him up the river, and now he comes back with such a band that I must declare that I have never seen so many Indians together before. My house is so full that no one can get through, and this, too, is the smallest portion, the other lot having gone overland to Demerary to wait for these, who have asked me for only twelve rifles, powder, and shot for the Chiefs, which I have given them; they are leaving for Berbices to-day with letters from me, in order that they may be employed there as may be found necessary.

With the return of Mr. Schutz I have again received letters from Berbices, of which I have the honour to send you copies, wherefore I shall not dilate upon that matter.

From these your Lordships will see the reasons for anxiety concerning Demerary were well grounded, the last body attacked, consisting of about 300 rebels, having been entrenched between Berbices and Demerary, not quite ten hours from the last-mentioned river.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 170.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

Rio Demerary, June 15, 1764.

AS soon as I get back to Essequibo I shall regulate matters there. At the Post in Maykouny there is one Postholder with his assistant, that being enough for that place; at Arinda there is one Postholder with two men. In Maroco, which is of more importance on account of the runaways and the strangers who pass that way, and who are beginning to play the master there, there is a Postholder and three men, to whom I think of adding another. I shall try and make the necessary arrangements with the Carai bans in Cajoeny to station an under-officer there with eight men; but some time will be wanted for this, and nothing can be done in the matter so long as the rains last, the falls being unnavigable.

I have ordered the Postholder of Maroco and Maykouny to get the Indians to make, at any cost, boats, both for the forts and for Demerara and the plantations. . . .

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 171.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 1764.

I THINK that trade with Orinoque will now be fairly easy, because our boats not only go to and fro unchecked but only last week two Spaniards came to me with formal passports from the Governor to come here. Essequibo was not expressly mentioned in them, but the neighbouring Colonies of friends and allies, which is equivalent.

I have the honour to send herewith—

A brief treatise concerning the Honourable Company's outposts.

Copy of Instructions for the Postholder at Arinda.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.S.—I have this week given orders to remove the Post Arinda four days' journey higher, at the mouth of the River Ripenuwini, so that the Post is now about 100 hours from Fort Zeelandia. I have also given orders for going up the Essequibo, which has not yet been done, in order to visit the numerous and powerful nation called Tarouma, and, if possible, to discover the source of the Essequibo.

Inclosure 1 in No. 171.

A brief Treatise concerning the Honourable Company's Trading-places.

(Extract.)*

THE Honourable West India Company possesses within this Colony four different Posts or trading-places, viz.: one in the creeks of Maheyka and Macaurni, generally called Maykouny, one above Essequibo, one in Cajoeny, and one in the creeks Wacquepo and Maroco.

1. That in Maheyka and Maykouny lies about eight hours up the creek which is situated between Berbices and Demerary, about seven hours eastward above Demerary.

This district is mostly inhabited by the Naatje-garouna, called by us Warouws, who live mostly in the morasses, building their houses chiefly on piles. They support themselves entirely by working for the whites, being good workmen (but very dishonest), or by making boats. This, and the salting of fish in the dry season, together with keeping possession between the two Colonies, is the entire use of this Post, where there are only two men to keep an eye upon the run-away slaves either from this or other Colonies.

If there was no Post here the Indians would soon be driven away by the tyranny and harsh treatment of the settlers.

2. The Post above Essequibo, called Arinda, of entirely different importance, lies about seventy hours (at a guess, because it has never been exactly measured) above Fort Zeelandia, up the River Essequibo, and, as it is thought, at about four degrees and a few minutes' latitude north.

To get to that Post several falls, some of them very large, have to be passed; they are not really very dangerous for those who have Indians in their boats who know the way, and accidents are seldom or never heard of, the few which happen being due to men's own faults, drunkenness or foolhardiness.

The trade carried on there has hitherto consisted in red slaves, and in Acuway and Ataray dyes, which, although very pretty to look at, have up to the present not been of any use.

Although the trade in red slaves might be made very profitable, it contributes but little to the importance of this Post, because, in addition to the latter being of great service in keeping up the communication and friendship with the inland nations, by means of which great discoveries might be made, it should also be stated that not very far above the Post two other rivers (called Sibarouna and Ripenuwini, the first of which is not yet very well known) fall into the River Essequibo.

But the second having a very extensive course, there is a place a few days' journey above the Post where, by dragging the boat for about three hours across a low and marshy land, we come into the creek Meejou, also called Maho, which flows into the Rio Bianco, and the latter into the Rio Negro, which falling into the Amazonas, can make communication with that great river easy.

Up in Ripenuwini there are found whole forests of cocoa.

In the same river is the great and hitherto but little known crystal mine; it is of little importance in itself, but the unanimous testimony of writers on precious stones, and all the reports of the Spaniards living right away up in Oronoque, agree that these crystal mines are the mothers of the emerald which, if found there, and there alone, could here be exported with profit.

The Essequibo itself (which is worthy of admiration), retaining its beauty, evenness, breadth, and magnitude, is unexplored a few days above the Post, no one having gone in that direction. This may be accounted for, I believe, by the fact that the wanderers in these parts are ignorant folk, mostly like the Indians, who kill their own sheep, and wander about without troubling themselves to make discoveries or procure advantages which are still somewhat uncertain.

According to the course of this river, which runs from south to east and south-south-east, it is thought, with some reason, that its source cannot be far from the Amazon, and that it perhaps even corresponds with that river.

In a great Savannah next to the river is the celebrated but little known Pyramid.†

Up in the river, on the banks of the same, but a good way up, there lived the numerous nation of the Manoas, here called Magnouws, much feared by the other nations, and which, in the time of the late Commander de Heere, was so injudiciously and childishly driven away, badly treated, and for ever estranged from us, that the efforts made to enter into communication with it have hitherto proved fruitless—a political dodge of the Caraiban nation of which it would be thought incapable. The Portuguese in Brazil are indebted to this nation for the discovery of the gold and diamonds. I have heard and read a good deal of this, but have heard it corroborated by Mr. del Forres de Bandeyra, the second person in Brazil, who came to lodge with me a few years ago on fleeing from Brazil on account of some dispute with the Bishop of Fernambucq.

It is now easy to understand of what importance this Post may become if it be intrusted to sensible and steady people.

* The passages omitted throughout this Treatise are details of the general trade and business of each Post, or of native tribes, &c.

† There can be little doubt that this Pyramid is really the remarkable mountain Roraima.

It is known that gold dust was brought thence in former days, and De la Chau, in his journey through Demerary to Essequibo some years ago, found a few grains of it.

Our runner, Jan Stock, has been so far up the river that he has seen the missions of the Portuguese, but did not dare to approach them out of a childish fear of the Indian traders.

It is indisputable that many discoveries of great importance might be made in that region.

The unsuccessful journey of Nicolaas Horstman, sent up that river in the year 1740, would have been of great advantage if he had not been a scoundrel, and had followed his instructions instead of running away with his merchandize to the Portuguese, in going to whom he took the road of Ripenuwini, and of which Mr. de la Condamine speaks in his journey of the Amazon, which journey he also uses as a proof of the non-existence of the Lake of Parima. Strange as it may seem, it is known but little or not at all that the great River of Masserouney, lying between the Essequibo and the Cajoeny, runs south-west right into the interior of these lands; that it is by no means so dangerous in falls as the two others, there being only one place where it runs under a very large rock about a few miles long; and that it was navigated and found to be without danger by the colonist C. Finet. The colonist E. Pipersberg is the only man to my knowledge who has been any distance up the river, in pursuit of thirteen of his runaway slaves, whom he got back, too, from a nation which had never seen a white man, and which refused him admittance to its land, he having got his slaves back through the medium of a free Indian known to that nation, and by means of payment.

3. The third Post was on the River of Cajoeny, which river, like that of Masserouney mostly runs in a straight south-westerly direction, after having first flowed for some miles in a westerly one; according to the unanimous testimony of the Indians, these Rivers Masserouney and Cajoeny have their source in a large lake or inland sea as the Indians call it, which lake is inclosed by high mountains, inhabited by vast numbers of Indians, who, through fear of the Spaniards, allow no strangers to come into their country, it being related that already two detachments of Spaniards sent into those parts to make discoveries have been beaten and massacred.

Whether this lake is the Lake of Parima or that of Cassipa is not yet known.

Now, this Post was, as is known, attacked in a treacherous manner contrary to the law of nations, and contrary to all Treaties, by the Spaniards of Guajana in the year,* with a detachment of 100 men, the Postholder and his assistant being taken prisoners to Guajana, and from there to Comana, the buildings at the Post being destroyed and burnt. The reasons that they had for such unlawful proceedings must be best known to themselves, because they can have not the very least shadow of a claim to possession, or it must have been the chimerical pretensions of the priests in these parts that the whole of America belongs to His Catholic Majesty, and that all other nations hold possession merely *precarie*, and by permission.

So that they must have had entirely different reasons, and which must be of great consideration to authorize such an excess—which reasons can very well be guessed, but not being certain about them, I will pass over them in silence. The same reasons which made the Post of Arinda above Essequibo of importance and utility also exist here. In addition to this, there is also the fact that [the bend of] this river is a tract of land along which the Spaniards spread themselves from year to year, and gradually come closer by means of their missions, the small parties sent out by them coming close to the place where the Honourable Company's indigo plantation stood, and being certain to try and establish themselves if they are not stopped in time.

Guayana, or Orinoque, has now become a Government, and the new Governor has brought orders, and is actually at work, to leave and to break down the town or village in Orinoque, and to bring it a few days' journey higher up the river, by doing which, and on account of the ramifications of the two rivers, he is brought much nearer the River Cajoeny. This immense work and the heavy expense are not undertaken without some important and certain aim.

That the River Cajoeny is full of mines is pretty certain both from the unanimous testimony of the Indians, and from the fact that the waters of this river, which have been stagnant amongst the mountains, are found to be undrinkable, and even, to some extent, poisonous, at the end of the dry season and when the rains begin. They are then exceedingly unwholesome, and full of verdigris.

The copper-mine in the Blue Mountain is well known, but besides this it is seen that the Indians have silver collars, which they make themselves, and which, according to their words, they get from the mountains.

Many stones are found there full of arsenical matter and every appearance of rich metal.

In the year 1758 a rich silver-mine would have been discovered had it not been for the treasonable conduct of a half-free creole, who was consequently made a slave, and who is now actually at work at Fort Zeelandia.

We must have no expectations of getting information concerning any mines from the Indians. The common people themselves know nothing of them, and it is only the Chiefs and the Elders who carefully keep the same secret, and make the other Indians believe that the Jawaho or Devil lives in those places, by which they are frightened from approaching those places.

This is caused by the harsh treatment of the Spaniards, the first discoverers, who, by making them work in the mines, have sent many thousands of these people to the other world.

Our itinerant hawkers, as superstitious as the Indians themselves, are also very careful not to come near those places.

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* Blank left in original. The year was 1758.

† There is an erasure here in the Director-General's own handwriting which makes it rather doubtful how he finally intended these words to stand.

This Post is also very necessary to stop the slaves who run away to the Spaniards, this being the nearest way.

4. There now remains only the Post situated on the sea-coast between Essequibo and Orinoco, in the Creeks Wacquipo and Maroco, not far below the River Powaron, which creeks have an inland water communicating with Powaron, as also with the River Wayna, which has one with the River Barima, which are all navigable in the rainy season, and thus of very great use in furthering commerce both with the Indians and with the Spaniards, all who do not sail in very large ships, having to pass the Post on their journey from Orinoco. The trade of that Post formerly consisted mostly in boats and orange dye, of which last it used to yield a very large quantity, though now it sends none.

The boats which come from there are by far the best and most durable, being manufactured by the Warouws, who inhabit the islands in the mouth of the Orinoco.

The importance of this Post consists in—

1. Keeping possession of that district.
2. Stopping and catching the slaves who try to run away from this Colony to Orinoco, and who mostly pass this way.

3. Providing the Indians who are required both by the Honourable Company's plantations as well as by private colonists to go salting, most of those who live under this Post being good sailors and used to the sea.

4. Providing the necessary boats.

The holder of this Post could make a large fortune if he was a man to look after his own interests, because, in addition to the trade with the Indians in hammocks, boats, salt-fish, slaves, and other Indian merchandize, which is not without good profit, all the Spaniards who come here with mules, cattle, tobacco, hides, dried meat, &c., pass the Post, and stop there for a few days to refresh themselves and their animals. If he kept a stock of the things that the Spaniards required, the latter would be very pleased to buy them there, and not be obliged to go further. This fact it is easy to grasp.

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In addition to what has been briefly stated here concerning the Posts, or trading-places, there must also be considered the vast extent of the districts situated between the four Posts, without reckoning those which are past the same, and belonging to the jurisdiction of the Honourable Company.

* * * * *

Above the first fall in Essequibo a Jew named Moses Isaac de Vries, who has now been dead some years, commenced a sugar plantation, and the cane which was grown there called forth the admiration and astonishment of all the inhabitants.

The Rivers Masserouny, Cajoeny, Powaron, Wacquepo, Maroco, and Weyni, &c., surpass this one so greatly in the matter of fertile lands that not the slightest comparison can be instituted.

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If we ever desired to follow the example of the English and French, the Posts of which I have spoken would be absolutely necessary and indispensable, and (be it said) if this matter is not taken in hand, our neighbours will quietly approach and surround us, and finally, without exercising any violence, drive us from the country. This is already beginning to be observed, and what can we expect from the numerous arrivals of settlers in Cayenne and the removal of Spanish people and plantations in Guayana so much nearer to our boundaries? The latter go to work openly, like a proud nation, and they can therefore be better opposed, an open enemy never being so dangerous as a secret one.

But the former will go to work in an entirely different way. They will, I think, at first be careful not to pass the River Marewyne on the sea-coast (their boundary-line with Suriname), but it is to be expected that they will do so inland and behind our Colonies, and then quietly reach the banks of the Essequibo, and thus approach us (e.g., the Ohio in North America) or the Portuguese on the Amazon.

A few years ago I saw a passport issued by a Governor of Cayenne, which was headed, Governor of the French Colonies from the Amazon to the Orinoco. *Ex ungue Leonem.*

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Inclosure 2 in No. 171.

Instructions issued by the Director-General in Essequibo to the Postholder at Arinda.

INSTRUCTIONS to the Postholder in Upper Essequibo, which he will have to follow carefully.

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The Post-holder shall try to maintain and cultivate friendly and peaceable relations with the Indian nations as far as lies in his power, and shall not allow those nations to be unjustly or badly treated by any one, whoever it may be, and should any such offences be committed by wanderers,* the latter, although they may be provided with a pass, shall instantaneously and directly be sent with one of his assistants to Fort Zeelandia.

* This word is always used to mean the trader moving from district to district, see note on p. 90.

II.

He shall keep a look-out with all possible zeal for runaway slaves, capture them, and bring them to the Fort, receiving in return the reward set upon them by the Honourable Court.

III.

He shall allow no foreign traders from wherever they may be in the River Essequibo or in the rivers that fall into it, nor any traders of this Colony except such as are provided with a proper pass, but shall arrest them and send them to the Fort. It is well understood that free Indians are not included in this.

IV.

He shall collect with all possible zeal the outstanding debts both of the Honourable Company and others, and shall employ persuasive measures to get the Indians to pay.

V.

He and his assistants shall be allowed to trade on their own account, but they shall all be obliged, before disposing of their slaves or goods, to show them to us first (without any or the slightest exception), we reserving to ourselves the right of purchasing any of the same, and paying them the full value for them.

VI.

For old debts which he collects for colonists he shall receive 10 guilders per slave over and above the costs (if any).

VII.

He shall execute carefully, exactly, and without delay all orders sent to him by the Director-General.

VIII.

As soon as it is at all possible he shall remove the Post to the mouth of the Ripenuwini, such being considered absolutely necessary.

IX.

He shall try to make his way up the River Essequibo as soon as possible, and enter into friendly relations with the Taroumas and the other nations living there; if possible, too, with the Manoas (also called Magnouws); and of any expenses which he may be compelled to incur he shall make out an account which will be paid him by the Honourable Company, provided it be not too high or exorbitant, for he must be careful in this, and try to be duly economical.

X.

He shall not permit any wanderers from this Colony to proceed up the Essequibo past the Post at Ripenuwini (though they may proceed up the Ripenuwini itself), in order that our good relations may not be disturbed by the usually bad behaviour of such people, and he shall read this article of his instructions to all wanderers coming up stream, that road being strictly prohibited to them, and those who continue their journey contrary to his orders he shall immediately send down.

These two Articles being of great importance, are recommended to his most serious attention, and if carefully observed by him, his conduct shall be mentioned to their Lordships, in order that he may be rewarded according to his merits.

XI.

By friendliness with the Indians he shall try to discover where there are mines, precious stones, or such things, and when properly informed of where such things are found, he shall carefully mark the places and send us a Report.

XII.

He is also to examine carefully the crystal mine above the Ripenuwini, and if it is at all possible he shall inspect the Pyramid or get his assistants to do so, and send us a Report upon the same.

XIII.

The assistants are ordered to follow these instructions literally, to obey their Postholder carefully and without opposition, failing which the Postholder shall immediately send the same down the river, when they will be shipped to North America in the first departing English vessel; not the slightest consideration will be shown in this matter to those who fail to do their duty or to carry out these instructions.

And the Post-holder shall further act in all things as it behoves an honest and trusty servant of the Honourable Company to do.

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Fort Zeelandia, on the Rio Essequibo, August 14, 1764.

No. 172.

The Shareholders of the Dutch West India Company in the Chamber of Zeeland to their High Mightinesses the States-General.

(Extract.)

October 23, 1764.

IT has pleased your High Mightinesses to send to the Presidial Chamber, Amsterdam, by Resolution of the 16th and 27th July of this year (1764), copies of two despatches written to your High Mightinesses by Captain Van Oyen on the 10th and 27th April last concerning the bad state of defence in which the Colony of Essequibo and the rivers belonging thereto would, in his opinion, be, unless the measures suggested by him for remedying the same were put into execution; together with orders to the aforesaid Presidial Chamber to lay before your High Mightinesses an account of the state and condition of the aforesaid Colony, and of the measures employed for the defence of the same; and also to furnish your High Mightinesses with its opinion and a report upon the further contents of the aforesaid despatches.

Further, your High Mightinesses will have seen from the several despatches of the aforesaid Presidial Chamber, laid before your High Mightinesses' Assembly on the 8th August last, that the Presidial Chamber endeavoured to excuse itself from making the said Report on the ground, as they say, that since the differences arose in the year 1750 concerning the navigation to the Colony of Essequibo and the rivers belonging thereto they had entirely abandoned the direction and responsibility of the same to this Chamber—an assertion, your High Mightinesses, by no means admitted by the Chamber of Zeeland, but concerning which the same will not enter upon any further discussion now, firstly, in order to avoid any friction with other Chambers, and, secondly, in order not to needlessly tire your High Mightinesses with any matters beyond the present concern; the Chamber of Zeeland also respectfully contends, your High Mightinesses, that especially since that time it has managed the affairs and the defence of the Colony of Essequibo in such a manner that it can fearlessly submit the same to the inspection of the Sovereign.

And these are, therefore, also the reasons why this Chamber considers it best to draw up directly and in its own name the Report required concerning the above-mentioned despatches from Captain Van Oyen, but to send them to your High Mightinesses, nevertheless, through the usual channel of the Presidial Chamber, so that the said Chamber may add in a separate *Mémoire*, *simul et semel*, such remarks and reflections as it might wish to make to your High Mightinesses.

In order, therefore, to carry out the contents of the above-mentioned Resolutions of your High Mightinesses in due order, the Chamber of Zeeland will, in this Report, dwell more particularly upon the two following points, to wit:

Firstly, the state of defence in which the Colony of Essequibo was at the time that Captain Van Oyen arrived there; also, that the aforesaid state of defence was such that no other or further reasons can be required.

Secondly, that the information and reflections of the said Captain Van Oyen are not so well based as they appear at first sight to be, and that his measures of redress are mostly impracticable and beyond all possibility.

Concerning the point, your High Mightinesses will please to understand that the Colony of Essequibo comprises the district of the north-east coast of South America lying between the Spanish Colony the Orinocque and the Dutch Colony the Berbices, and that the same is crossed not only by the chief river, the Essequibo, but also by several small rivers, such as Barima, Weyne, Maroco, Pouwaron, and Demerary, from which it takes the name of the Colony of Essequibo and the rivers belonging thereto, though in the whole of the aforesaid district—at least as long as it was under the direction of the West India Company, until the year 1750, no other river than the chief river of Essequibo was inhabited or populated.

That on an island in the aforesaid River of Essequibo there was established of old, just on the spot where the rivers Cajoene and Maseroeni fall into the same, and therefore on a point of land more than twenty hours' march from the mouth of the aforesaid river, an old fort, called Kijkoveral on account of its position, where at one time the Commandeurs had resided.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 28, 1764.

THE hewn stones of Fort Kyköveral could be of very great service, but, my Lords, to break them down and bring them away would require very much time and labour. It is an old Portuguese work, built extraordinarily tight and strong.

When your Lordships' honoured letter was read to the Council of Justice at their last meeting one of the Councillors asked whether the forty men which your Lordships destined for the garrison of this Colony were for both rivers. Upon my replying that I understood it so, he answered that twenty men in each river was much the same as if there were only two Councillors present; he thought it better that the consideration of the aforesaid despatch should be adjourned until there was a full meeting of the Council.

I have received a report from the few colonists who still reside in the upper reaches of the rivers that a few weeks ago they had seen a white man with a few Indians proceeding down the falls of the River Cajoeny and proceeding up the River Masserouny. I reproached them very much for not apprehending and sending the man to the fort, and expressly charged them that if they caught sight of others they should immediately apprehend them and send them to me, which they promised to do.

There is something behind this, my Lords; these are spies who come and get all the information they can, and I fear that some trouble or other is brewing on the side of Cajoeny.

Whatever trouble I have taken, and whatever promises I have made, I have not been able to get any Indians up to the present to aid me in re-establishing the Post in Cajoeny, and without their help it cannot be done, because with slaves it is not only too costly but also too dangerous, so that I am in great difficulties with this work, and the re-establishment of that Post is, in my opinion, of the greatest necessity.

The quiet but steady increase made in the population of Cayenne affords me not only much food for reflection, but three or four weeks ago I received a letter from the Governor of Suriname in which he expresses himself very fully upon that subject, and in which he, like me, sees fatal results for our Colonies on the mainland.

I have the honour to send your Lordships herewith the conditions laid down by the Court of France for that population (possibly your Lordships have already seen these, but we have this copy from the ship that was wrecked near the Corentin). That Court is not accustomed to lay out such unheard-of sums as have been expended in this matter without having some great and important aim.

I have, as I had the honour to inform you in the postscript of my last, given orders for the removal of Post Arinda, and it is my intention, as soon as it is at all possible, to establish it much higher still, or to establish another Post higher up (but since this last cannot be done without special orders from your Lordships, I am obliged to await these first) in order that I may, at least, receive detailed reports of all the movements made by our neighbours in the interior, for the course of our River Essequibo runs so far southwards that I most certainly think it must, partly at least, run behind Cayenne, although very far inland. What gives occasion for more reflection is the fact that the French Commissioners who have been to Suriname and Berbices concerning the ship that was wrecked are doing their utmost to convince the people that the project is impracticable and must be dropped. I, for my part, have lived too long in these countries to allow myself to be blinded in that way.

The Governor (Cromelin) tells me also that the French acted with no very good faith with the rebels of the East Indian ship "Nyenburg," since several, and not the least of them, are still in Cayenne, and who knows, says his Excellency, whether it was not on account of the officers whom he sent there, or some of whom he may have received. I am told that he has written fully concerning these matters to the Suriname Company.

Thus, what with the French on the east and the Spaniards on the west, we are really like a little boat between two men-of-war.

I shall not attempt to give my masters advice in a matter which it is in no one's power to prevent or to circumvent. My only aim in this is to respectfully submit to your Lordships what is our humble opinion concerning this in all our Colonies situated on the mainland, and our well-grounded fears concerning the consequences.

I, for my part, see no remedy for this matter except by populating the Colony and establishing good Posts in the interior, from which a sharp and careful look-out can be kept upon all movements.

Because, I have already had the honour of informing your Lordships, that if anything be undertaken it will be done inland, and not on the sea-coast; of this I am perfectly certain, and I do not think that two years will elapse before we see something of the kind.

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 174.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 3, 1765.

FRIENDLY relations with the Indians are certainly of the greatest necessity to the Colony; the dangerous circumstances in which we found ourselves, and the loyalty shown and assistance rendered at that time by the Carabans and Acuways, have given convincing proofs of what advantage their friendship and how injurious their enmity might be to the Colonies. Notwithstanding this, many of our colonists do not hesitate to ill-treat and oppress these people in every way. Your Lordships would not believe how I am troubled by the complaints of these people; within a fortnight I have had more than ten of them who came to tell me their grievances, and only this morning I had three.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure in No. 174.

Register of the Colony of Essequibo and Demerary (1764).

(Extract—Title-page.)

REGISTER of the Colony of Essequibo, Demerary, and the dependent districts.

Situated on the north coast of South America, at 7° north latitude and 42° longitude from the creek Abari on the east to the River Amacura on the north, comprising the Rivers Demerary, Essequibo, Powaron, Weyne, and the great creeks Maykouny, Maheyka, Wacquepo, and Maroco, being a stretch of land along the sea-coast of about 120 mijls of 15 in 1° belonging to the Chartered West India Company of the United Netherlands, under the administration of the Chamber of Zeeland.

No. 175.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 11, 1765.

I HAVE not received any report concerning the removal of Post Arinda. I had instructed the Postholder to come down at the beginning of this year, but as he has been earnestly charged to keep a sharp look-out upon all that goes on beyond his Post and in the interior, he has possibly been detained. Since my letter by the "Sarah," I have received no further information from Cayenne.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 176.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 27, 1765.

I HEAR nothing of the Postholder of Arinda; if anything had happened to him I should certainly have heard something of it through the Indians, and therefore I do not know to what to attribute his long silence. I presume that he has gone among the nations right up in the interior in order to obtain accurate information of how matters stand. I am longing for his coming, and have sent orders to the Post to send me information. Our travellers who were wont to go up stream to trade with the Indians do not seem to care to continue their visits, for not one of them comes and asks for a pass now.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

My Lords,

August 13, 1765.

HAVING left Essequibo on the 1st June, I arrived at Demerary on the 3rd. I thought that I should again be prevented from undertaking this journey, as I had already been prevented on four consecutive occasions, because a few days before my departure I had received tidings from Upper Masserouny that the Caraiban nation was at war with that of the Acuways, and that the latter had massacred all the women and children in a Caraiban village on the Masserouny.

Not without some reason did I fear that we should again be mixed up in this as we were a few years ago, especially through the indiscretion of some itinerant traders and avaricious settlers, who, without taking any heed of the consequences, allow themselves to be drawn into these quarrels upon the slightest inducement of profit, supporting one or other of the parties either with arms or with advice, which being discovered by the other side always leads to fatal results, and might be of great danger to the Colony itself.

But in the meanwhile the Assistant of Arinda having arrived with a written Report from the Post-holder, in which he informs me of this matter, I, finding that it was not so bad as had been thought, although at bottom perfectly true, set out upon my journey, leaving Commandant Bakker written instructions to send me immediate reports of any events of importance, and in case he should be compelled by the danger of the settlers up the river to send any soldiers there, to give the commanding subaltern strict orders to act simply on the defensive, and not to interfere directly or indirectly in the quarrels of the Indians, nor yet to allow himself to be induced on any account to undertake any attack. I also impressed upon the planters the desirability of remaining perfectly neutral in this war.

The Report from the Post-holder of Arinda states that all is still well as far as the Post is concerned; that he had intended to proceed up the River Ripenuwini, but had found the Macoussis and Wapissanes, the two nations living there, at war, which had stopped him half way, but that he, having summoned an Owl of each nation, had told them that he had received orders from me to proceed up the river, and that he should come as soon as his assistant had returned from below, whereupon they had answered him that he might do so without any fear; that he had not yet removed the Post, having found out that the site first selected at the corner of the Ripenuwini was covered with 4 feet of water in the rainy season, but that he had found a very good site half-an-hour higher up.

The Post being at present surrounded by swarms of Caraibans who had taken up a position there, and were only waiting for the abandonment of the Post to fall upon the Acuways, against whom they felt very bitter, he had not considered it advisable to remove yet, since, by his doing so, progress up the river would be made unsafe, nay, impossible. Wherefore he had done all that he possibly could to pacify the two nations, and had fairly succeeded; but those nations not being very trustworthy, he asks whether it would not be best to leave two men at the old Post whilst he went up the river with one as soon as he was sufficiently certain that the natives would keep the peace or go and fight it out further inland, where they would in all probability find their match, and thus become somewhat more tractable.

This suggestion corresponding pretty well with my own ideas, I shall authorise him to put it into execution provisionally.

Nothing has yet been heard of any strangers in the interior, and he has made such arrangements with the Indians that whoever might turn up would be immediately seized and sent to the fort. *Principiis obsta, sero medicina paratur.*

He had sent one of his assistants to the Pyramid.* This man gave me a verbal account of the same, and brought me a drawing, which was so confused that I could have made absolutely nothing of it unless I had had his verbal explanation. I shall attempt to bring it into some order on paper, and will then have the honour to forward your Lordships the same.

I was obliged to send the Postholder of Maroco away from here very quickly, because the Indians of Pomeroun came to the fort to report that some canoes filled with Spaniards were in the Pomeroun, and because a letter came from his assistant informing us that some murdered Indians had been found in the Itaboos. I charged him to go and inquire into these matters as speedily as possible, and, if necessary, to immediately send to Mr. Bakker, who would then send him assistance. The creole belonging to your Lordships sent up the river to spy out has also returned. This bold fellow has been as far as the Spanish Mission, pretending to be a runaway. He stayed there for a few days, and brought some pictures of saints back with him in order to prove that he had really been there.

He reports that there are swarms of Acuways at that Mission, situated about four hours from Cajoeny on the west, and that the missionaries are the cause of the war between the Caraibans and that nation, the natives being incited and provided with arms by them.

He also says that preparations are being made to establish a new Mission between Cajoeny and Masserouny, that is, in the middle of our land.

Should this happen we shall be compelled to oppose them with violence, because the consequences of that could only be harmful, and would finally result in the ruin of the Colony. This is certain, that so long as no satisfaction is given by the Court of Spain concerning the occurrence of the Post in Cajoeny, the Spaniards will gradually become more insolent, and will encroach upon our ground from year to year.

* See note on p. 129.

I shall meanwhile keep a watchful eye upon all their operations, and again send out the same creole as soon as the dry season sets in.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 178.

West India Company to Director-General, Essequibo.

(Extract.)

September 19, 1765.

WE are perfectly at one with your Honour that the restoration of the Post in Cayuni is of the highest necessity, and accordingly it was most acceptable to us to learn finally that Indians had been found to offer a helping hand provided an assurance of protection against the Spaniards was given them, which it was easy to promise.

We fully concur with the ideas of Director Van der Heyden, communicated to us by your Honour, concerning the just mentioned Post in Cayuni, both with relation to the opening of a provision garden, and also to the segregation of some of the creole slaves of the respective plantations, and we shall be pleased if the necessary orders be drawn up by your Honour on this basis.

No. 179.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 13, 1765.

I HAVE received a report from Post Arinda that all was still well in those parts, and that the Post-holder will come down himself about New Year.

F. Dorst, the Post-holder at Maroco, having sent in his resignation, I have sent for the assistant, Charles Maini, whom I shall appoint Post-holder in his place. I have also discharged the Post-holder of Maykouny because he did nothing at all, and I have appointed Constable Jan van Wyngaerden in his place.

I very much fear that I shall never have the pleasure of getting really competent Post-holders, there not having been a single one since the alterations concerning the Posts were made. As they now do business for themselves and not for the Company, they are entirely spoilt by the settlers, doing business for the latter, and remaining themselves poor devils, always overburdened with debts. This discourages them and makes them inattentive servants, who care but little how matters go.

* * * * *

I have received the ring-collars for the Indian Chiefs; they are very pretty, too pretty, in fact, and too heavy for Indians. Those which they use are on an average about as thick as a shilling, and set in a piece of wood to make them stronger.

I have been informed that the two Owls (or Chiefs) of Essequibo and Masserouny are dead. Whether this is true I do not know, but I have not seen them for six months.

I have sent word to him of Barima to come here, when I will give him one of the ring-collars.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure in No. 179.

Report of the Postholder at Maroco to the Director-General.

(Extract.)

Your Excellency,

October 3, 1765.

HAVING this morning received your Excellency's letter by the negro, I immediately sent out for as many Indians as were to be got. I have just sent Scharlemijn with Bel Roose to Weyne and Barima, as far as the mouth of the Orinoco. [If] at sea he should accidentally run into one of the two rivers because there is nothing to show which Orinoque is, they may probably have some chance of concealing their boat, and immediately have me warned.*

I am lying between the mouth of Maroco and Boueron (Powaron), so that I can see everything that passes the sea-coast. If I had had a Dutch assistant I would have gone myself, and would have left P. V. Meere at the Post with a little boy. This is all that I can tell your Excellency; as soon as I have tidings I will let your Excellency know at once; in all probability they have already passed Maroco.

Your Excellency's humble servant,
(Signed) J. F. DORST.

* This sentence is almost hopelessly corrupt in the original.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

My Lords,

December 27, 1765.

HAVING just concluded my despatch to your Lordships to be sent by this vessel, I received tidings by a second express from the upper part of this river that several Indians of the Spanish Missions which are above Cajoeny had sailed down that river, and had proceeded up the Masserouny under the leadership of an Indian [*sic*] officer, whereby the people living up there have been in a state of great uneasiness, and not without reason.

Thereupon I immediately sent off an order to H. Lussis, Director at Old Duynenburg, to summon the Honourable Company's creole, Tampoko, who is up there, and to charge him to get a few Carabans to go up the Masserouny with him to apprehend that Spanish officer, and to bring him to me.

Also to inquire most carefully whether a commencement had been made with the projected Mission between Cajoeny and Masserouny, of which I had the honour to write to your Lordships by the vessel "De Spoor;" this being the same creole of whom I had spoken in my despatch by "De Spoor" as being a bold and fearless fellow, in whom I think I can trust.

And I have ordered Commandant Bakker to hold himself in readiness to start up the river with a detachment at a moment's notice in case that should be found necessary.

I have communicated to Director Van der Heyde your Lordships' orders concerning the Post in Cajoeny, which is getting more necessary every day, and a beginning will, God willing, be made in the matter immediately after New Year.

Many conjectures, some ridiculous and all equally vain, are being made concerning the continual journeys to and fro of the Spanish Indians. The idea that seems to me most feasible is that they are doing this to win over the Indians of Masserouny, in order that they may not be disturbed by them in the establishment of their projected Mission.

* * * * *

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

January 18, 1766.

THE white man who had come down the River Cajoeny and sailed up the River Masserouny, as I reported in my last despatch, has got away and has not been seen since, but having received news in time of the coming of the Spanish Indians and their Captain, as they call him (we say an Owl), your Lordships' creole Tampoko, having very carefully observed my orders, went after them immediately with a party of Indians, overtook and brought them here to me, and being again immediately sent out to go and find one of them, a very suspicious character, who, I had been informed, had gone overland to Pomeroon to buy boats, he came back to me very quickly with him.

Having closely interrogated the former, I found that they had come at the request of a Carabian Owl of Masserouny, who, having an old grudge against the Acuway nation, had urged the others of his nation living under this jurisdiction to help him to fight the Acuways, which they had, however, refused to do, reminding him of my oft-repeated commands. He had then called these Spanish Goats to his assistance, but the Acuways, warned by the other Carabians, were on their guard, and ready to receive them well.

I ordered the Spanish Goats to return to their homes immediately, and not to come here again, otherwise I would have them received in a disagreeable manner, whereupon, being greatly terrified, they departed with the utmost haste.

I have sent word to the Owl of Masserouny that in case he did such a thing again I would send him to North America in an English ship. He has promised me to obey this order. I have treated him in a much more lenient manner than I should otherwise have done, because he is one of those who behaved so well at the time of the troubles in Berbices.

During the examination of the Spanish Indians, I found that the guns, powder, and shot which Messrs. Van der Heyden and Bakker had found in their boats up in the river had been sold to them by the colonist, Bastiaen Christiaense, for hammocks and greyhounds.

They said that he had not actually incited them to murder the Acuways, but that they could do what they pleased, because it was a savage nation for whom we did not care. This is bad behaviour, my Lords, for it is still fresh in our memories what danger the Colony was in, and what trouble I had to keep on terms of peace with that nation; but I am convinced that this man will declare it all to be a pack of lies when I speak to him about it, which I intend to do at an early opportunity.

This was not the case with the other Indian brought down by Tampoko; this man was found to be a spy from the Spanish Missions, going continually to and fro to report what he saw. I have placed him in Tampoko's keeping, and ordered him not to move out of sight of the latter, and the Indians round about us have promised to crack his skull if they find him alone.

According to the reports of the Spanish Indians, it is only too true that there is a desire to establish new Missions in Cajoeny and above Cajoeny, but now that a beginning was to be made on the 1st with re-establishing the Post, I hope that an end will be put to all these encroachments. I have already engaged a Post-holder who is well acquainted with Indian languages, and as soon as some of the buildings are ready I will give him a commando of one under-officer and

six men to begin with until it is well established; but I have some trouble in finding six Protestant soldiers, it being of importance that no Roman Catholic, and especially no French, be sent there, because they are not to be trusted at all, and more than half of the garrison consists of Frenchmen.

I beg your Lordships to be good enough to carefully examine the soldiers that are sent us in future. Pray do not let us have any more French, and as few Roman Catholics as possible. The Commandant cannot find six Protestants for the Posts in Cajoeny, and we dare not trust Catholics to go there. What is to be done?

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 182.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 6, 1766.

I WAS very pleased to hear that your Lordships approved of the instructions and orders given to Commandant Bakker concerning the measures to be taken during my absence with regard to the war between the Carabian and Acuway nations. The same were accurately followed, and so much was done both by persuasion and by threats that, although there is a great feeling of bitterness on both sides, nothing of importance has actually taken place, the fighting having been restricted to a few skirmishes that occurred under cover of night. I have as yet no report how matters stand at Arinda, the Postholder, who has at last undertaken the journey to the interior according to my reiterated instructions, having sent me word to say that he hoped to come down in March, but though we know when we go out we know not when we shall return.

I continue to have a good look-out kept on all the movements of the Spaniards in the upper reaches of these rivers, and have therefore charged your Lordships' creole, Tampoko, to go and live near the first fall in the Cajoeny, to make his way continually up and down this river, to keep up good relations with the Indians, and to come down every four weeks to report to me upon all that occurs.

In such kind of matters we can fully rely upon the assistance of the Carabians. The deep-rooted hatred and enmity of that nation towards the Spaniards is so great that there is little probability of a reconciliation between them, and although that nation has lost many of its old characteristics, this still continues to be one of its innate peculiarities.

I shall write to the Governor of Orinoco concerning the state of affairs in Barima, which would become an absolute den of thieves, a party of our colonists staying there under pretence of salting, trading with the Indians, and felling timber, &c. They live there like savages, burning each others' huts and putting each other in chains, and I fear that blood-shed and murder will come of it.

The west side of Barima being certainly Spanish territory (and there it ends), I can use no violent measures to destroy this thieves' nest, not wishing to give any grounds for complaint; wherefore I think of proposing to the Governor (who is daily being more highly praised for his friendliness to all foreigners) to carry this out hand-in-hand, or to permit me to do so, or as and in what manner he shall consider best.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 183.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 30, 1766.

HAVING had the honour to inform your Lordships in one of my former letters of the barbarous mode of living of some of our colonists in Barima, and hearing that this was getting gradually worse, I charged the Postholder of Maroco, when he came to see me whilst I was in Demerary, to proceed thither in order to prevent all further mischief, and, in case matters were really so bad, to order the evil-doers to come to the Fort.

On his arrival there he found poor Thomas Adams bound fast to a tree with a chain and nearly dead, having been thus kept for over three months by Jan Adolph van Rose. Had the Postholder come three or four days later the man would certainly have been dead. Having unbound him and placed him in a boat, the Postholder went to Rose and communicated to him my orders to come to the Fort; this he not only refused to do, but when the Postholder said that he must come, he seized a sword and a blunderbuss loaded with five bullets, intending to shoot him down, but the newly-appointed Postholder of Cajoeny, who was present with one of his assistants, rushed upon him, tore the weapon from him, and took him to the boat. He was brought here yesterday. Adams has been taken to the hospital, and Rose to the Fort. I shall have

inquiries made into the matter as soon as possible, and will have the culprit brought before the Court on the 5th May.

* * * * *

J. A. van Rose having been brought before the Court, it was found that he had suspected Thomas Adams (who was having some cedar-wood cut in Barima on account of Mr. J. Knott) of having during his absence set fire to his house. He had thereupon made a violent attack upon him, had laden him with chains about his neck, arms, and legs, and kept him rivetted to a post for about three months, feeding him daily with a little cassava and water, having carried all his property to his own place, and committed many other un-Christian and brutal acts. After all had been carefully inquired into, I demanded that the said Rose should be taken to the place where capital punishment is usually carried out and should be severely flogged there, and should be further banished for ever from the Chartered Company's territories, which demand was mitigated in so far that the Court condemned him to be publicly exposed under the gallows for one hour, with the rope about his neck, and to be banished for ever, and to pay such costs, &c.—a sentence much too lenient for such a villain, who had behaved very badly the whole of the time he was in the Colony, and who is said to have been banished from Suriname.

The Court made a further order forbidding any one to stop in Barima, and charged the Postholder of Maroco to see that this was carried out, because in time this would become a den of thieves, and expose us to the danger of getting mixed up in a quarrel with our neighbours the Spaniards.

* * * * *

I hope the Postholder of Arinda may come down before the closing of this letter, I having had no tidings from above for some time.

The Burgher-Captain J. Knott has informed the Commander and myself that he had received information that the Acuways, having heard that the Caraibans, who had robbed them of everything in Upper Demerary last year, were getting ready to attack them in still greater numbers, had assembled, several hundreds strong, on the place of the Owl Maritane (very well known to me), being right up between the Rivers Demerary and Essequibo, to wait for the Caraibans, so that we are expecting a bloody battle every day. This might have important results, especially if the Caraibans were beaten (which is very probable). The Captain, who lives a good way up, has asked how he is to act in this matter.

I have charged the Commander, who was present at the meetings here, to proceed to Upper Demerary in order to be on the spot in case of unforeseen events, and to take especial care that strict neutrality is maintained by the citizens. I have further charged him not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the matter, nor to help either of the nations in the slightest manner, and to make an effort, if there be still time, to reconcile the two parties and prevent bloodshed, through the mediation of the Arawaks, who are friends of both sides. I have myself succeeded in doing this several times already, both by persuasion and threats.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 184.

Extract from Records of Court of Policy of Essequibo.

Provisional Instructions for Pierre Martyn, Postholder in Cuyuni.

ARTICLE 1.

He shall take care that the free Indians are not molested or ill-treated, but endeavour as much as possible to attract them to and in the neighbourhood of the Post, and protect those residing in the neighbourhood in everything.

ARTICLE 2.

He shall keep a sharp look-out on the runaway slaves, apprehend them and send them back. For this reason he shall not allow whites, mulattoes, or slaves to pass the Post without a permit, except in the event of whites pursuing runaway slaves; this being an urgent matter he shall assist them, although they have no permit, but he shall make strict inquiries into their proceedings, note the same down, and forward report thereof to us.

ARTICLE 3.

He shall pay particular attention to the actions of the neighbouring Spaniards, take good care to give them no reason of complaint, also to see that they do not surprise them, but to keep a watchful eye on them, and not allow them on any pretext whatever to pass below the Post, but in case any should be coming direct here to send them to the fort.

ARTICLE 4.

He is permitted to trade for his own benefit, but under the special condition, however, that he shall not dispose of any goods traded in at the Post before first giving us the preference, on pain of losing this privilege.

ARTICLE 5.

He shall build as much as possible good houses, plant provisions, &c., in order that when the Post is being strengthened ample accommodation may be at hand.

He shall further conduct himself as a faithful, honest, and vigilant Postholder ought to conduct himself.

Further instructions shall be given to him later on when the Post shall be in order.

Rio Essequibo, September 14, 1766.

In accordance with the original at the Secretary's Office in Rio Essequibo.

September 16, 1766.

No. 185.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

October 1, 1766.

THE Postholder of Cajoeny will in the beginning of September* (the water now beginning to fall) proceed up that river in order to build dwellings and lay out bread-gardens, with the assistance of the Indians, after which the work there will be properly regulated.

* * * * *

No. 186.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 3, 1766.

THE Postholder of Arinda is at present here; the fellow has not made the slightest attempt to carry out his instructions; he blames the assistant, Bekker, for this, who again throws the blame upon him. It is a chaos of conflicting statements, of which it is impossible to make anything. But the assistant being universally known as a rogue, I shall send him out of the Colony with the first English vessel. He will then not be able to do any more mischief, and I shall promote [*sic*] the Postholder to the rank of assistant if I can only manage to find another.

I have set one of the assistants of Maroco to once more carry a gun on the Island of Borssele.

The Postholder of Cajoeny is, according to the latest reports, lying ill at the Post. This is a great pity, because he makes great progress in his work, and we should lose a great deal in him. But sickness is the fate which overtakes all, without exception, who proceed up the Cajoeny for the first time, especially in the dry season, which still continues.

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(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 187.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

December 8, 1766.

I HAVE (so I have reason to believe) found a competent Postholder for Cajoeny in the person of Pierre Martin, formerly a corporal in the service of your Lordships. I have engaged him at the rate of 16 guilders per month, and have given him provisionally two assistants, who are well acquainted with the Indian languages, each to receive 8 guilders per month. I dare not trust any of the soldiers here to go there, for reasons already given in my former letters. He is at present engaged in putting up the dwellings and in bringing the Post into some order, and has some Caribbians with him, whose number I shall greatly increase when sufficient bread has been planted and things are in a better state.

According to the report of these same Indians, the Spaniards have captured and carried off your Lordships' creole, Tampoko, together with an Indian slave belonging to my daughter, who had gone with him to buy birds and other things from the Indians up in Cajoeny; some of these Caribbians even assert that the Indian slave has been killed.

The Postholder of Arinda not having come down the river, in spite of my reiterated commands, and not having executed any of my orders, and everything there being in confusion, I have placed one of the assistants under arrest here, and sent a subaltern officer up the river to bring down the Post-holder, in order that I may inquire fully into the matter. In Maykouny, things are going at present well; in Maroco, fairly so.

The Posts are certainly, my Lords, of the greatest importance, both for the Honourable Company as well as for the Colony. If we could only be so fortunate as to get hold of some competent Postholders we should very soon have good results. But this was impossible up to the

* This letter was, like so many, written on different days, finishing up with the date at the head.

present, the bad behaviour of several of these men having brought that situation into contempt, and no respectable citizen, however much he may wish to, dares to ask for it; and with regard to the military, we cannot expect anything good from them. And yet, if there be any situation which will enable a man to put by a fair capital in a few years it is that of Postholder (with the exception of the one at Maykouny, who has little opportunity, but who, if of good behaviour, will be placed elsewhere when there is a vacancy).

The old De Scharde had held the Post of Maroco for about a year and a-half when he died, yet he left his son in Demerary a plantation with more than twenty slaves, and he was only beginning business. The Spaniards who had come hither with tobacco, hides, and other things, all have to pass his door, and some of them rest at his place. What would prevent him, if he were a man who understood his interests, from buying everything from them? If they could at his place get the merchandize they require they would not be so foolish as to come here for them, but far from doing that, these men are, and remain, blood poor, and up to their ears in debt. Want of time does not permit me to dilate further upon this. If I had good under-officers and soldiers, especially Netherlanders, or, at least, Protestants, I think it would be possible to find a few good Post-holders among them; but among those I have at present there is not a single one except Sergeant A. Nusgen, who cannot possibly be spared.

Only this morning I was informed that another plot had been formed by three or four soldiers to run away with a party of female slaves to Orinoque, which matter is being inquired into whilst I am writing this, and this in spite of their having such a recent example in the case of Ad. Snel.

* * * * *

Your Lordships having done me the honour to inform me that your Lordships had decided upon a garrison of forty men for the Colony (really much too little for the two rivers) I asked for no recruits, but now that more than half of the garrison have served their time and are asking for their discharge, I take the liberty to ask your Lordships for a reinforcement of twenty-five men and one drummer. If there were a good competent constable or two among them they would be of the greatest use, for such men can really be ill dispensed with.

Herewith I will again reiterate my request that no French or Flemish be sent, but as many Protestants as possible. The proximity of the Spaniards, and especially of the Spanish Missions, renders it impossible to place the slightest trust in Catholics.

I have had the honour to report to your Lordships concerning Mr. Rousselet's journey to Orinoque.

* * * * *

I hope that the exploring and spying parties of Spaniards in Masserouny and Cajoeny will come to an end, and will be effectually stopped by the Post in Cajoeny.

It is hard, my Lords, that neighbouring and allied nations should thus seek to compass the ruin of their neighbours upon the frivolous and really ridiculous pretext of bringing the slaves into the Christian religion—a whited sepulchre filled with nothing but rotting bones—because of all their Indian and black (so-called) Christians I have not seen a single one who knows anything more of religion than that there is a God, and perhaps not as much as that, or with entirely erroneous ideas concerning the Supreme Being.

* * * * *

Only a moment ago there arrived your Lordships' creole, Tampoko, who, though having been captured up in Cajoeny by the Spaniards, and sent heavily chained further into the interior, managed to find some means not only to rid himself of his chains, but to come down through Orinoque, and to bring with him two negroes from Angostura, where the Governor lives.

The fellow seems to be in league with the Deuce, because it is difficult to understand how he managed to do all this. He tells me that the Indian slave belonging to my daughter also escaped with his assistance, and that he is coming on behind with a party of Indians, and that he will probably bring a few with him. This creole is really priceless, considering the services that are to be got out of him. It is a pity, nevertheless, that he is so insolent when he is drunk.

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(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 188.

West India Company to Director-General, Essequibo.

(Extract.)

March 9, 1767.

WE think the erection of the Post in Cayuni continues to be slow, as well as the work to Fort Vrij, and we shall be glad to learn that both these works have been completed finally, as your Honour led us to hope they would be.

No. 189.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 20, 1767.

CONCERNING the matter of Barima and the case of Rose, I shall have the honour to inform your Lordships that we, as well as the Spaniards, regard the River Barima as the boundary

division of the two jurisdictions, the east bank being the Company's territory, and the west bank Spanish.

Fearing, however, because there is a dearth of competent and discreet persons, and because the work is as dangerous for the Spaniards as it is getting for us—fearing, I say, that my Envoy to the west bank would come back empty, I have in two consecutive letters given the Governor of Guayana a circumstantial account of the matter, and asked him to send some men to help us clear out this nest.

His Honour did not answer those letters, but sent me a verbal message by Vicente Franco, one of the principal colonists of Guayana, that it was impossible for him to send men on account of the great distance and the lack of boats, &c., and that the best thing would be to hang the evil-doers, &c.

Thereupon I sent the Post-holder of Maroco my orders, but was careful to charge him to avoid the Spanish banks, but that he was not to avoid the islands lying in the river, because these were uncertain territory. He followed my orders faithfully, Rose having been apprehended on our shore.

I am fully acquainted with the rule, *Extra territorium suum jus dicenti enim impune non paretur*; but it is not applicable to the Resolution of the Court in this matter, because—

1. The east bank being in our jurisdiction, the Court can enforce its order there.
2. Because I think that the Court certainly has the power to forbid its citizens and colonists to go to any places when such is considered to be inexpedient or dangerous for the Colony.

In reply to your Lordships' letter of the 19th June, I come first to the Article concerning the Postholders.

It is certain that we are gradually becoming more aware how extremely important this matter is to the service of the Honourable Company and the maintenance of the Colony. Up to the present I have not had a single one that I could call good or even passable, and I have even been obliged to send the one from Arinda, who had been under arrest in the fort here for about four weeks, back to the Post, not having been able to find a proper person to send in his place, notwithstanding that I made inquiries on all sides. The mulattoes of this country, who, understanding the languages, would be the most fit, are much too lazy; they are, moreover, unwilling to submit to the least form of subjection, and having not the slightest ambition nor any desire for money, nothing is to be done with them, so that, as I have no good soldiers, I can find no remedy for this.

Your Lordships' prophecy concerning the Indian spy from the Spaniards was a perfectly correct one, because the man has really managed to escape. But he could not have been kept a prisoner for ever, and the Post in Cajoeny now being re-established, it does not matter so much.

It is unfortunate that the Postholder there has had to pay the usual toll exacted from all who go there for the first time, he having had a severe illness from which he has not yet quite recovered.

For the reasons given in my former letters I have not yet sent him any soldiers, but two assistants who are acquainted with the Indian languages. I hear that the dwellings are constructed, and large bread gardens are planted; this work is being daily continued, and the Indians are beginning to come in slowly.

I do not think there is any gold or silver under or near those pyramids, but they are called by the same name amongst the Indians as those places where those metals are found, to wit, that the Jawaho, that is, Satan, has his dwelling-place there.

And that there are rich mines of those metals in that district, and especially in Cajoeny, I believe to be as certain as my own existence, and I think that my reasons for such belief are well-grounded.

I shall try to get a good honest interpreter, and having found such an one will bind him by oath.

I can rely upon the assistance of the Caribbans in case we have to meet violence with violence, but so long as circumstances demand soft measures they are no earthly use to me, their hatred against the Spaniards being deep-rooted and great.

Your Lordships' creole, Tampoko, has come down the river to-day according to my instructions, and has reported to me that the Postholder at Cajoeny was fairly well again, that the Capucine of the Mission close to the river was daily engaged in inciting the Acuways and the Caribbans against each other, and that in this way he was spreading trouble throughout the river. The creole made me laugh by saying, "If my lord and master gives me orders to do so, I will bring the priest here to the fort within three weeks, bound hand and foot," and I really believe he would do it.

I told him that he must be very careful not to undertake the least thing against the Mission, but that he must keep a watchful eye upon all the doings of the Spaniards, and expressly forbid the Caribbans, in my name, to molest our Acuway subjects. All of which he promised to do.

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 190.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 23, 1767.

I AM anxious to have some tidings from Cajoeny. because I received a note from Director Van der Heyde yesterday in which he informs me that the creole, Tampoko, had been to see his son at Old Duynenburg, and had reported that he had heard from a few Indians that a party of Indians had been sent by the Spanish Mission to make a raid upon the Post, and had completely sacked it, and that he was going to find out how true that was. That Post is a terrible eyesore to the Spaniards, and there is no doubt that it stands in the way of their attaining some important aims. As soon as I have reliable tidings I shall deliberate with the Court what is to be done in the matter.

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(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 191.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

June 27, 1767.

MR. SPOORS sent me word in writing that the Spanish deserters have arrived in Essequibo, and that there is a sergeant among them. They give the harsh treatment of the new Governor as a reason for deserting. I immediately answered him saying that I wished them to be sent out of the Colony at the first opportunity, for I do not know what there may be behind this; I do not trust the whole business, especially since commerce with Orinoco is entirely stopped, and even the fishery is absolutely at a standstill, which has never happened before, and which is exceedingly embarrassing to your Lordships' plantations and to the whole Colony.

At the same time I received a report from the Post in Cajoeny that the Indians are being bribed and incited to such a degree that they are unwilling to do the least thing for the Postholder, and that when he orders them to go alongside the passing boats to see whether there are any runaways in them, they obstinately refuse to do so, and when he threatens to shoot upon them they reply that they have bows and arrows with which to answer.

The fortification of these two Posts, Cajoeny and Maroco, becoming a matter of greater necessity every day (these being, indeed, *periculum in mora*), I hope that some good soldiers, and especially Protestants, will be sent by the "Laurens en Maria."

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(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 192.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 24, 1767.

I HAVE received a Report from the Postholder of Maroco that on account of the bad treatment received at the hands of the present Governor of Orinoco, all the Warouws, thousands of whom live on the islands in the mouth of Orinoco, are fleeing from there, and that hundreds of them have already arrived in Barima. Our fishery is therefore knocked on the head for some time, unless that nation should resolve to exchange blow for blow; they are numerous enough to do so, but courage fails them, for of all the nations known to us it is the one which is most afraid of fire-arms.

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(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure in No. 192.

J. Backer, at Fort Zeelandia, to Director-General, Essequibo.

Honoured Sir and Father,

June 20, 1767.

INCLOSED is the small list that I inclosed in my last letter. I had a fine dance yesterday with Mr. and Mrs. Rousselet concerning the sending away of the Spanish; two of them departed yesterday. The aforesaid gentleman and his wife said that they legally protested (no doubt to you, Sir, and Mr. Spoors) against a Commandant and a sergeant coming to their house and forcibly fetching their lawful servants out of it. But no force was used, for when I told the people that they must go, they went without a word of opposition. There was a terrible noise. Rousselet asked me whether I dared to give it to him in writing that I sent the Spaniards away. I told him that I could do so, but that I would not.

The worst is now to come. Two of them are now gone. There were four of them. Mrs. Rousselet says that she drove one of them away, and that the other was on her sugar plantation. I asked her to send for him, but she answered that she would not. I again asked her whether I could send for him myself (to place him in the fort, that he might not run away). She answered me, "I forbid you to go to my plantation with soldiers to fetch people from there," so that up to the present I have not the Spaniard here.

I should require half a ream of paper to give you a full account of everything as it happened. The lady also said, "Why are not the Spaniards sent away who are with Mr. Persik, and why is not Louis sent away out of the Court?" Hereupon Mr. Rousselet asked, "Is this not a free country?" His wife answered him, "No, my dear: you see very well that this is no free country." I went at once to Mr. Spoors and reported to him all that had happened. I have just this moment sent the sergeant to Rousselet's house to see whether the Spaniard has come from the plantation, and Mrs. Rousselet sends word back to me that he arrived early this morning, but that he is gone, and that she does not know where he is, so that I certainly believe that that Spaniard has gone. This is a fine thing, that an opportunity is given the scoundrels to run away. I leave this to your further consideration.

Your obedient servant and son,
(Signed) J. BACKER.

No. 193.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 10, 1767.

A FEW Caraibans, having come down from Upper Essequibo, have reported to Diderik Nelis, living up near the plantation Oosterbeek, that there is neither Post-holder nor assistant to be found at Post Arinda, and that they have not been seen for fourteen days; that the house is half ruined and the warehouse broken open and empty, and that they could not say whether the men had been murdered or had run away.

Nelis immediately gave notice of this at the fort, and I have ordered some one to go up there and make inquiries into the matter.

I cannot believe that they were murdered, because these two men were kindness itself, and never offended any Indian, unless it be that the deed was done by a savage nation from the interior; but then the latter would have been discovered in their march by the Caraibans, who live in such great numbers round about there, or it must have been done by those scoundrels themselves in order to get rid of their debts and obtain possession of the goods.

Mr. Spoors has sent me the declaration of one Christiaen Winding, an itinerant trader, which I have the honour to inclose. I am almost certain that these are the same Spaniards concerning whom there was such a noise at the fort when I gave orders to have them sent away. Three have been sent away in North American vessels; one who had been allowed to escape is still roaming about in the Colony without my being able to discover where he is. How wrong it is of the colonists to harbour or conceal such people.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure in No. 193.

Declaration made by Christiaen Winding in Essequibo, dated July 26, 1767.

ON the 26th July, 1767, C. Winding came here and declared as follows:—

That in the month of May (no date fixed) he met four Spaniards in a small boat in the mouth of the Moeroeka, on the plantation of the widow Rousselet, which Spaniards were armed with three rifles, a blunderbuss, and six pistols, which were all fully loaded, and that they had 250 cartridges, 20 lbs. of gunpowder in a bag, and 40 lbs. of shot in a basket.

These Spaniards came into the house of D. Scherer in the presence of H. Rodemijer, and laid the above-mentioned guns, &c., upon and against the table, whereupon I, C. Winding, looked upon them as spies, and I made an agreement with them to buy these fire-arms from them because we were too weak and the matter boded us no good; and so it happened, I having bought from them the above-mentioned fire-arms, and given them in payment 30 yards of taerling, 40 yards of osnaburgh, and an order for 60 guilders upon Mr. Persik, I having still by me two rifles and six pistols, having lost the blunderbuss by the upsetting of my corry, and one rifle having burst in firing, and the powder having got wet in the rain I had to throw it overboard. I have used some of the shot, and have still some of it by me.

(Signed) CHRISTIAEN WINDING.

Rio Essequibo, dated as above.

Witnesses:

(Signed) MICHAEL ROTH.
A. VAN DOORN MOSES, Son.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

September 6, 1767.

WE lose a great deal in E. Athling, who was an honest upright man. Perfectly acquainted with the Indian languages and having the uppermost plantation, he was as good as a Postholder, and faithfully reported all that took place amongst the Indians and especially amongst the Acuways living up in Demerary—a quarrelsome nation which will not endure the least injustice and which is continually at war with the Caraibans The upper reaches of this river are now quite undefended, which I fear will lead to many differences with the Acuways.

* * * * *

An experience of many years has made me only too well acquainted with the Spaniards, and being convinced that not the least reliance is to be placed either upon their most solemn promises or even upon their oaths, I place no trust in them at all. Far be it from me to impute such evil sentiments or such infidelity to the Spanish nation as a whole; on the contrary I believe that honest, upright people are to be found amongst them as amongst other nations; such are, however, but thinly sown in Europe and America.

Their governors, who exercise an absolutely despotic power in these parts, are only appointed for three or at most for five years, a period which they employ in scraping together as much money as possible *per fas* and *nefas*, and in oppressing and plundering the colonists in every way in order that when their term of office has expired and two inquisitors are sent with their successor by the Supreme Council to inquire into their conduct and to receive the complaints which every citizen is then free to make, they may be able to fill the hands of these officials and still have something left for themselves, in which case, be the complaints what they will, they themselves will come out white as snow, though, if they have not anything, they are sent in chains to Spain.

The red slaves are ostensibly set free on arriving there, but are compelled to stay at the Missions, where they have to do more work than with us. The black slaves are sold and the proceeds are said to go to the Royal Treasury, but that His Catholic Majesty sees much of them *hoc credat judæus Apella non ego*.

The last governor of Orinocque was sharper. Having held office for about three years only, and having probably been unable to scrape enough together in that short time he did not wait for the inquiry, but as soon as he heard that his successor was on the way he took possession of a barque that happened to be there, and placing in it all his property he made off, taking with him more than thirty of our runaway slaves; his destination is still unknown.

And really the necessity for adopting preventive measures is daily getting greater. There has again been cause for alarm upon your lordships' plantation Achtekerke, and on the 9th of August we discovered that upon our plantation Soestdijk another plot had been formed by about twenty slaves to run away to Orinocque.

This, too, is a plantation upon which the slaves are treated exceptionally well; their rations never fail for a single day, and they are never flogged except for most serious offences.

A great number, too, are missing here in Demerary of whom it is not known whether they have gone into the bush or to Orinocque.

Last week the Arruwaks of Maheyka brought back two negroes who had run away from the plantation Nieuw Amsterdam; we at once rewarded them richly and treated them well to kiltum.

* * * * *

It is certain that the colonists themselves are greatly to blame for the numerous desertions. The Court has more than once issued orders that no one should send out slaves from their plantations without a pass from their master, and everyone has been charged to ask any slaves they see on the river for their pass, and to bring them to the Fort in case they have none. Few, however, have obeyed this order, and although slaves have gone about without passes, not one has been stopped and brought to the Fort. The slaves belonging to the Fort, who never go out without a pass, have frequently told me that no one has ever asked them for their pass except the Directors of the Honourable Company.

It is certain that if this order had been observed many a runaway would have been caught, and even had it been only two or three it would still have frightened the others.

The creole Tampoko came to the Commandant about eight or ten days before my return and reported that the Postholder and assistant at Arinda had not run away, nor been killed, but that the nation of the Manoas, here called Magnauws, had been making a raid through the country and had come to the Post and carried off both the Postholder and the assistant; that they had taken all the goods and destroyed the buildings. This nation is an ally of the Portuguese of Brazil. Tampoko is coming down again in a fortnight's time, when shall send him up the Essequibo with a party of Caraibans to obtain full information.

* * * * *

Having had the papers and books of the exiled J. A. van Rosen examined I find amongst them a letter from him and Christiaan Finet (now deceased) to the King of Prussia, another to Count Tessin in Sweden, Prime Minister at that time, and another to Mr. Rudenshold, member of the Royal Academy, and Assessor of the Berg College, all written in German; which I have had translated and have the honour to send herewith for your lordships'

inspection, so that your Lordships may be able to see what kind of colonists we have had and still have.

That scoundrel J. A. van Rosen is now in Orinocque, where he has started business as an apothecary and surgeon, and where, if he gets the opportunity, he will not fail to do this colony harm; he must undoubtedly have been aided in his flight, because he could not possibly have performed that journey in the corrial as large as a mussel-shell in which he escaped from the Fort. He had powerful protectors, also probably subjects of the King of Prussia, who derived no small advantage from his dealings.

There is a rumour here that the Post in Cajoeny has again been raided. I do not know whether it is true, because I have as yet had no direct tidings from above. The old negro Abarina, who always looks after the turtle business up in Cajoeny, and who is well acquainted with all the roads there, went up stream yesterday to get information.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 194.

Adolph von Roosen in Essequibo to Monseigneur Tessin, Prime Minister to the King of Sweden.

Most Noble Lord,

July 20, 1749.

MAY it please your lordship to forgive me for being so bold as to bring to your notice a matter of great importance. I have heard that between Orinocque and Essequibo there lies a large and most valuable tract of uninhabited and desert land with two large rivers or rather streams. The first from here is called Barima and the second Wijne lying at the mouth of Orinocque, and I have heard the said land belongs to the King of Sweden and could be made to yield large sums annually if it were cultivated or planted. The soil is very fertile for sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, cotton, rice, &c., and the woods are full of valuable kinds of timber such as cedar, conotepi, locus and others of different colours, and very hard.

Should it please His Majesty to throw this land open for cultivation many citizens and colonists would be found here who would go there to lay out a plantation; if His Majesty's States would at first keep a small battery of five or ten pieces of cannon and 30 or 40 men there as a garrison, the expenses would be made doubly good in a few years' time.

It is also thought that gold and silver ore is to be found there, but no one dares to go there because it has not yet been thrown open. If it be now His Majesty's intention to throw open the said land, I humbly beg your lordship's most gracious reply to this, how His Majesty desires to have the same kept.

Herewith I commend myself to your lordship's protection and remain ever,

Your most dutiful servant,

(Signed) ADOLPH VON ROOSEN.

Essequibo, July 20, 1749.

Addressed to:

Monseigneur Tessin, Prime Minister to His Majesty of Sweden.

Inclosure 2 in No. 194.

Christiaan Finett and Adolph von Roosen in Demerary to Frederick, King of Prussia.

Most Illustrious Most Mighty King and Merciful Lord,

May 22, 1755.

WE beg most humbly to submit that we, the undersigned, did in the year 1754 go to the Rivers Wijne and Barima which lie at a latitude of eight degrees north, and did inspect the same, and found there an immense tract of good and fertile land which could be used for sugar, coffee, cocoa, rice and other plantations; which rivers have on the east the Hollanders to the River Essequibo, and on the west the river of Orinocque belonging to the Spanish crown. The River Barima is quite capable of being navigated by the largest vessels without danger; we therefore beg for the favour (since we, the undersigned, have ascertained that the said river belongs to Your Majesty) of being granted Your Majesty's commission, and if it pleased Your Majesty to order one of us two to come over, we are ready to obey such royal order immediately and to bring the map of that river with us. We live in the River Demerary, under the protection of Middelburg in Zeeland and have laid out sugar plantations here for ourselves. Should it please Your Majesty to grant us a gracious reply, the address is at Middelburg in Zeeland at a merchant's named François van Breda, living in the Lange Delft, over the West India Company's house, he being our agent.

We have entrusted a merchant named Ludwig Double, living in the Bang Straat in Embden,

with the commission of handing this to Your Majesty; and have the honour to commend ourselves to Your Majesty's gracious protection.

Your Illustrious and Most Mighty Majesty's

Most humble servants,

(Signed)

CHRISTIAAN FINETT,
ADOLPH von ROOSEN.

*Rio Demerary, May 22, 1755,
Plantation Charlottenburg.*

Addressed to:

His Most Illustrious and Most Mighty King and
Lord Frederick Charles, King of Prussia,
Elector of Brandenburg, &c., &c., &c., Berlin.

No. 195.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 9, 1767.

I WILL begin in chronological order with the occurrences at the Post of Maroco. A certain Streep who had lived for a long time with Mr. Rousselet as a kind of book-keeper and who since the death of the latter has been staying here at the Fort—the same man who had translated the letters written by Rose and Finet which I sent to your lordships—was found one morning to have vanished without anyone in this colony being able to give the slightest reason for his doing so, he having always promptly paid his debts and never to my knowledge having done anything wrong, and a man who would certainly not have been refused a passport if he had asked for one.

It was found that Streep had departed very early in the morning from Maroco with Hendrik Rodemeyer, formerly a foreman in your lordships' plantation Aegtekerke and discharged on account of his bad behaviour.

On the next day Charles Maine, the Post-holder, left the Fort together with his new assistant.

A few days after their departure I received a report in a letter from the assistant Paulus Vermeere, and also a verbal message from Mr. Persik by a Spaniard that after their arrival at the Post the four of them, namely: Streep, the Postholder, one assistant, and Rodemeyer had severely ill-treated the Indians, wounded some of them, smashed the boats, and thrown the cannon into the water—in a word had ruined everything as much as they could, and had then gone off to Orinocque taking all the guns and ammunition with them. They had also taken two negroes belonging to Mevrouw Rousselet, and had treated the assistant Vermeere cruelly because he would not go with them.

Gerrit Jansse, a very brave and honest fellow, happening to be in that district, was informed by the Indians that the slaves of Van der Eyke were still amongst the Warouws down in Orinocque, and had not yet reached the Spaniards, whereupon he immediately took two itinerant traders with him and went down there. He found the slaves there, and paying the Warouws as much as they wanted he brought them here and restored them to their master.

On this occasion the Warouws gave him four rifles and a blunderbuss which they had taken from the rogue, Charles Maine, he having come to them alone in a boat to get provisions, thinking they had not yet heard of his desertion. But, to his misfortune, some of the ill-treated Indians had already arrived from the Post and instead of provisions they gave him a great blow on the head. They even broke one of his arms and he crept along as well as he could on hands and feet to his boat, out of which they had taken the guns which they handed to Gerrit Jansse without asking for the least payment in return. They believe that he cannot have lived more than twenty-four hours afterwards. He thus has his merited reward.

I should have liked the Warouws to have apprehended him, and to have brought him here, but it is a nation whose virtues by no means comprise bravery, and they were no doubt afraid of his companions who were lying in the boat not far from there; they therefore made short work of the matter. They were able to retire into the wood very speedily, but the other rogues did not dare to venture to follow them there.

The runaway slaves belonging to the widow Van der Kaay have also been caught and brought back. The slave Moeda, their leader, falling sick of the scarlet fever on the way, they went to an Indian village to await his recovery, but the Indians, being Aruwaks, immediately reported the matter at the plantation Vredenburg belonging to the Widow Boter, who had them arrested at once and brought back here—a piece of good fortune for their owner, who would have been ruined by the loss.

* * * * *

The Assistant of Post Arinda has at last come down. The creole Tampoko, whom I had sent up, met him and returned.

Matters up there are not so bad as the Indians had reported; the Manos have not been in those parts, and indeed I could hardly believe it, because it seemed to me improbable that they would have come such a long distance without being discovered by the Caraibans, their inveterate enemies, and the more so since, after the raid upon Cajoeny by the Spaniards,

Essequibo swarms with Carabians, who have all flocked there after having asked me for permission to do so.

But the Postholder having had some unpleasantness with the Acuways, whom he had treated very unjustly, had left the Post from fear of that nation, and had taken refuge with the Carabians. It was this that caused the rumour; some passing Indians, finding no one at the Post, and not knowing what had become of the Postholder, had given out their conjectures as the truth.

The Postholder having failed to do his duty in everything and his conduct being perfectly inexcusable, I have dismissed him, and having at last found a man, one Gerrit Jansse, who brought up the slaves belonging to Van der Eyck, and, according to the unanimous testimony of all citizens, is an honest, upright and sober fellow, I have appointed him to be Postholder. He is to go up stream next week with the Assistant and is to send down the dismissed Postholder, who has not dared to come down the river. I hope the Post will now be well looked after.

As I could not leave the Post at Maroco without some defence I have provisionally and *ad interim* sent one Diderik Neelis there until I could get a good Postholder.

It is unfortunate that no competent person can be found here for places of such an importance to the colony; they are nearly all men whose drinking habits would make them unfit for such a post.

The one in Cajoeny is no better than the rest because he is asking to be placed elsewhere, saying that he cannot live there because the place is unhealthy. This is only a pretext, because he looks very well indeed, and there must be something else behind it which I have not yet been able to find out; but it is a hard and fast rule in this colony that when anyone has an honest and competent servant all kinds of deceit are practised to seduce him and entice him away, a thing that has happened in the Honourable Company's service more than once.

I have received a letter* from a missionary priest in Orinocque, a translation of which I have the honour to send your lordships. Is it not astonishing, my lords, that such a man who knows very well how we are treated with respect to our runaway slaves, still dares to ask that the Indians who have run away from his mission should be sent back to him, the same being free people? Your lordships can see from this how free they hold the Indians who live under them, and who are treated much worse than their slaves. The carrier has gone to Martinique and will be back in February, when I hope to answer the letter in a fitting manner.

And since according to the evidence of the negroes the village is as close to Essequibo as to Demerary your lordships' creole Tampoko will march upon the same from the direction of Essequibo with a few Indians in order to be able to attack it from two sides.

If the expedition were undertaken by well disciplined soldiers I should feel more certain of its success (but what is to be expected of a party of unwilling citizens with whom the captains themselves fear little can be done, and who can only be got to obey with a great deal of difficulty?); but since that is impossible we must use what means we have, and not being able to do as much as we might wish must be satisfied with doing what we can.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 's GRAVESANDE.

No. 196.

Reply of the Director-General, Essequibo, to the Petition of the Civil Officers respecting Runaway Slaves.

(Extract.)

1767.

AND in the meantime we shall have to wait and see what results the solemn oaths and promises of the governor of Guajana will have, and whether, in conformity with such, the runaway slaves will be sold as slaves, and the proceeds handed over to your honours *ad opus jus habentium*, because we believe that all further demands for restitution of the runaway slaves will be fruitless both in America and Europe, and especially those which your honours seem to think could be made to the Spanish Ambassador.

No. 197.

Director-General, Essequibo, to the Commandeur in Demerary.

My dear Son,

December 13, 1767.

HOW fortunate it is for De Scharden and his companions, that the two negroes did not know or had forgotten the way; we see now, all the more because it is over, the madness of his enterprise. Tampoko has come down with some Carabians and has brought me a very exact and circumstantial account. As I had expected, it is only too true and certain that they are rebels from Berbices; the village, surrounded by palisades, lies some distance inland behind the plantation of the Widow Hook; this is somewhere about the neighbourhood pointed out by the negroes. They are over a hundred strong, and crossed on a raft from the shore of Berbices up in Demerary. It took them a day before they were all over; they had ten casks of powder with

* Not found in volume.

them. Their cassava is already fairly high, and up to the present they have obtained their bread from the Acuways up in Demerary, and have already had a skirmish with some Caraibans and carried off an Aruwak woman, who has again escaped.

The Caraibans have informed me that they were ready to take up arms as soon as they should receive orders to attack them, but as they did not feel very safe about it, they ask for about six canoes to transport themselves with their bread; these I shall try to obtain as speedily as possible and send them up. They informed me that it is highly necessary that the road of retreat up in Demerary should be cut off, which is also my opinion, wherefore I must request you to call the burgher-officers together and to invite the Councillors Changuion and Van der Lot to meet the same in order to weigh this matter well, and to arrive at some fitting resolution, and lay down regulations for investing the upper portion of Demerary.

I am of opinion, *salvo meliori*, that the citizens ought not to attack them; this should be left to the Caraibans. If the enemy retires or flees they must not be spared, but certainly attacked, and therefore good outposts should be placed at certain distances to give warning according to signs agreed upon whenever they perceive anything.

If I can get the canoes together, Tampoko shall proceed up the river on Monday or Tuesday morning to collect the Caraibans who are ready, and proceed to the attack with them.

Let the Councillors well consider this dangerous matter: there must be no delay in this, for the possession of the two rivers depends upon it.

I remain,

Your affectionate Father,
(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

The utmost secrecy is necessary.

P.S.—I shall inform you of the day on which the Caraibans will proceed to the attack. I have already six canoes: Tampoko is now going up the river to fetch some men to take the canoes up and to bring word to the Caraibans to get themselves ready.

No. 198.

Commandeur, Demerary, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 17, 1767.

WHILST writing this despatch, I receive, per express from Essequibo, the accompanying letter from the Director-General, the contents of which have caused me great agitation, because I was quite unprepared for them, and I had not supposed that the number of the negroes could be so great, and that the river was in such immediate danger.

I immediately wrote to the two councillors and to all the burgher officers to meet at my house the day after to-morrow in order to determine upon some proper course of conduct, and to adopt a resolution for the protection and safety of the upper portion of this river, and to take all precautions for whatever results might ensue herefrom. I shall have the honour to communicate circumstantially to your lordships later the resolution arrived at.

How fortunate it was for Lieutenant de Scharden that the negroes did not know or had forgotten the path, otherwise the matter would have had very sad results for him and his companions. I fear for the day after to-morrow; no resolution will be come to without disputes, because I have heard from outside sources that I shall be sore put to it, and placed in great difficulties how and in what manner I shall be able to protect the upper portion of this river; the citizens are unwilling to go on commando, asking why they should pay an annual poll-tax and duties, &c., if they have to defend themselves. I can send no soldiers because I have only 10 men, with which I have to guard two posts, and I am, moreover, destitute of all that a soldier requires when he goes out on commando. I hope the Caraibans will be successful in their undertakings, otherwise it looks very black for this river, for what can we expect from unwilling citizens in time of danger? Nothing but great disorder and confusion; in addition to this there is a lack of everything, and even in the store houses of your lordships. Not six weeks ago I was obliged to buy nine and a half casks of bacon for the monthly rations, there being no meat either in Essequibo or here.

December 17.—As was expected we had a good deal of trouble here yesterday, as your lordships will easily see from the Minutes, of which I have the honour to send your lordships a copy. To arrive at a resolution we had sat from five o'clock until half-past two in the afternoon, and I believe that we should have sat until the evening without arriving at any resolution had I not proposed that we ought to try and persuade the Owl of the Aruwak Acuways, either by promises or presents, to come down below the falls with his force of Indians, and there to wait for the coming of the negroes, or to go and meet them with his people.

This people, my lords, are far superior to the Caraibans in courage and daring; they are at the present moment on friendly terms with the Caraibans, and are the sworn enemies of the right Acuways who live up in the river Rupununi; here in the river they are called the Aruwak Acuways, because they are descended from Aruwaks and Acuways, but their right name is Wauwejans.

Their Owl, whose name is Conde, was very prominent in the troubles in Berbices, and was of

the greatest service against the negroes; he is the most intelligent Goat or Indian I have ever seen, so that I have no doubt that we shall be able to come to some terms with him.

* * * * *

(Signed) J. C. VAN DEN HEUVEL.

No. 199.

Zeeland Chamber to Director-General, Essequibo.

(Extract.)

December 28, 1767.

BUT we have digressed in order to say that we have declared in our despatch of the 21st September, already many times quoted, that we were fully persuaded of the necessity of strengthening both the Post on Cayuni and that at Marocco, and that we heartily wish that your Honour may have found means to frustrate the undertakings of the Spaniards.

No. 200.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 9, 1768.

I HAVE also received a report from the Caraiabans that right up in Masseroeny, four whites with several well armed negroes have crossed the river and have made their way direct to the Amazonas. The Caraiabans say that they are four Jesuits who have fled here upon the arrest of their comrades in Guajana. This being so, their aim must be to get to Paraguay, in which case I should not care to be their travelling companion, the distance being several hundred miles.

* * * * *

The creole Tampoko, having come down the river to fetch the boats, brought the principal Owl of Masseroeny with him, the same who led the Indians in the expedition to Berbices which succeeded so well; I thought he was dead a long time ago. He told me that having gone into everything carefully, he was of opinion that it would be better that they should go to Demerary and make the attack from there because in going from here they would have to walk for a few hours up to their knees in water before they came to the negro houses, and that for this reason he had sent word to his nation in Upper Essequibo to come down and keep watch upon that river in case the negroes should try to escape that way. I having approved of this on account of the reasons given, he departed with the canoes and will be here on the appointed day. I have informed the Commander of this, and have asked him to warn the Owl Conde to hold himself in readiness with his subject Warouwans to aid the Caraiabans.

* * * * *

In the same despatch in which the Commander informs me of the arrival of the ship "The Flying Fish" I find these words:—"There are twelve soldiers on board who are again good recruits for Orinocque because they are nearly all French." Mr. Lonk, who came over as a passenger, has assured me that they are all French, and that with the exception of one or two they are all Roman Catholics. Can it be possible that your lordships are so deceived by the recruiting agents? I shall have them closely examined, but as I have received no muster roll I do not know how they are described.

* * * * *

In addition to this all the Indians have declared that they will have no French at the Posts, a troop of more than a hundred Warouwans, all well armed, having already arrived at the Post Marocco saying that they came to see whether there was a Frenchman there, and intending to kill him if it were so.

Wherefore also Pierre Martin has come down the river from Cajoeny, the Indians flatly refusing to come and live anywhere near the Post so long as he is there. They want a Dutchman, they say.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 201.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 10, 1768.

(Postscript.)

JUST as I am about to seal this letter I receive a visit from a body of Caraiabans sent out by those assembled above Fort Kijkoveral asking me for guns, powder and shot. It is their intention to attack the negroes on the 15th of this month. I have immediately sent an express to the Commander in order that he may warn the Acuways. The Owls approve in every way of the measures adopted, but tell me that if the Acuways do not behave well or allow the negroes to escape they will attack the Acuways themselves.

Commandeur, Demerary, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 18, 1768.

I WAS very pleased, my lords, on reporting the arrival of the twelve men to the Director-General to hear from him that, according to your lordships' letter, they were all Protestants and that there was not a Frenchman, Fleming, Portuguese, or Spaniard amongst them. But when I mustered them I found to my great surprise that out of these twelve men there were only three who were not French, these being the corporal, who comes from Utrecht, and has served in the State troops for some years, and a German, a native of Zweibrucken, and a French deserter. The others are all French deserters, so that I conclude that your lordships have been scandalously deceived by the recruiting agents, who are infamous scoundrels.

On the December 28 of last year Lieutenant de Scharden brought me the two Acuway Owls named Conde and Nero whom I had the honour to mention in my former letter. After I had welcomed them with a glass of brandy and presented each of them with a suit of my everyday clothes, I asked them (after having acquainted them with the reason of my sending for them) whether they were willing to attack the negroes, or cut off their retreat if the negroes were attacked by the Caraibans and put to flight. Thereupon the Owl Conde, after a long narrative of his heroic deeds in Berbices and an account of the numbers he had massacred at the falls in this river, informed me that he was ready to attack the negroes with all his forces if only he were given some powder and shot and a Caraiban to show him the way, since he was not acquainted with the district in which the negroes were. I approved his intention, and said I would write to Essequibo for a Caraiban, and that in the meantime he must go up the river to assemble his people, and that his companion Nero would remain with de Scharden in order to be able to conduct the Caraiban from Essequibo up the river when he came. I further told him that if I could get no Caraiban I would let him know on what day the Caraibans would make the attack; it would then only be necessary for them to station themselves at the passes, which they assured me they would do, and that they would always be ready to come and help this river in any emergency, and that whenever they were required in the future we were only to let them know, whereupon I promised him always to pay him well and asked him whether he had never heard anything of those negroes. He said that some time ago he had indeed heard from his people that a troop of negroes had crossed the river, but that he had never heard where they were.

Yesterday evening I received, quite unexpectedly, tidings from the Director-General that the Caraibans would make the attack on the 15th of this month from the side of Essequibo. This news has placed me in great embarrassment, the time being too short to inform the Acuways of this and to get them to come down. However, I wrote to Aegidius de Scharden to send the Acuways down as soon as possible, it being just possible that if the Caraibans delayed a little they would still be in time.

(Signed) J. C. VAN DEN HEUVEL.

No. 203.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 8, 1768.

I HAVE also had the honour to inform your lordships of the expedition of the Caraibans which, thank God, turned out very successfully. The nest having been found the negroes were attacked and seven, together with two women, were killed, whilst three men and four women escaped; the Acuways are after these. The houses have been pulled down, etc. Your lordships will receive a circumstantial account of these events, which are of great advantage to the Colony, by the "Vrouw Digna Johanna."

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 204.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 9, 1768.

TO-MORROW is the day appointed by the Caraibans for the attack. God knows how it will end if things go in Demerary as the Commander reasonably fears. There is no difficulty about the Caraibans; they will do their duty well; but if the fugitives are not stopped at Demerary and can get over the river this matter may have results that can last for years. It is a sad thing that there are so many people who will not understand reason—will not, I say, because it is impossible to believe that they do not grasp the danger and the results of their unwillingness.

I had the honour to inform your lordships in my last of the discharge of the scoundrel Bekker.

Having also been obliged to remove Pierre Martin, the Postholder of Cajoeny (because the

Indians will on no account have a Frenchman there) as well as the one in Maroco, I have no one there now but the two assistants. It now remains to be seen whether the Indians of Maykouny, whither Pierre Martin has gone, will exhibit the same feelings, in which case I shall have to discharge the man *volens volens*. I fear very much that it will be so because in Maykouny they are mostly Warouws (the nation which commenced and continued the work in Maroco) where they came to the Post in great numbers and well armed with the openly expressed intention of murdering a French Postholder had they found one there.

I think that when the affairs of Mr. Massol are regulated and put in order Mr. Destouches, who came with him, will undertake a journey to the pyramids and crystal mine; at least he seems to have a great desire to do so.

The Spaniard who got away through the connivance of Mevrouw Rousselet came to Mr. Persik, who immediately wrote to me about it, requesting me to allow him to remain on his plantation until he had an opportunity of sending him with a vessel to Saint Eustatius, which request I granted because he was in safety there.

The desertion of a serjeant and a few men would (especially in time of peace) be scarcely noticed in Europe, but here it is an entirely different matter, our colonies here on the coast having on the one side restless neighbours who cannot long remain still, and on the other side the Spaniards, who have already given us and still give us so many reasons for suspicion that we can really not be careful enough. In Suriname such deserters are received but immediately sent to Europe by the first departing ship.

In Cajoeny it is now quiet so long as it lasts; I wish I had a competent Postholder for that river.

March 28.—I am again sending an express to-day to the Commander to inform him that Gerrit Jansse, the Postholder of Arinda, had come down stream and reported to me that he had spoken to the body of Caraibans up by the fall; that the Owl had charged him to tell me that everything there had been well searched but that nothing had been found; that they had imprisoned the Aruwak who had brought them there and had sent him off, together with Tampoko, a few Aruwaks, and some of their own men, to catch a negro from Berbices who was living in those parts; that they would closely examine him and attack anything he pointed out, but that if there were nothing, he would come to me with the negro and the Aruwak.

The Postholder of Arinda has reported to me that all is well up there, and that the nations are at perfect peace with each other.

Such is not the case with the Acuways up in Demerary called Wapenansis; these have killed three Caraibans on the coast of Berbices, and the latter will not rest until they have had their revenge. The former nation is thus in continual fear of being unexpectedly attacked by the Caraibans, which is certain to happen even if it should be after the lapse of a year. I have written the Commander to earnestly warn all the citizens and his soldiers that when this occurs they are not to interfere, directly or indirectly, except to make peace if possible, and especially are they to take care not to provide either party with arms or otherwise to assist them, since such action might bring the other party upon us and have fatal results, especially for those colonists who live up the river in isolated places, and especially since they now see for themselves what help they would get from their neighbours in case of need.

Tampoko came down the river yesterday evening with his body of Caraibans. When the canoes arrived we thought there were some negroes in them because some of the Caraibans had entirely covered their head and face with their salempons. This custom was quite unknown to me. When they came on shore I asked Tampoko what it meant and he told me that these were men who have killed negroes; this is their custom and they must go like that for a month. After which I got the two Owls to give me a full account of the expedition. They said that on the day when they had spoken to the Postholder of Arinda and given him a message for me they had not yet been able to discover anything; that on the same day they had climbed Mount Ansan to be able to look around. On reaching the top they immediately discovered the negro houses and plantations. Being very pleased with this they commenced their march on the morning of the next day; that close to the place they first came to the house of a free creole from Berbices named Peter, who had served in Demerary for about three years as a carpenter, and who was now living alone. No one mistrusted him and he was at my house only about six weeks ago.

Tampoko was extremely surprised at finding him at home, because he had spoken to him down here before starting, and had asked him whether he had not heard anything of the negroes, whereupon he had answered, "Not the least," and that scoundrel lived only a rifle shot from them, and asked Tampoko where he was going. The latter not trusting him said, "I am going to look for the negroes." "It is labour in vain," said the other, "there are none."

Tampoko, being very suspicious concerning his speedy journey home, asked him, "How do you come here before me when I made such haste? Are there no negroes about here?" "No, not one," said he. "What is this talking then that I hear on the other side of the creek?" asked Tampoko. "I don't know," said Peter, "but there are no negroes here."

Meanwhile Tampoko had sent out two Caraiban scouts, who were immediately attacked by the negroes and one of them severely wounded.

Upon hearing their shouts for help the other Caraibans rushed to their assistance, two remaining with Tampoko, to whom the latter said, "Capture this creole and bind him," and thereupon went to the main body.

The creole, hearing this, tried to escape, but the two Caraibans sent two poisoned arrows into his back, and followed Tampoko. On their coming up he asked them whether they had caught or killed the creole. They said, "No, but we have sent two arrows into his body." Tampoko said, "He must be killed or taken prisoner," whereupon one of the two went back and finding him dragging himself along shot another arrow at him and coming back to Tampoko said, "Now he has enough, he will not go much farther."

The Caraibans were not at work very long, having killed seven men, one woman and one girl, three men and a few women and children, whom they could not pursue, having escaped. They have brought the seven right hands to me, and I am just now occupied in paying them.

They have assured me that the Acuways of Essequibo have promised them to look after the rest and deliver them up. With the permission of the Caraibans they have taken possession of the negro bread plantations, which they will entirely lay waste; the houses are already razed to the ground, and all the arms of the negroes have been brought to me.

The Lord be praised that the matter turned out so successfully. What might not the results have been for this colony, especially when they had such a scoundrel with them who had free access to all the plantations both here and in Demerary, and who was not mistrusted in the least, he having only recently shown me a certificate from Calleyway and Bikkel that he had worked on their plantation for about a year and always behaved honestly and loyally.

"What will the busy-bodies in Demerary say now?" I wrote to the Commandeur to-day. Last week de Scharde said in several places "a creole like that is believed before me who know everything and have examined everything, and the burghers are obliged to endure all kinds of fatigues and hardships on his account, and I will wager that it is all for nothing." The Commandeur and myself are obliged to hear such speeches daily. It is our turn to speak now, but what is the use of it with such people who think that they are excused when they say, "I should not have thought it," or, "I cannot believe it."

May I not justly say that activity, attentiveness, and patience are absolutely necessary here now?

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 205.

Director-General, Essequibo (Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

June 1, 1768.

THE principal fishery, my Lords, has always been in the mouth and between the islands of Orinoque, near the Warouws, to which we send salting markott twice every year. This has never been prevented until recently, to the inexpressible injury of the Company's plantations and Colony, because there now being a want of that fish, and the slaves being obliged to have their rations, salt cod has continually to be bought, which even in one year runs pretty high, and sometimes brings me into difficulties with the payment. Only this week I paid over 300 guilders to Captain Andrew; the twelve casks of meat which each plantation gets annually are of little use, and 1,000 lbs. of fish is soon gone.

The other fishery is carried on in the two dry seasons on the sea-coast for querman; it is very uncertain, the seasons having been unreliable since 1763. We are now at the height of the dry season, and there is not a single querman on the coast. This fishery moreover costs immeasurably more than the others, the Aruwaks who are engaged in it requiring four times as much pay, etc.

The Posts are now in proper order; those at Maroco and Cajoeny ought to be strengthened, but Roman Catholic soldiers ought not to be sent there, and we have, so to say, no others. I should otherwise certainly have sent reinforcements to Maroco, because our rascally deserters have arrived in Barima with a few Spaniards and have robbed the Widow la Riviere of all her slaves and property. This did not matter very much, because I had strictly forbidden Jan la Riviere to settle between Essequibo and Orinocque, and for greater security I had this inserted in his pass; he was also forbidden by the Court to settle in Barima. The deserters also threatened to come and make a raid upon the Post of Maroco, but having offered a few insults to the Caraibans, the latter, being rather short-tempered, killed Hendrik Rodemeyer and the drummer Jacobus Van Maelen, and came to bring me information of what they had done. When I told them that they had acted wrongly, they said that the killed men were only Touarimbos, that is to say, runaways who, are no great loss, and who are only mischievous. Whereupon I answered "That is true as far as regards their being no great loss, but your people ought to have taken them alive, and brought them here, then you would have received good payment." Whereupon he replied, "Very well, we shall try to get the other two." I therefore do not think that the Post is in any danger now, because I do not believe that the Spaniards would dare to join them openly, and the Postholder has abundance of scouts and is on his guard.

It is of the utmost necessity that we should have Protestant soldiers. I am certain that your lordships are convinced of the necessity of this, but how little hope there is of getting them I see from the last shipment which, with the exception of about four, consisted of none but Catholics, and from your lordships' letter I can only conclude that your lordships have been greatly deceived.

This ties my hands completely, and nothing can be done at the Posts, which are daily exposed to pillage; the Postholder cannot absent himself for a few days, let alone for a few weeks, as he would have to do to make any discoveries. We have now a good Postholder at Arinda who has done more in six months than the others did in six years, but reinforcements is his daily cry in order to be able to go farther, it being impossible to leave the Post alone among those savage nations without having all his bread and merchandise stolen, and it is inadvisable for anyone to go inland unless there are at least two of them, in case of illness, etc.

The garrison of the two rivers ought to consist of at least a hundred men (as it does in Berbices), but if they are to be Catholics it would be better to remain as we are, and even less, since the proximity of the Spaniards is a standing danger of desertion, and if the opportunity were embraced by many at once it would have fatal results for some plantations. This was very much feared when those seven deserted together, and we do not dare to send anyone after them, not only on account of the smallness of our numbers, but because it is feared that those who are sent would join the runaways, especially if they have a good boat and provisions.

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The description of our neighbouring Spanish governors which I had the honour to send your lordships, is taken from life and by no means exaggerated. Your lordships may well say, "May God preserve our colonists from such!" because such government would soon result in total ruin.

But, my lords, that would not be so easy with free-born Netherlanders or Englishmen as with people born under a despotic rule and accustomed to slavery, since the colonists all coming from Guayana and Trinidad are slaves in the narrowest sense of the word. Such governors would not be tolerated long, and the Chamber of their High Mightinesses and of your lordships would soon re-echo with perfectly justifiable complaints.

What have these people but their cattle, for which Providence has given them excellent pastures? They have nothing else in the world, and are actually in want of bread. It might be urged that this is due to their sloth. This is true in a sense, but who would willingly work for another? If we took the bread from the gardens of our slaves, do your lordships think they would work for love of the thing on their free Saturdays? By no means.

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Messrs. Windhuysen and La Barre arrived here last week to take possession of the plantation Saint Jan, which they have bought from J. de Wind, the governor of Saint Eustatius, for 120,000 guilders.

Mr. La Barre, the agent in Martinique of the Spanish governors of this coast for the past fifteen years, has told me that about three months ago strict and well-defined orders had come from His Catholic Majesty to those governors to sell no more slaves belonging to subjects of France, England, or the State, but to detain the same and restore them to the owners, and also to give information to the owners, if they were known.

He assured me that this was perfectly true, and that he had himself seen and read those orders, and that he had several letters from the Spanish governors on this subject with him and that he would let me see them.

That (in further confirmation) nine French slaves coming from Cayenne to Orinocque had been sold by the governor of Orinocque, and the report of the matter sent to the governor of Caracas, who had then ordered him to hand over the money for the account of the Royal Treasury. In the meantime, the above-mentioned orders having arrived, the governor of Caracas had sent back the money to the governor of Orinocque with orders to return it to the buyers and to send him the slaves in question, which was done, the slaves being sent to Martinique and received by him, La Barre, and delivered to the governor of Martinique.

What a splendid thing this would be for this colony! It is unnecessary for me to dilate upon it here, the matter speaks for itself. When he has had a few days' rest La Barre will send me a letter on this subject for the Governor of Orinocque to which I shall add one of my own and get the Postholder of Maroco to have it delivered by safe Indians. As soon as we receive a reply I shall not fail to send the same to your lordships by the first opportunity.

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We are at present in very precarious circumstances, the Aeuways and Caraibans being now in open war which will probably bring about a great massacre shortly.

There was a report here that Tampoko and the Caraibans had not killed negroes but Indians, and that the hands brought down were the hands of Indians. If such were found to be true I have never seen a rascally trick executed more carefully and clothed with more feasible circumstances, and I think that Satan himself might be deceived in this way.

I have requested Mr. Van der Heyde, who lives right amongst the Caraibans, to be good enough to carefully examine the matter; he has already had the Owls at his place, who stoutly and emphatically deny this accusation. (I can scarcely believe it myself.) He will continue his investigations and send me down Tampoko as soon as he comes home.

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The drummer Jacobus Van Maelen, who ran away with the Postholder of Maroco, and who was believed to have been killed by the Caraibans (this fate having in reality befallen one of the other deserters) has returned, together with a negro belonging to Miss Persik, and alleges that he

was coerced by the dire threats of the Postholder. He relates that all the French deserters from here, together with the Postholder, have left for Martinique in a French vessel, and that Streep is a carpenter and Philip Boucher a constable, in Guayana.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 206.

Director-General, Essequibo (Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

(Postscript.)

June 6, 1768.

THINGS are now really becoming serious, my lords. Last night an express arrived from Berbices reporting that the Caraibans above Berbices having been defeated by the Acuways, a body of six hundred Caraibans had passed the fort there and together with several other bodies had taken the road to upper Demerary and Essequibo, so that now our Caraibans of Essequibo and Massercoeny will take up arms and the war will become universal. The Lord knows what the results will be; I do not expect much good from it.

No. 207.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 20, 1768.

THE Indians who were sent from the Post Maroco as expresses to Orinocque with the letters to Don Manuel Centurion, Governor of Guayana, have just returned here with the answer of the aforesaid Governor, who writes to me that Mr. La Barre was quite mistaken in what he told me; that he was no doubt misled by the case of the slaves who had fled from Cayenne to Orinocque, and who were really returned by an authoritative order. But that not any orders had been received from His Catholic Majesty concerning the restitution of the Dutch slaves, and that there was no likelihood of such being given, so that all efforts in that direction are fruitless on this side. Meanwhile the Colony is charged with the sum of eight hundred and ninety guilders for the journey of the late Mr. Rousselet, really an exorbitant sum when he made more than three thousand guilders by that journey.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 208.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

My Lords,

September 15, 1768.

A REPORT which I received after the closing of my letters compels me to add these few lines. A Spanish privateer from Orinocque cruising along our coast made an attempt to capture your lordships' salter before the River Wayni (indisputably the Company's territory) and fired very strongly upon him. The latter was cautious enough (not being able to escape otherwise) to run his boat high and dry upon the bank so that he could not be reached by the privateer who, having continued to fire upon him for some time, and seeing that he could do nothing, finally departed.

They are not content with most unreasonably keeping our runaway slaves and with hindering us from carrying on the fishery in Orinocque, which we have always been free to do, but they now wish to prevent us from salting along our own coasts, and will in this manner end by closing our river and no boats will dare to go out any more. Is this proper behaviour on the part of our neighbours and allies?

Must we, my lords, regard all this quietly and endure all these insults and hostile acts? Must we see our Posts raided and ruined and our boats attacked upon our own coasts? What is to be the end of this? There is no redress to be got from the Court of Spain. Why not exercise the *jus talionis*?

The Caraibans of Barima were here last week and complained that some of our deserters with a party of Spaniards were continually molesting them in Barima and robbing them of everything. I asked them whether they were not men and had no hands to defend themselves. They answered, "Indeed, they had," but that they did not know whether they might do so. I replied that they must indeed be careful to give the Spaniards not the slightest reason for complaint but that if they were unjustifiably attacked they might stoutly defend themselves. This pleased them very much, because I had not yet been willing to grant them so much liberty.

We have discovered that at the same time that the corporal and three soldiers ran away from Demerary to Orinocque there was a plot formed here by a party of Frenchmen to take to their heels. We were warned just in time, whereupon the Commandant immediately had all the boats secured as far as possible and sent warnings to Duynenburg and all the neighbours. The desertion was thus prevented, but it is only for a short time; they will watch their opportunity and even if they went away before our eyes, in a manner of speaking, what could we do? To have them

pursued would be going *ex Scilla in Charibdim*, for the pursuers would very probably join them, and the more so because they would be well armed and well furnished with provisions.

Therefore, my lords, be pleased not to take it amiss if as long as I have the honour to be in your lordships' service (which I trust will be but a short time) I send back to Europe by the first ship all recruits who come here and turn out to be French. Necessity compels me to do this, and I would no longer be answerable to God or man for the danger into which the Colony would be brought by this. The colonists, especially those down in the river and on the sea-coast, are unceasingly complaining that they are continually compelled to be on their guard, and really they have great reason for doing so.

Having written this in great haste,

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 209.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

My Lords,

November 9, 1768.

EXPECTING a ship from Europe daily I have postponed writing until a fortnight before the closing of the letter-bag of "Willem Zeelandus," but as the departure of that vessel will give me a good deal to do, I have not dared to put off writing any longer.

The beginning of this letter will not be pleasant, because I am obliged to inform your lordships that in the night between the 5th and 6th of October, four French soldiers ran away from the Fort here to Orinocque, as I had expected, and as your lordships will have seen from my former letters. They have taken as a companion, and apparently as a leader, one Servaes Smith, whom Mr. Massol had taken from the ship "Zeeberg" in place of another sailor after paying fifty guilders into the bargain; he had driven Smith from his house a few days before the desertion of the latter, for what reason I do not know.

The Commander of Demerary made a very good guess when he wrote to me on the arrival of the last transport, "There are again some good recruits for Orinocque." In this way they will not require any recruits from Europe, if they are so well provided by us.

This matter is really getting more dangerous for this colony every day, because the rascals are employed upon the so-called coast-guards and privateers of which I wrote in my last letter, and it has been reported to us by Spaniards themselves that the aforesaid deserters openly threaten that they will not only make a raid upon the Post in Maroco, but that they will also pay a visit to a few of the lowest plantations. Certainly not to pay their respects to the owners, as their mode of life in Barima plainly proves.

According to a report received from the Postholder of Maroco yesterday the Governor of Orinocque is in the mouth of that river with one large and one small boat, both armed, and it is reported that he will stay there for two months, for what reason or object I do not know.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 210.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 8, 1769.

FROM the Register your lordships will see that at the end of 1768 there were thirty-four plantations more than in 1767, which, together with the newly allotted grounds not yet enumerated there, will make about fifty, and over a thousand slaves more. Talking the matter over this morning with Commandant Bakker and reckoning that at most only six hundred permitted slaves had come in, he said that it was evident that the cold weather had had an effect upon people's consciences, and that the return was therefore more correct.

Inclosure in No. 210.

Register of the Colony of Essequibo cum annexis as it was on the last month of 1768.

(Extract.)

Postholder in Maroco and Wacquepo.

Diderik Nelis.

Assistant: Paulus Vermeere.

Postholder at Arinda.

Gerrit Jansse.

Assistant: Pieter Schreuder.

Postholder in Maykouny.

Pierre Martin.

Assistant: Pieter de Muyl.

Postholder in Cajoeny.

Vacant.

Assistants: Jan Van Wittinge.

Gerrit van Leeuwen.

No. 211.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 9, 1769.

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THE detachment of Frenchmen has not done anything fresh up in Essequibo and has not re-appeared, but Mr. Bogman, the captain of a coasting vessel from Suriname now here, has told me that he made a journey about that time right up the Marewijne and that some of his men had been as far as Coronis. It can very well be that our Essequibo Indians saw these men and fearing that they were French did not dare to speak to them, because our river Essequibo runs southwards in its course behind all these rivers.

Nothing more has been heard of the four who passed the Masseroeny with a party of negroes except that they continued their way direct to the Amazone, and it is still believed that they were fugitive Jesuits.

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The Post of Cajoeny is still held by the oldest assistant, Jan Van Wittinge, until I have found a trusty person; at the other Posts things are at present going very well.

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The Assistant Gerrit Van Leuwen has reported to me concerning the Post in Cajoeny that he had heard from the fugitive Indians that a detachment of Spaniards had come to just above the Post, and had captured and taken away a whole party of Indians; that they had threatened to come again during the next dry season and proceed as far as Masseroeny to capture a party of Caraibans there, and that they would then sail down the Masseroeny and again up the Cajoeny and visit the Post on their way. I immediately sent him back again (after having provided him with gunpowder and other things), and charged him to use the oars as much as possible, and to find out through the medium of the Indians the time about which they would commence their expedition and to inform me of the same, when, in order that they may have a fitting reception, I will send a commando to Mr. Van der Heyden upon Old Duynenburg (with whom I have already spoken on the matter and arranged what measures are to be taken), past which plantation they must go.

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(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 212.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 21, 1769.

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THE loss of the fishery is most injurious to the colony; it was hoped that it might alter with the change of Governor, but the present one has totally ruined it by driving the Warouws out of the islands into the mouth of the Orinocque, and a great number of them have taken refuge in Barima. I shall try to bring the matter concerning the coasting vessels to an end as soon as possible, but it will be very hard work indeed to settle it, the people of Demerary still persisting in the idea that they are not necessary, and to have them at the cost of Essequibo alone would, I think, be very unreasonable.

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The matter concerning Tampoko is still very serious and far from clear. The Caraibans who were with him and who were examined by Mr. Van der Heyde and sent to me, all persist in saying exactly what they said before, without deviating from their words in the least. The Aruwaks, who were really the complainants, and three of whom (one being a woman) came to me whilst Tampoko was still up the river, and whom I had expressly ordered to come down again when he was here, have not re-appeared, and though they have been told by Mr. Van der Heyde that they must absolutely come down to be confronted with Tampoko, they have stayed away.

The Caraiban Owl who rendered such great services at the time of the rebellion is one of those who was with Tampoko, and coming down the river after his death and hearing of the same, he began to weep, which I have never seen a Caraiban do yet; he said Tampoko was quite innocent of the charge brought against him, and he could not understand why he had hanged himself unless it was for some other reason. Not a single Acuway has appeared to make any complaint.

The nation of the Caraibans, my lords, are looked upon as nobles among the Indians. It is a very good thing to have them as allies or friends, for they render excellent services, but they are formidable enemies, capable of more bravery and resistance than one would think. When their principal or great Owls come to me, they immediately take a chair and sit down, and will eat and drink nothing but what I have myself, and they call me by no other name than that of "mate" or "brother." A good way up the river there are several villages of that nation which white people have never seen. These are well populated, and the inhabitants get what they want through those of their nation who deal with us. We can rely upon them as friends in case of need. My brother-in-law, Van Bercheyck, who is not afraid of trifles, once visited a village of that kind up the Weyne, but he told me that he was never so much afraid in his life as when he saw 200 Caraibans surrounding him armed with their bows and arrows, and although it was an extraordinarily profitable journey, and he had exchanged about 50 hammocks and two slaves, and had been invited by the chief to return in the following year, he declared to me that he would not undertake it again for four times as much.

On the night between the 5th and 6th of this month, a Creole carpenter named Elias belonging to your lordships, the negro Kleyne Jan, my two hunters and a female creole belonging to De Scharde, ran away, for what reason I cannot imagine, because the two hunters have never suffered the slightest ill-treatment and did just what they liked, whilst Elias, having been ill, did not work for two years, and now that he is better runs away. I have sent information of this to the Post at Maroco and have also sent immediate warning to Mr. Van der Heyde, because I feel certain that they took the road to Cajoeny in order to reach the Spanish missions that way.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 213.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

My Lords,

February 21, 1769.

I HAVE just received a report from Mr. Van der Heyde that our runaways have taken the road to Cajoeny and are therefore lost. The Caraibans have reported to that gentleman that the Spaniards have established a mission not far above the Post in that river, and yet another in a creek a little higher up, flowing into the Cajoeny, both of which have been strongly manned.

It is finished now, my lords; neither Postholders nor Posts are of any use now. The slaves can now proceed at their ease to the Missions without fear of being pursued, and we shall in a short time have entirely lost possession of the river Cajoeny.

Must we allow all this to go on before our eyes? The natural result of this must infallibly be that the river Essequibo will gradually be ruined and abandoned. If we had shown our teeth when, contrary to the law of nations, they attacked and destroyed the Post in Cajoeny, and when we had the power in our hands, it would never have gone so far as this, but all action was then forbidden me. The proverb says, "Whoever turns himself into a lamb will be eaten by the wolf." I have thought it well to give your Honours notice in haste of this occurrence so untoward for the Colony.

Remaining with deep respects,

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.S.—I have had to open this again because, just as the letter bag was being closed, I received a report that five more slaves have run away. I fear that this will now go on like wildfire.

No. 214.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 3, 1769.

IN my second letter by the "Vrouw Anna," I had the honour to give your lordships a hasty account of the dangerous position of the river Cajoeny; since then I have given express commands that one of the two assistants there should proceed up the river as far as possible, or as far as he could go without any danger; that he should make a very careful inspection of the situation of the Spanish Missions, and that he should get the Indians to procure him an exact account of their strength, and further particulars. If possible, he was to bring down one or more of the Indians living at those missions, and I also gave orders that they should be well on their guard at the Post against surprise parties (which, according to all appearances, will very probably be undertaken before long), and that they were to come and report to me as speedily as possible.

The creole Elias is one of the four slaves belonging to your lordships who have run away; he is acquainted with all the roads there, because those who are half-free have all lived down in Cajoeny for many years past.

At the old mission, which is situated about two or three hours' distance from the banks of the

Cajoeny, in a creek flowing into that river, there are now, as far as I am aware, the following slaves belonging to the Honourable Company:—

The creole Ariaen, carried off as a prisoner at the former raid upon the Post, a competent smith.

The creole Elias, a carpenter.

The creole Jambi.

The red slaves Pouw,

Jantje,

Coffy,

And the negro, Kleyn Jan,

Together with a female slave belonging to De Scharde.

What slaves belonging to colonists may be there is still unknown to me, nor do I know whether the three belonging to Bulskouw and the two belonging to the Widow Langenberg who ran away a few days ago, have gone in that direction.

But this is certain, that the road for the runaways is now quite open and free, it being impossible for the Post in Cajoeny to stop them, there being a number of inland paths; nor can we be warned in any way by Indians, there being no more of these in that river. They did begin to settle there again when the post was re-established, but the raid made by the Spaniards last year, when a large party of Indians were captured and taken away, has filled the rest with terror, and they are gradually drawing off.

Mr. de Rapper was fortunate enough to capture a slave belonging to Zeagers, and two belonging to J. B. Struys, who had deserted and fled up the river, and whom he has restored to their masters, with the exception of one belonging to Struys, who hung himself as soon as he was discovered.

But this occurs only once in a thousand times, and was only due, I believe, to their ignorance of the road.

There is not a single negro belonging to the Honourable Company who is not perfectly acquainted with the road, your lordships' plantation of Duynenburg being situated at the corner of Cajoeny.

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(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 215.

Commandeur, Demerary, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 10, 1769.

THERE is no one, your lordships, who is more convinced how advantageous and necessary the friendship of the Indians is to this colony, because so long as we are fortunate enough to have them living around us we are quite safe inland and have nothing to fear concerning the desertion of our slaves. I therefore neglect no possible opportunity of cultivating the friendship of the same and of protecting them from all the ill-treatment and tyranny of the whites as far as it is expedient to do, and in this way I have made myself so beloved by them that I can now get them to do whatever I wish. In order to attach the Aruwaks to this colony and to prevent them from removing to Berbices upon the arrival of the new Governor I have even given them a Commander to their liking, under whom all who live between this river and Berbices now stand.

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(Signed)

J. C. VAN DEN HEUVEL.

Inclosure in No. 215.

Director-General, Essequibo, to Commandeur, Demerary.

My dear Son,

Zeelandia, March 10, 1769.

I HAVE this moment received a report from Mr. Buisson that the Spaniards are carrying off the Indians from Maroco and have made themselves masters of the Post. What will come of this? If the ships are not yet gone, inform their lordships of this and send them this letter. Order the light-house keeper and the plantations below to be on their guard; the plantations here have already been warned by Buisson. I have no direct report yet. I shall send a letter viâ Barbadoes or Saint Eustatius as soon as I have a direct report.

I remain in haste, &c.,

Your affectionate father,

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

My Lords,

March 15, 1769.

I HAVE written, by special messenger, to Demerara, to the Commandant, and ordered him to warn his lighthouse service and all the inhabitants below to be well on the look-out, and at the same time that if, contrary to expectation, the ships the "Vrouw Anna" or "Geertruida Christiana" had not put out to sea, to send to your Honours my letter to him, as the time and circumstances permitted me to write not even to your Honours, more especially as the bad news received was transmitted by no other channel than that of a free Indian, from whom no certain or sure information is obtainable.

In my previous despatches I had the honour from time to time to inform your Honours of the secret doings of the Spaniards and especially in my second letter by the "Vrouw Anna," and in my letter by the "Geertruida Christiana," did right circumstantially concerning the fatal and, for the Colony, most highly-perilous news of the River Cayuni. My opinion has always been that they would gradually acquire a foothold in Cayuni, and try to obtain the mastery of the river, as they now practically have done at the end of the past year.

But I should as soon have expected heaven to fall, as that they, in so high-handed a manner, openly (as if in open warfare), in breach of the right of nations, in breach of all Treaties of Alliance with his Catholic Majesty, should attack us from another side, and have the audacity to go to work as if they were sovereigns of this whole coast.

The 10th March I received two consecutive letters from Councillor M. Buisson, which gave me information that an Indian named Adahouva, from Pomaroon, had come to his house and related to him that the Spaniards, with two Capuchin Fathers, a detachment of soldiers, and a large party of armed Waykiers, were capturing and taking away as prisoners all the free Indians between Barima and Pomaroon, and that they had actually overpowered the Company's trading place Marocco, and that they were now there, but that he had as yet no further knowledge of the circumstances. On the 11th came the assistant from Marocco with a letter from the Postholder. From his written Report, copy whereof is here annexed, your Honours will perceive to what pitch the insolence of our neighbours goes.

Your Honours can now see what consequences indulgence and patience have; this causes me no surprise. I have long foreseen and expected it; however, I could not presume that they would have dared to undertake so bold a deed.

The Postholder has behaved himself very well; he did not run away, though they tried hard to make him do so, but remained firm at his Post, and asked a certificate from the Capuchin Fathers, which they have given him, much to my surprise, as hereby all denials and evasions were cut off.

Copy of this also goes annexed hereto.

They have captured and taken away all our people that were on the sea-coast. The salter of Luyxbergen has luckily escaped them, but his Indians, his vessels, two large canoes and three single canoes, which he had got by barter, they have taken away. He of Duynenberg returned back early in the morning.

The alarm in the river is great. If they come to Pomaroon as they have threatened they can be in three hours overland in Essequibo, and can ruin our lowermost plantations.

May I ask once more whether all this must be borne quietly and whether your lordships' patience has not yet come to an end? With me it is *Patientia lesa tandem furor fit*.

What can I do with such a small garrison? The burghers are not yet ready for service—the letters to the burgher officers calling them together on the last day of March have been sent off—the general meeting is at hand, and there is *periculum in mora*—three clerks are continually at work writing commissions, instructions, and orders, but everything is so spread about that it will take twelve or fourteen days before everyone can be warned.

With the exception of the rebellion of Berbices this is one of the most critical matters I have been in during my long years of service. Had I the power and were my hands free I should not feel embarrassed and would be quite willing to risk my grey head in the affair.

With this same opportunity I have the honour to send His Highness a circumstantial report, and will send copies by way of Suriname or Saint Eustatius. This I hope to be able to despatch over Barbadoes.

My express has just come back from Demerary. The Commandeur informs me that Captain W. Dryber had closed his letter-bag and set sail four hours ago; that he had immediately followed him and overtaken him at Looft, and that he had written your lordships and had sent my letter, for which he has taken a receipt from the aforesaid Captain, so that I hope your lordships will already have had a general report before the receipt of this.

I have at present not a moment's rest, what with the colonists, the letters, and the Indians, and in addition to this, all the accounts which have to be made up by the 3rd of April. My lords, I do not know how to get through it all.

I hope and do not doubt that your lordships will use every effort with their High Mightinesses to bring about the lasting preservation of your lordships' territory and jurisdiction.

When ready to conclude this [letter], the Assistant Postholder, Schreuder, arrived from the Post Arinda up the Essequibo, bringing with him to me the Headman-General or Great Owl of the Caribs up in Essequibo, reporting to me that the Spaniards of Oronoque have sent the Chief of the Cerekons (a nation dwelling in Oronoque), named Maripurma, with his people, in order to rob or slay the Caribs; that they had met the Postholder Jansen in Rupununy returning from the

Crystalberg, and had slain him with all the Caribs which were with him, so that we are now embarrassed on all sides.

The Chief of the Caribs has come to request from me permission to attack this Maripurma, and to avenge this, not having dared to do this because he is below the Post near the Acuwayas, whom he also much molested and plagued.

I have answered him he may freely do so, because a murderer above all ought to be followed up, on the express condition that he is not to do the least harm to the Acuwayas, which he promised, saying he was assured the Acuwayas would rather help than hinder him.

The barque to Barbadoes being on the point of sailing, and being obliged to send a copy of this as well as of the letter to His Highness to Demerary to-morrow, where a boat is lying ready to go to Suriname, I am obliged to close with expressions of respect, &c.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure in No. 216.

The Postholder at Marocco to Director-General, Essequibo.

Honourable and Noble Sir,

Marocco, March 7, 1769.

I BEG to report to your Excellency that on the 27th February a Spanish vessel came into Marocco and to the Post, there being upon it two Fathers, twelve soldiers, and a party of Weykiers with small canoes (the vessel was provided with eight swivel guns, and on the forecastle a 4-pounder piece), coming to fetch Arowakas and Warouwas; and they have caught a whole party in Wayne and Marocco, yet there are many who have fled inland through the warning of an Indian who had run away from Wayne; and we knew of nothing until a Father came to the Post. He, however, did nothing to us at the Post, and I spoke to the Fathers, saying that such acts were not permitted on Dutch ground and territory. They stated, in reply, that they did not know that, and that they had orders from their Governor. Whereon they in the evening departed down the river, repeating they were going in the other direction; but far from that, however, they have there searched for Indians, and finding none, burned some houses and broke small canoes.

Thereupon they came up stream again on the 2nd March with a noise that so frightened my wife that she took to flight into the forest with her maids, and in haste caused some goods to be saved.

Coming to the front of the Post with a burning piece of wood, the Fathers came on shore with their black corporal, who immediately asked where were the Indians whom they had seen, and where my wife was. I replied that the Indians were at their house, and that my wife had fled in terror. But they said, "Your wife is in the forest with the Indians," and that it was our fault they had found no people; thereat the corporal was angry, and said they would also take my people; but if I would say where my wife was, that they would leave my wife one maid; but they seized immediately one maid caught under the gallery, and trailed her to the boat, and I was then obliged to show the way. They have taken my two female slaves with their children, two free maids—one boy of mine is still missing. There was a pistol shot fired near my wife's people; now I know not whether they have shot the boy or no. My wife, who luckily came from their path without being seen, is at the Post half dead with fright. My wife prayed for our two maids with their children, but that was of no assistance. They have removed property of mine, worth quite 100 guilders, that they found outside; but in the house they touched nothing.

Your Excellency should please consider what spirits we are in. My poor little possessions carried away before my eyes, and the Indians that were inland so dispersed, that the one knows nothing of the other. According to the report of one Indian, the whole of Wacquepo and Corey has entirely fled.

There is a man gone after the runaways of Mr. Volskow; he has luckily caught them, and when here, coming into the Savannah of Marocco, the Spaniards took him, loosed the slaves, and placed the fetters on him and the others with him. But a boy having run away from Miss Persik, came and told me this, and also that they will come again to come and fetch the Indians of Pomaroon and the remainder of those who were here.

The negro, J. Breek, his vessel and people, are taken, but he has fled. Mr. Trotz's creole Adrian is taken. They have plundered Joseph Wolff. Jan Domburg they have had twice. Further, I humbly request your Excellency that, if it be possible, I may again have my people who have been taken away, especially as they have done the Post no harm, and they keep bad people away. The Indians here entreat a helping hand of your Excellency to save their freedom, that they may again have their captured friends, seeing that they do not dwell on Spanish soil.

We sat here for about four days as if we were on an island. No cook, no maid, and still I can find nothing of which to make a little bread. I fear that all the Indians of the Marocco coast will depart. I can see that the Spaniards' object was that we should make some resistance, in order to take us, or that we should abandon the Post. That is why they came with such a force. But that I could not do, and resistance was impossible for us. I hope your Excellency will be pleased to send me orders what to do, and what may be left undone. I am sending also P. Velmeere, that he may quickly return, and inclose a note from the Fathers, the contents whereof I cannot understand. Further, I have nothing more to inform than to remain with all submission and esteem.

(Signed) DERL NEELIS.

Sub-Inclosure.

Certificate of the Capuchin Fathers.

(Translation.)

WE, the Undersigned, certify, as by mandate of our Superior and permission of the Honourable Commandant-General of the River Oronoque, Don Manuel Centurion, that we have passed into Maruca in search of the Indians belonging to the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia, and by authority of the Fathers we give these presents the 28th day of February, 1769.

On behalf of the above-mentioned Fathers, we sign it.

✠ BRO. F. DE CARRADIAC.

✠ BRO. JPH A. DE CERVERA.

No. 217.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 4, 1769.

HAVING had the honour to write to His Highness and to your lordships circumstantially *via* Barbadoes and Suriname (copy of which is herewith) concerning the unheard-of and crying outrages of the Spaniards of Orinocque, your lordships can easily imagine that the alarm in the lower reaches of both rivers and on the sea-coast was very great.

Councillor Buisson had asked me to send him some gunpowder in order to be able to give the alarm signals to the citizens in case of need. His plantation being situated at the lowest point of the island of Arouabiesjes, and thus having a view right out to sea, he was best situated to be able to see and to discover everything, wherefore I immediately sent him a barrel of fifty pounds.

At nine o'clock on the evening of the 14th, we heard the alarm signal being given on the west side which continued until twelve o'clock. Mr. Buisson had given the first signal at six o'clock, but it had not been heard on account of the strong wind; the second was followed by the Widows Persik and Fitz-Patrick, Mr. Van der Cruysse, Vulskouw, &c. Not receiving the least news, I did not know what to think, but everything being in readiness, I sent out Corporal Coyer early in the morning to reconnoitre.

As soon as he was gone an Indian came from Leguaen Island with a letter from Mr. Kaeks to the Commandant requesting him to come and tax the plantation of the Widow Fitz-Patrick on the following Monday without mentioning a word of the alarm.

I asked the Indian where the shooting had been, and he answered, "At Buisson's." "Why?" He replied that he did not know, but that he had heard that a canoe full of Spaniards having come to Mr. Buisson's plantation that gentleman had fired upon them, and caused them to withdraw.

Soon after that Captain Bomvens came from Mr. Boter, and asked me whether we had heard the shots. I said that we had, but that the reasons were still unknown to us, and asked him whether he had heard anything. He answered "No," but that he had met an inland yacht full of white sailors in the wrong canal, and in which there was an English gentleman whom he did not know; that he had asked him as one coming direct from Demerary whether he had heard the shots, and whether he knew anything of the reason. The man replied that he had heard no shot, but that he had seen two large ships lying down the river. This made the uncertainty still greater because it was thought that the shots might have been signals from the ships, and that they might possibly be the lately departed vessels "The Vrouw Anna," and "The Gertrude Christina," which had been driven there by the strong north winds and currents.

The messenger belonging to your lordships' plantation Duynenburg (who had escaped so cleverly from the Spanish pirates) had been sent off with the letters to the burgher officers, and was at the house of the ensign Vulskouw at the time when the shots were heard.

Whilst coming back in the morning he met Corporal Coyer, and having told him what it was and shown him the letters from Buisson and Vulskouw, he came back with him to the Fort.

Mr. Buisson wrote to me that one Solomon la Riviere coming from below had seen off Oene, so he said, two canoes full of Spaniards, but that the latter had not been able to come on shore on account of the tide, and had pushed off into deep water again, whereupon he, Buisson, had given the alarm signal to warn the burghers.

But that after those signals had been given Boekhorst had reported to him that Versteeg and Lucas Willemse had come close to the banks of the Oene on their way home; that they had seen no Spaniards, or anything like Spaniards, but two canoes full of Caribans from Suriname and the Corentin—no doubt the same who had been here at the Fort. All the alarm was therefore in vain, though Mr. Buisson deserves great praise for his attention and care.

March 16.*—The chief of the Caribans, who is now here, goes up the river to-day. He has promised me to attack the murderers of the Postholder, and to hold all his people in readiness in case we might have need of them. Commandant Backer told him this morning that he would like to come up the river, and asked him whether he would then let him be master. He answered "No, I am master of the Caribans. You can be master of the whites and of the other nations,

* This letter was, like so many, written on different days, finishing up with the date at the head.

and then we can together become masters of everything." I let him see one of the silver ring-collars which I still have, and promised to give it to him, and to give him some clothes (of which they are very fond) if he behaved well.

But, my lords, allow me to ask what is now to be done to get food for your lordships' slaves? The salting is now entirely stopped, not alone in the mouth of the Orinocque, where we had carried on the fishery from time immemorial, but there are neither canoes nor corrials to be got for the plantations or the Fort along the whole of the sea-coast, and we are shut in on all sides. I must now, *nolens volens*, buy from the English, or allow your lordships' slaves to go without rations, and what the results of that would be your lordships can easily imagine; and if I buy I shall have to draw upon your lordships. I already owe the North Americans more than a thousand guilders, and have made this a charge upon the product of the sales, having, so to say, got in little or none of the cash. Your lordships are quite right in recommending me to be economical and to draw little or nothing; but to allow the slaves to suffer want would be a very wrong kind of economy, and have ruinous results. There being nothing on the plantations, and the out-runners having come back empty-handed after exposing themselves to the greatest danger, and losing their men and boats, I must to-day send for cod from Barbados, since I hear that they are still at a moderate price. There is no more flour in the factory, the last having been distributed on the 18th of March, and there is still enough meat for three distributions. How matters stand in Demerary I hope to hear this week from the Commander, who has written me that he is coming up. I have just written to him by Mr. Grant to buy six or eight casks of flour for the factory at the sale which is to be held in Demerary on the 21st.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE

No. 218.

Order issued by the Director-General of Essequibo in 1769.

(Extract.)

PROVISIONAL instructions for the captains, captain-lieutenants, lieutenants, and ensigns of the respective burgher troops in Rio Essequibo.

The burgher officers shall maintain good order and concord in their respective companies and divisions as far as lies in their power; shall try to remove as far as possible all differences; and in order that each officer may know how far his district or division extends, it has been deemed proper to make the following division:—

The east coast, under the white flag, begins at and includes the plantation Zeelugt, belonging to Mr. J. B. Struys, and extends right away to the top and comprises Leguaan Island, Vlaggen Eyland and Varken Island.

The west coast, under the orange flag, extends from the topmost plantation to the sea-coast as far as there are plantations, and comprises the islands Wacquenaame, Aruwabisje, Trouille and further islands not specified under the white flag.

DIVISIONS.

East coast or white flag.

All the islands belonging thereto except Vlaggen Eyland. Division of the captain-lieutenant.

Vlaggen Eyland and the east coast from Borrassierie to Bonassiekie. Division of the lieutenant.

From Bonnasieke upwards. Division of the ensign.

West coast or orange flag.

From the topmost plantation to the plantation Nieuw Brandenburg inclusive and Trouille Island. Division of the captain-lieutenant.

The further islands belong to the division of the lieutenant.

From the plantation Nieuw Brandenburg exclusive to the sea-coast is the division of the ensign.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 219.

The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May, 1769.

THE unexpected invasion of the Spaniards, so incompatible with the law of nations and the treaties of alliance, calls for your lordships' most serious consideration, and requires a speedy resolution for redress. Not only is the colony exposed to the greatest danger from Cajoeny up above, and from the sea-coast below, the plantations being continually open to pillage and plunder (amongst which plunderers the principal are your lordships' runaway slaves, to whom all

the paths, holes, and corners are known), but our fisheries both in Orinocque and on the sea-coast have been entirely knocked on the head and lost, and your lordships' Post at Maroco has been entirely ruined, all the Indians who still remained having fled, and none now remaining round or near the Post; those in Pomeroon have also departed and abandoned their dwellings, with the exception of the Caraiabans, who hold their ground, and whom up to the present they have not dared to insult.

(Signed) The Director-General and the Court of Policy for the
colony of Essequibo *cum annexis*.

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE,
and others.

No. 220.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 12, 1769.

WHAT a pity it would be if such a flourishing colony (such as this is now growing) were to be ruined by rogues and pirates, as must inevitably be the case if no powerful measures are adopted to resist the pirates from Orinocque and make them abandon their expeditions!

According to the last reports from the Postholder and from the Caraiabans, they are still all in Barima, having sent their prisoners to Orinocque, and they threaten to come again at an early date, and not only carry off all the Indians from Powaron, but even to attack and plunder our plantations.

It is not enough for them to protect our runaway slaves and to refuse to give them up, but they arm these very slaves and use them to attack and plunder us, for it is known with certainty, my lords, that the runaway slaves from Aegtekerke were with them and that it was they who most urged them on.

Yesterday evening I received a despatch from Director Richter informing me that an Owl with twelve Caraiabans had come to the Fort from Barima, and that he had considered it best to send him immediately to me so that I might hear his report myself.

The said Owl being narrowly examined by me, through the medium of a very good interpreter, told me that the Spaniards in Barima, having been reinforced by another boat, had at last attacked the Caraiabans themselves, captured several of the same, carried them off, burnt their houses and ruined their plantations; that they continued to make raids all around and along the sea-coast, and that they were making preparations to come to Powaron, and that they said that when they had finished there they would come to Essequibo and attack the plantations and even the Fort itself.

I regard the latter as a vain Spanish boast, but they are quite capable of doing all the rest. Things have now actually reached such a stage that we can return violence with violence, but is it not a sad thing, my lords, that we have such a weak garrison and not six men among them upon whom we can place the least reliance? To send a small detachment of twelve or sixteen men down would really be to *risquer le tout pour le tout*, for if they were all disloyal, as is only to be expected from Frenchmen and Catholics, and went over to the Spaniards all would be lost, because not the least reliance is to be placed upon the citizens.

So that, since the outlook is daily becoming blacker for the colony, it is high time to make some provision, and as there is great danger of total ruin it is highly necessary that powerful and speedy measures should be adopted to prevent the same.

I asked the Caraiaban Owl this morning whether the Caraiabans were no longer men and whether they had no hands with which to defend themselves, whereupon he replied, "Iudeed, they have; but the Spaniards have guns, and we only bows and arrows. Give us rifles, powder, and shot, and we will show you what we are." Even had I been inclined to do so I could not, having no further supply of these than just sufficient for the garrison.

The Postholder, Jansse of Arinda, who, according to report, had been killed, has fortunately escaped, and has arrived at the Fort.

He is the first of the Postholders who has carried out my orders, and been to the Crystal Mine up in Ripenowini.

The assistant Bont writes me that he has brought some large pieces of crystal with him; that he has told him that he has been to the place where the Brazilian diamonds are found; that the Indians would on no account allow him to dig or to search there, and that the place is close to the Crystal Mine. This corresponds with what was told me by Mr. del Torres de Bandeyra, the second person in Brazil, a few years ago.

This gentleman told me that there was not a single Portuguese who knew where the diamond mine was; that it having been their intention to send out one of their viceroys to discover the same, the Indians had threatened that if a Portuguese went in that direction the whole nation would immediately break up and "trek" further inland, by which they would lose the whole of this advantage, etc. Whereupon the expedition was not only abandoned, but exploration was strictly forbidden.

I have written to Essequibo and charged the Postholder to come to me here in Demerary as soon as he had rested a bit, in order that I may examine him narrowly concerning this discovery, this being a matter of great importance which ought not to be overlooked.

By this we have unexpectedly and undesignedly become acquainted with a place of which the possessors of those precious stones have hitherto had no knowledge themselves.

I shall postpone my further remarks concerning this until I have spoken to and examined the Postholder.

Yesterday I received a letter per express from Commandant Backer, which I take the liberty of enclosing.

In this your lordships will find the report from Mr. Van der Heyde concerning Cajoeny. If the news be true (which I can scarcely believe), then things are going badly, and there remains no other alternative but to adopt measures of violence or reprisal. The depredations of the Spanish from Barima to Powaron continuing daily, we must acknowledge that they are capable of anything, and that we must expect all kinds of violent and piratical acts from them. The poor colonists on the west coast below Essequibo are in a terrible state of alarm, and are on the look-out night and day. If the regulations were strictly and literally observed, there would not be such great fear of the pirates in the river, but everything is done in such a slow and lazy manner that I really lose all patience. Here is a matter in which they are threatened with total ruin; one would think that ought to wake them up.

I have written to the Commandant to have recourse to every possible aid in investigating this; and as soon as I have trustworthy information about it, I shall (please God!) have the honour to report to your lordships as speedily as possible by the first opportunity that presents itself.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.S.—Jansse, the Postholder, has just come here. The letter-bag being about to be locked, I cannot give your lordships his full account now, but I hope to do so by the "Carolina Medio-burgensis." As soon as this is gone, I will give him written instructions upon which he is to act on his next journey.

I have the honour to send herewith a letter from Director Richter, and one from Van Wittinge, the assistant at Cajoeny. From the latter your lordships will see that the news from Cajoeny is not yet corroborated, and also whence that report came, and in what a dangerous state that Post is. I have requested the Commandant to give him what he can, with the exception of the blunderbuses, of which we have none, the best of our guns having fallen to pieces.

Inclosure 1 in No. 220.

Commandant Backer at Fort Zeelandia to Director-General, Essequibo.

(Extract.)

May 7, 1769.

YESTERDAY evening Bont received a letter from Mr. Van der Heyde, in which that gentleman informs him that the Indians up there have told him that the Post in Cajoeny had been attacked by the Spaniards; that Jan Wittinge had been killed, and Van Leuwen carried off. Mr. Van der Heyde at the same time states that he is doing his best every day to hire Indians to send up the river in order to see whether this is true, but has up to the present not been able to persuade any Indians to go. If this be true it is insufferable, and it is too bad that a cat should allow itself to be eaten up by a small mouse. If we only had the soldiers we would make them pay for it well. I shall not dwell upon this further, and shall try to obtain full information concerning it. I shall send the Postholder, G. Jansse, to Demerary as soon as possible.

(Signed) J. BACKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 220.

The Postholder of Cajoeny to Director-General.

Your Excellency,

May 5, 1769.

THIS is to inform your Excellency that I have heard from a Carabian that the Carabians of the Masijoen were coming down with this tide to carry off the Carabians of Cajoeny to the Masijoen and were also coming to the Post to kill me and Gerrit Van Leuwen; they will come down in large numbers according to what I heard from the Indian. It is my intention, Your Excellency, to remove the Post to the island Toenamoeto, lying between two falls, and on that island the Post will be better and healthier, and I have already commenced to make a clearing there. Herewith I beg to request Your Excellency for the goods which I have laid out for the Honourable West India Company. I beg to ask Your Excellency for three guns and two blunderbuses, and powder and shot and some flints.

J. F. WITTINGH.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

June 2, 1769.

THERE has not been a single Postholder at Arinde who has not been ordered by me to go to the Crystal Mine (here called the Calikko Mountain) and to find out all particulars concerning it. Not one of them has done so, they having always put forth various pretexts—at one time that there was high water, at another that the natives were at war, and at yet another something else, but the true cause was their ungrounded fear of the savage nations living in those parts.

Jansse having also received this order in his instructions commenced his journey as soon as the water up in the river had come to a standstill and proceeded up the river Ripenowini, accompanied by a good interpreter, who understood the language of the Macoussis well.

It took him quite two months to get there. Your lordships must not believe that the journey is such a long one, but when with Indians, the longest day's journey is four miles, and then every three or four days they have a rest day, and at every nation one comes to one is obliged to stop for a few days. A drought of six months has made the waters fall so low up there that in many places he could not get his boat along, but had to drag it.

On arriving at the Macoussis he hired an interpreter who spoke the language of the Wapissannes, which nation lives near the Crystal Mine on both sides of the river Maho. It is the same nation which a few years ago (fifteen or sixteen years if I remember rightly) killed Louis Marcan with two other whites. I had prophesied this to him before his departure, that Frenchman being much too hasty and excitable to be able to deal with wild Indians.

The river, called the Maho on d'Anville's map, is called Mejou here by the Indians. There is one of the same name up in Cajoeny; whether it is the same river or another I do not know. It flows into the Rio Bianco, the latter into the Rio Negro, which again has communication with the Amazon and Orinocque. According to the old descriptions and traditions, the Maho must have its source in the famous lake of Parima, if such a lake exists. According to the description of the Postholder, the river is quite as broad and deep as Demerary: it is not easy to understand whence it gets its waters, since it cannot extend very far inland because the Rio Negro cuts through the whole country from the Amazon to the Orinocque.

The Postholder coming to the Wapissannes, who had not seen a white man since the affair with Marcan, and who were thus in want of all European things, was received exceptionally well, and coming to their chief and seeing about ten rifles there, but no powder, or shot, he presented him with a bottle of powder and some small shot, by which he at once gained his entire friendship.

This nation lives in the Savannahs by day, but at night they retire to inaccessible rocks and cliffs where they have their houses and caves, all the approaches to which, however steep, are still defended by pallisades through fear of the powerful nation of the Manos or Magnamos with whom they are always at war.

He also found there the nation of the Parhavianes who were still living up in Essequibo in my time, and who, being too greatly molested by the Caribans, removed thither.

This place being his destination he stopped there for a few weeks and carefully investigated everything. When he wished to dig up the crystal which grows there in many places in a red dry soil, the nation would not allow him to do so, saying that they would give him crystal enough; he did bring some with him, but only small pieces, with the exception of one as large as half a fist.

They said to him, "You are looking for something else than crystal, but that you will not find here, but with our neighbours across the Maho, who sell those stones to the Portuguese." He replied, "I will willingly pay for them too; I want nothing for nothing, and shall go there." This they prevented him from doing, saying, "They are a wicked nation, they will kill you; but we will manage to get some of those stones for you."

The Postholder thinks with me that this opposition only springs from trade jealousy, they being afraid that they would lose that trade and that it would all go to their neighbours, or that they only pretended it was so, and that they knew the mines themselves, especially since they strictly forbade him to search or to dig; there was nothing to be done here by force, so that he was obliged to be satisfied with noting everything narrowly and with wandering about the place, which they allowed him to do, but always with a few young Wapissanes by his side. The land there consists mostly of high mountains and rocks, bare, but wooded here and there with small shrubs, and great savannahs.

He went a little lower into great woods of cinnamon trees, some of the bark of which he brought with him. . . . *

This having been only an attempt and the way being now opened, because he may now come there welcome and free, which is a good beginning, I have given him full and circumstantial written instructions, and also verbal ones as far as possible:

1°. How the emeralds were found in the crystal mines up in Orinocque according to the unanimous testimony of the Spaniards and the writers on precious stones.

2°. The rough appearance, weight, and characteristics of diamonds as they were explained to me in the year 1750 by Mr. Blank in Amsterdam upon the order of His late Serene Highness of glorious memory.

3°. An order to bring away stones in which there appeared to be minerals, because although I am aware that few gold mines are exploited with any profit it is still certain that there are veins of gold in the mountains and that gold is found in grains in the creeks and water-falls that

* Some general remarks on cinnamon omitted.

run down from them, and that it is easily collected, though this is not so with silver mines. Besides this, I have seen some collars of the Indian Owls which make me believe that platina or white gold is found in those regions.

4°. To collect the second bark of cinnamon trees three or four years old when they are in full sap, and how to dry them, &c.

5°. To bring some fresh Acuway nuts, with all their husks.

6°. To bring a sample of the Indian salt.

And, further, a few instructions how to behave, and to try and obtain, in a friendly manner, permission from the Wapissannes to cross the Maho, and go to the neighbouring nations.

He has again departed from here, and as soon as the water, which on account of the continual rains is extra high, begins to fall a little, he will again go up the river and immediately re-commence his journey up the Ripenowini. I hope from the bottom of my heart that this may be successful and of great profit to the Honourable Company. I have promised him that if he happens to make discoveries of any importance, he will be generously rewarded by your lordships.

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 222.

Extract from Minutes of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company.

July 10, 1769.

RECEIVED and read a despatch from His Serene Highness the Prince, Governor-General and Chairman, written at Soost-dyk the 7th of the current month in reply to their Honours' letter of the 26th ultimo, stating that His Serene Highness learned with much regret the danger to which the Colony of Essequibo was exposed, in its so slight state of defence, through the hostilities of the Spaniards. That as His Highness judged that the conservation of the American possessions in general, and that of the Colony aforesaid in particular, was of the most extreme moment for the Republic, it was with His Highness' fullest approbation that their Honours would address themselves regarding this matter to their High Mightinesses and make to that high authority such request and urgent appeal, as was indicated in their Honours' letter aforesaid of the 26th aforesaid, and the earlier this were done the better; that for this object His Serene Highness was sending the desired copies of the Addenda, which had been inclosed in the despatch of the Director-General to His Serene Highness. That His Serene Highness would not omit efficaciously to second with his favourable support their Honours' request and urgent appeal before their High Mightinesses.

Whereupon, deliberation being had, it was approved and decided to request the Advocate (this without adjournment) to be good enough, the earlier the better, to draft an address to their High Mightinesses, in their Honours' name, and to bring it before the adjourned meeting, complaining of the various acts of hostility undertaken by the Spaniards against the Company's Posts in Essequibo, and, in addition, of the hindrances by them caused to those of Essequibo, as well in the fishery on the territory of the Republic, as in the mouth of the River Oronoque, and finally, of the retention, notwithstanding claims preferred (for rendition) of slaves deserting thither from the Colony of Essequibo, to the considerable loss of the same Colony.

No. 223.

Dutch West India Company (Zeeland Chamber) to Director-General, Essequibo.

(Extract.)

July 26, 1769.

WE have thought it advisable to cause knowledge thereof to be given to their High Mightinesses by a remonstrance; at the same time while we have addressed ourselves by way of complaint concerning the recent threats and undertakings of the Spaniards against the Company's Posts in Cayuni, Marocco, and the Company's Post Arinda, &c., contained in the subsequent despatch of your Honour, we have by the same opportunity complained to their Highnesses themselves of the retention by the Spaniards of slaves deserting from the Colony, against all right and reason, and to the considerable prejudice of the Colony, and notwithstanding most complete reclaim by the owners thereof, with a request that on this account a most pressing petition might be made to the Court of Spain, and for reparation for everything, and also pressing for proper provision for the future, as your Honour may perceive from Inclosure B, which is a copy of our remonstrance aforesaid, and the result and effect thereof must provisionally be awaited. Meanwhile, we can do nothing else than entirely approve the direction kept and the orders issued by your Honour in this matter.

Not that we wish that all undertakings of the Spaniards in the Colony may be looked upon contentedly, and only suffered to be perpetrated. On the contrary, we are of opinion that outrage ought to be repulsed with outrage, and all hostilities, as far as possible, prevented; so we therefore well put up with the orders your Honour gave to the Caribs of Barima. But to

make use of direct reprisals, we consider as not yet advisable for more reasons than one, but also certainly principally on account of the weakness of our garrison, which it is by no means possible to strengthen by this ship, but in the month of September we shall be in a position to send twenty-five men from here—all Netherlanders We consider it superfluous to order your Honour to make all possible provision for the Posts in the Colony.

No. 224.

Remonstrance of their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands to the Court of Spain in reference to the Proceedings of the Spaniards of the Orinoco against the Dutch Colonies in Guayana.

Extract from the Register of Resolutions of their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, of Wednesday, August 2, 1769.

READ to the [States-General in] Session the remonstrance of the Representatives of His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau, and Directors of the Chartered West Indian Company in the Presidial Chamber of Zealand, on behalf of the Company in general, as having the particular direction and care of the Colony of Essequibo, and of the rivers which belong to it, declaring that they the remonstrants in this capacity had from time almost immemorial been in possession not only of the aforesaid River Essequibo and of several rivers and creeks which flow into the sea along the coast, but also of all branches and streams which fall into the same River Essequibo, and more particularly of the most northerly arm of the same river, called the Cayoeny; that from time immemorial also on the banks of the same River Cayoeny, which is considered as a domain of the State, there had been built a so-called Post, consisting of a wooden lodge, which, on behalf of the Company, like several others in this Colony, is possessed, and was guarded by a Postholder, an outpost or settler with some slaves and Indians.

That, accordingly, the remonstrants, especially after what had happened in 1759, had been extremely surprised to learn by a letter from Laurens Storm van 's Gravesande, Director-General of the Colony of Essequibo, written the 9th February last, that a Spanish detachment coming from the Orinoco had come above this station and had carried off several Indians, threatening to return at the first following dry season and visit Masseroeny, another arm of the Essequibo, which flows between this river and the Cayoeny River, and which also unquestionably forms part of the territory of the Republic, in order there in like manner to carry off from it a body of Caribs (an Indian tribe allied to the Dutch, and also belonging to them, as subordinate), and then to descend the River Masseroeny, ascend the Cayoeny, and visit the Company's said Post in Cayoeny, as their High Mightinesses could see from an extract of the said letter, annexed as Addendum (A), containing also a report of the provisional measures which the aforesaid Director-General had taken thereagainst.

That they, the remonstrants, had taken all that as a mere threat, which, as on many other occasions, had had no effect, and such, however much [*sic*, words missing], the Director-General aforesaid had also informed them, by a letter of the 21st February, 1769, of which they produced an extract (Addendum B), of the beginning of the two Spanish Missions, which are held by a strong force, one not far above the Company's said Post aforesaid on Cayoeny (apparently, however, on Spanish territory), and the other a little higher up on the banks of a creek which flows into the aforesaid Cuyuni River.

That if, however, they could have expected an attack from the Spaniards in time of peace, or should have had to look forward to it, it must certainly have been from that side, especially from observation of all that the Director-General had yet mentioned in his letter of the 3rd March last, and of which an extract (Addendum C) accompanied the above-mentioned protest.

It was then with the greatest astonishment that the remonstrants had learned from a letter written by the Director-General, dated the 10th March last, to his son-in-law, the Commandeur of Demerara, which the latter had sent them in original, and of which a copy forms Addendum (D), that the Spaniards had begun to carry off the Indians from, and had made themselves masters of, the Company's Post at Maroco, situated near a small river or creek south of the Weyne River, between it and the Pomaroon River, where from time immemorial the Company had had a trading depôt and a station, which also incontestably belonged to the territory of the Republic.

That the remonstrants had received confirmation of this news by the receipt of a triplicate of a letter from the Director-General, dated the 15th March last (the original of which he had sent by way of the Island of Barbados, and the duplicate by way of Surinam, but which had not yet arrived), whereof the remonstrants had the honour to produce an extract (Addendum E), in which their High Mightinesses would find an abridged account of the proceedings of the aforesaid Spaniards, of the way in which the Postholder had behaved, and of the measures which the said Director-General had provisionally taken; all of which may be further confirmed and receive more light by the Addenda (F) and (G), one being a copy of the Report by the Postholder at Maroco sent to the Director-General on the 7th March, 1769, and the other the copy of a document in Spanish which the two Capuchin Fathers who had taken part in this expedition had themselves given to the Postholder, and which had not yet been translated, from lack of oppor-

tunity, which documents His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau had been good enough to communicate to the remonstrants, they, the remonstrants themselves, having not yet received a copy of them direct as yet, seeing that they had apparently been sent together with the said original and duplicate.

That they (the remonstrants) had further learnt from this said triplicate that the Spaniards of the Orinoco River had murdered, or had at all events caused to be murdered by a subject tribe, both the Postholder of the Post at Arinda belonging to the Company, high up in the River Essequibo, not far from the little river or creek Rupununi, and also all the Caraibes he had with him, upon which the Owl or Chief of the Caraibes had gone to the Director-General and had obtained permission from him to avenge the death of his compatriots by attacking the murderers, as their High Mightinesses would see by Addendum (H), which is a second extract of the same letter from the Director, dated the 15th March last.

That very much at the same time as the above-mentioned triplicate of the letter of the 15th March the remonstrants had received a letter from the said Director-General, dated the 4th April last, which made mention of no further enterprise on the part of the Spaniards, and only on all sides a general suspicion existed.

To check such undertakings they the remonstrants, however, thought that they should not keep silent about this affair, but should lay it in its full details before their High Mightinesses, not doubting that their High Mightinesses would be extremely sensible to these attempts, and would not permit to be passed over unnoticed, without at least making the most energetic remonstrance thereagainst, so manifest a violation of the territory of the State.

That they, the remonstrants, could not refrain from further reporting to their High Mightinesses on this occasion that the people of the Orinoco had some time ago not only begun to dispute with the people of the Essequibo about the fishing rights in the mouth of the Orinoco, and thereupon immediately to prevent them, notwithstanding that the people of Essequibo had been for long in peaceful and quiet possession of this fishing, which was of great value to them on account of the abundance of fish in it; but that, further, the people of Orinoco were beginning to prevent their fishing by force upon the territory of the State itself, extending from the River Marowyne to beyond the River Wayne, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, as could be seen by the maps of these regions, particularly that of M. d'Anville, which was one of the most highly thought of on account of its correctness—grievances of which their High Mightinesses would find the proofs in the documents, Addenda (I), 1, 2, and 3, which are extracts of the said Director's despatches dated the 15th September, 1768, and 22nd February and 4th April, 1769.

That, lastly, the remonstrants could not refrain from informing their High Mightinesses of proceedings of the people of Orinoco, which were contrary not only to all Treaties but also to rights of nations, in taking away and retaining, to the great detriment of certain planters and of the whole Colony, the slaves which deserted from it and took refuge with the Spaniards, notwithstanding that the owners demanded their return formally and with all diligence, to check which all attempts on the spot until now, and even missions, have been useless; that in the meantime this desertion, unless checked, would in time cause the complete ruin of Essequibo, and that now by placing the two above-mentioned Spanish Missions so near the territory of the Republic, and also through attacking the Company's Posts, and by killing the Postholders, it will be not a little encouraged and rendered easy, as their High Mightinesses could see from the two Addenda (K), 1 and 2, and 3, these documents being extracts of the above-mentioned letters from the Director-General, dated the 9th and 21st February and 3rd March last.

The remonstrants pray that, on account of all the prejudice which must necessarily result from these proceedings and actions, it may please their High Mightinesses to send, on the same terms as they did on the 31st July, 1759, copy of this protest and these Annexes to M. Doublet von Groenvelt, Envoy Extraordinary of their High Mightinesses to His Catholic Majesty, and to instruct this Minister to make the requisite representations on this subject to the Court of Spain.

Whereupon, deliberation being had, it has been found good and decreed that a copy of the aforesaid remonstrance and Annexes be sent to M. Doublet de Groenvelt, Envoy Extraordinary of their High Mightinesses to the Court of Spain. That he be at the same time instructed to give notice of these events and outrages in that quarter which he shall judge of use, to represent the impropriety thereof, also to insist upon a prompt reparation of the acts of hostility committed, and upon the reinstatement of the remonstrants in the peaceful possession of the above-mentioned Posts and other rights, such as the fishing of the above-mentioned places; that, finally, he may be instructed to insist upon the necessary measures being taken to prevent such causes of complaint in future; and that, accordingly, the Court of Spain may give orders as soon as possible to restore, without fail or delay, on the first requisition, on payment of the expenses incurred, all slaves who have deserted out of the Colony who are still forthcoming, or who may desert hereafter.

In which case their High Mightinesses will issue like orders to the Colonies of the State.

And an extract of this Resolution of their High Mightinesses shall be communicated to the Marquis de Puente fuerte, Envoy Extraordinary of His Catholic Majesty, with a request to be so good as to support with his good offices as much as possible these representations of their High Mightinesses.

Addendum A.—*Extract from a Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated February 9, 1769.*

[See No. 211, last Extract.]

Addendum B.—*Extract from Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated February 21, 1769.*

[See No. 213.]

Addendum C.—*Extract from Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated March 3, 1769.*

[See No. 214, first paragraph.]

Addendum D.—*Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated March 10, 1769.*

[See Inclosure in No. 215.]

Addendum E.—*Extract from Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated March 15, 1769.*

[See No. 216, first nine paragraphs down to "lowermost plantations."]

Addendum F.—*Copy of letters from the Postholder at Maroco to the Director-General, Essequibo, dated March 7, 1769.*

[See Inclosure in No. 216.]

Addendum G.—*Copy of Certificate from Capuchin Fathers.*

[See Sub-Inclosure to No. 216.]

Addendum H.—*Extract from Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated March 15, 1769.*

[See No. 216, last four paragraphs.]

Addendum I 1.—*Extract from Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated September 15, 1768.*

[See No. 208, first three paragraphs.]

Addendum I 2.—*Extract from Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated February 21, 1769.*

THE loss of the fishery is most injurious to the Colony. It was hoped that it might alter with the change of Governor, but the present one has totally ruined it because the Warouwas have been hunted out of the islands in the mouth of Oronoque, and the great part of them have taken refuge in Barima.

[See No. 212, first paragraph.]

Addendum I 3.—*Extract from Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated April 4, 1769.*

BUT, honourable Sirs, permit me now to ask what is now to be done to procure food for your Honours' slaves? Salting is now entirely stopped, not alone in the mouth of the Oronoque, which fishery we have enjoyed from time immemorial, but there are neither canoes nor corrials to be got for the plantations or the fort along the whole sea-coast, and we are shut in on all sides.

[See No. 217.]

Addendum K 1.—*Extract from Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated February 9, 1769.*

THERE is not the slightest indication of a cartel being concluded with the Spanish Governor for the exchange of deserters on either side, whether they be whites or others, that being a matter to be regulated by the Sovereigns on either side. For another thing whenever it is desired to enter into any negotiation with them, this ordinarily proceeds so slowly on their side that, before any agreement is come to, one Governor's term of office expires (that being only for three years), whereby everything has to be done anew, for experience has taught us that the successors will in no wise conform themselves to the engagements of their predecessors.

As regards the running away of slaves, there is no possibility of regulating anything advantageously before that subordination, which (as your Honours well express it in your Honours' letter to the Commandeur in Demerara) is at the lowest ebb, shall be restored, and again placed on a good footing. So long as this is not the case, of what assistance are all the orders and publications of the Council and of myself? Pursuant to a Resolution of the Council at the last ordinary Session, there was renewed, in extremely stringent terms, the ordinance that no slaves should be allowed to leave their plantation without a certificate from their master, and those which are found without one on the river should be brought to the fort. This is now almost three months ago, and yet no single example of that which was ordained has transpired, and the same is the case with numerous other things.

Addendum K 2.—*Extracts from Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated February 21, 1769.*

[See No. 212, last paragraph.]

Addendum K 3.—*Extract from Despatch of the Director-General, Essequibo, dated March 3, 1769.*

[See No. 214, and all after "The creole Elias."]

No. 225

Extract from Minutes of the Zeeland Chamber of West India Company.

August 7, 1769.

READ a letter from their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Netherlands, written at the Hague on the 2nd of the current month, which gave cover to their high resolution of the day above-mentioned concerning the hostilities undertaken by the Spaniards against different Posts of the Company in Essequibo, the stopping and prevention of the fishing by those of the Colony on their own territory and in the mouth of the Oronoque, as well as the retention by the Spaniards of the slaves deserting to Oronoque from the same Colony, notwithstanding their being properly reclaimed by their masters, which remonstrance is more fully mentioned in the Minute of this Chamber of the 17th July last.

Their High Mightinesses' Resolution aforesaid orders the Extraordinary Envoy at the Court to Spain (who is to be provided with a copy of the Remonstrance aforesaid and addenda relative thereto) to give knowledge of the undertakings and outrages of the Spaniards afore-mentioned, and of the result thereof, and to represent the impropriety thereof, as also to insist upon prompt reparation for the hostilities inflicted, and the reinstatement of the Company in the free possession of the aforesaid Posts and fisheries hereinbefore mentioned, as also at the same time to insist that the necessary provision should be made for the prevention of similar material for complaint in future, and accordingly that proper orders be sent on account of the Court of Spain, the earlier the better, that all slaves who have deserted out of the Colony who still are forthcoming, or who may desert in future, upon the first proper claim, imperatively, upon payment of the expenses incurred, may be given up without delay, and without remaining in default, in which case their High Mightinesses would cause similar orders to be issued to the Colonies of the

State. Further, extract of this Resolution to be placed in the hands of the Extraordinary Envoy of His Catholic Majesty at the Hague, with a request that he will second these their High Mightinesses' instances at his Court as far as possible by his good services and offices.

Lastly, by the same Resolution a letter still to be written to their Honours to the effect that their High Mightinesses had understood with regret from the same Remonstrance aforesaid the undertakings of the Spaniards committed on the territory of the State in the Colony of Essequibo and adjacent rivers,—that, pursuant to the request in the same Remonstrance conveyed, a letter was written to their High Mightinesses' Extraordinary Envoy to the Court of Spain, and orders transmitted as mentioned just now. Then that their High Mightinesses desired much to be informed as follows :—

What orders of their Honours who subscribe themselves as having particular direction over and care of the Colony of Essequibo and adjacent rivers have been drawn up to protect the Colony aforesaid from all outrages. That their Honours should inform their High Mightinesses, the earlier the better, how many forces are maintained by them for the protection of the aforesaid Colony; what forts and strongholds have been erected there on the limits and frontiers, in what state they are, with what artillery and munitions they are provided, and in general what provision has been made by their Honours for the security of the aforesaid Colony. And also, whereas it appears from all that has occurred there with the Spaniards that in future further exigencies may arise with the neighbours there, with additional recommendations to their Honours to draw up without loss of time such orders, and to make provision, that the Director of the Colony aforesaid may be placed in a position at least to make a resistance to similar insults and attacks, and to repulse them with effect, and to give the earliest notice to their High Mightinesses of all that their Honours shall have resolved in that behalf, in order that, should their High Mightinesses find that object was not sufficiently fulfilled, further disposition might be made therefor, according as may be found to be expedient for the occasion, so that the aforesaid Colony may not be exposed for want of the necessary provision.

No. 226.

Zeeland Chamber to States-General.

August 21, 1769.

IN reply to Resolution of States-General of the 21st August, 1769, concerning certain undertakings of the Spaniards from Oronoque against different Posts of the Colony of Essequibo, as also the prevention and hindering of the fishery for those of the aforesaid Colony, both on their own coast and also in the mouth of the River Oronoque; and lastly, the retention of slaves deserting out of the Colony of Essequibo to Oronoque, notwithstanding their being reclaimed by the owners or masters thereof—

But we should have taken the liberty to add, moreover, on this, that however much the undertakings of the Spaniards may be deserving in the highest degree of disapproval, and the representations to the Court of Spain both for redress of what has passed, and also for provision in the future, may be considered in the highest degree useful and necessary, according to our humble understanding, nevertheless, any very great or extraordinary provision for the protection of the Colony against the outrages aforesaid ought to be now no more necessary than it was in the year 1759, when some Spaniards committed similar outrages, which then also formed the subject of a remonstrance in our behalf to your High Mightinesses, concerning which at that time also representations were made to the Court of Spain, and of which we, before these latest insults (for reasons perhaps now not diminished), have learned no continuation.

Equally also, three subsequently received despatches from the Director-General, M. Laurens Storm Van 's Gravesande, of dates 12th May, 3rd and 15th June last, make no more mention of any further or other undertakings of the Spaniards. Yea, the last-mentioned even observes a profound silence thereupon.

* * * * *

1st. Forces.—Muster-roll, December 1768, inclosed.

2nd. As concerns forts and strongholds erected on the limits of Essequibo, the matter stands in this wise.

That in the mouth of the River of Essequibo, situated on the Great Flag Island, is Fort Zeelandia, the chief castle of the whole Colony, which river, moreover, is furnished at the entrance at the other side with a battery, or fire-watch. That in the mouth of the River Demerara is placed a fire-watch or battery.

That below Demerara, on the River Mahaicony, there is a Post called Mahaicony.

That above, in the River of Essequibo, towards the Portuguese side, above the little River Rupununy, is a Post called Arinda.

That there is a Post on the River Cayuni towards the Spanish side.

And lastly, still one more Post situated between the little river or creeks Marocco and Wacquepo, also towards the Spanish side.

Other fortresses or strongholds, High and Mighty Lords, there are none in the Colony of Essequibo *cum annexis*.

* * * * *

Lastly, the Undersigned are very desirous to be in a state, pursuant to the serious recommendation made to them by your High Mightinesses' Resolution quoted, without loss of time, to issue other and more efficacious orders, and to make prompt and complete provision to put the Director-General, M. Laurens Storm van 's Gravesande, in a better state to make resistance

against all such insults and attacks, and to repulse them effectually; but there are no other more efficacious, prompter, and better means, so far as we know, in our power; and for reasons assigned in the preface of this letter, as also others (under respectful correction) less necessary to appear, we have no other resource remaining than to submit our state of indebtedness to the high-wise or better judgment of your High Mightinesses, and to await with deep respect your High Mightinesses' further disposition and subsequent pleasure touching all the foregoing.

It will always be a particular satisfaction for us to be honoured with your High Mightinesses' orders and directions, and we shall always, as much as ever, be found ready to fulfil and give effect to these according to our ability.

No. 227.

Netherlands' Ambassador, Madrid, to States-General.

(Extract.)

September 7, 1769.

I HAVE, pursuant to your High Mightinesses' Resolution dated the 2nd August, had a conversation with the Marquis de Grimaldi concerning the complaints made by the Representative of His Highness the Prince of Orange and Nassau and the Directors of the Chartered West India Company.

His Excellency told me he had received extract of your High Mightinesses' Resolution, inclosing the complaints mentioned, through the Marquis de Puente Fuerte; that he had given report thereof to the King the previous evening; that His Majesty had commanded it to be placed in the hands of Señor D'Arriaga, Secretary of State for the Department of India and the Navy.

I have had a conversation with the Minister mentioned, but his Excellency said he knew nothing of the matter, and that he would send the said document to the Council of the Indies, in order to take their advice thereon, yet that apparently they would want to write thither in order to obtain the necessary information.

I requested him that as information would be written for, that he would be pleased at the same time to send orders to the Governor to discontinue all hostilities, and to leave those of the Colony in quiet possession, as they had possessed the same until now. His Excellency replied to me that, when the advice of the Council of the Indies was received, he should send the same to the Marquis de Grimaldi, and that they then would make report thereof to the King.

I have again conferred with the Marquis de Grimaldi, and communicated to him this reply that I had received from Señor D'Arriaga, and at the same time I requested his Excellency that if they must write thither for information, that he would dispatch the above-mentioned requested orders at the same time to the Governor.

His Excellency has consented to do this, saying that this was reasonable and equitable.

That is all that for the present, High and Mighty Lords, I have been able to perform in this matter.

No. 228.

Minutes of Amsterdam Chamber of West India Company, October 2, 1769.

(Extract.)

IS read a letter written by the Company's agent at the Hague, the 29th of last month, containing as inclosures two copy Resolutions of their High Mightinesses, the first thereof of the 26th containing the substance of a despatch of Jhr. Doublet van Groeneveld, their High Mightinesses' Extraordinary Envoy and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Spain, written at San Ildefonso the 7th of the same month (September), addressed to the Secretary Fagel, by which despatch Jhr. Doublet van Groeneveld gives information of the provisional success of the representation he made pursuant to their High Mightinesses' Resolution of the 2nd August of this year.

No. 229.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

November 30, 1769.

THE Spaniards continue to cruise along the coast, so that there is no chance of getting anything salted for the plantations, which does both the Honourable Company and the planters a great deal of harm.

* * * * *

The Postholder of Maykouny has reported that a very large number of Caraiabans had come there and had asked him for permission to come and live in that river. All the Postholders having orders to keep on friendly terms with that nation and to favour them as much as possible, he immediately accorded them that permission, whereupon they laid out some plantations and have commenced to make their houses.

He says that the Caraiabans were nearly all dressed, and even had priestly garments and ornaments with them. This made me suppose that they had been ill-treated by the Spaniards to

such an extent that they had at last adopted measures of reprisal and had raided some of the missions. We have as yet not had the slightest tidings of this, all communications with Orinocque being still cut off.

Should my supposition be found correct the Spaniards are not too good to put the blame of this matter upon our shoulders, their conscience telling them what they had deserved.

I should really shudder (as I always have done) to have recourse to such barbarous and un-Christian measures. I heartily wish that we could obtain full redress for the insults we have received and still continue to receive, but by honourable measures befitting Christian peoples; and therefore, did my strength permit it, I would be quite willing to risk my grey head in this once more, for the actions of that proud nation are really unbearable, and the more so because they presuppose a considerable measure of contempt, since the Spaniards in Orinocque must be fully convinced that if we chose to use our power with our Indians we could make the whole of Orinocque too hot for them.

Had the insults offered to our Post of Cajoeny been punished as they deserved the later ones would most probably never have been committed, but what is done is done.

Meanwhile our fisheries are ruined, and we have lost all our runaway slaves. The slaves cannot live and work without rations, and three pounds of fish once a fortnight is really not much. This has now to be bought from the English. On the 18th I had to buy six barrels of cod; and if the English were not to come here, the colony would be unfortunate indeed; this is very costly, too, both for the Company and the planters.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 230.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 21, 1769.

I TAKE this opportunity of informing your lordships that Pedro Sanchez having been in chains in Orinocque for some months, had the good fortune to escape. He has informed me that two privateers are again fitted out, with a much stronger crew than the former one, and that in about five or six weeks from now they would come to Maroco and Pomeroon to carry off all the Indians whom they could get, and that they would probably come as far as the mouth of this river.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 231.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 25, 1770.

I WILL now answer your lordships' honoured letter. . . . The first thing that I come to is a paragraph concerning the Spanish outrage, and upon this I shall not dilate further, but simply refer to my last letter, and patiently await the results of your lordships' well based remonstrances to Their High Mightinesses. In the meantime I shall not fail to do all I possibly can to prevent a continuance of those outrages, and for which I trust that the guns shipped by your lordships in the "Jan en Daniel," as I have seen from the invoices, will come in handy, and that they will be put to good use on the arrival of the reinforcements for the garrison. Your lordships need not fear that I shall expose myself needlessly. I intend to take up a quiet attitude; but if we are attacked, it being free to defend ourselves, I shall know what it behoves me to do.

* * * * *

It was very agreeable to me to see that your lordships were pleased to approve of the reply of the Court of Policy to the petition made concerning Pomeroon.

* * * * *

At the time when the Spanish outrages were committed, and some propositions were made concerning preservation and defence, the majority in Demerary immediately said that they were unwilling to contribute to this, because their river had no occasion to be insulted by the Spaniards. This was true in itself, because this river and the sea-coast must suffer the first attack before they can get to Demerary, where, the plantations also lying close to each other, the people can come to each other's aid much more readily—that is to say, if they wish to, because about this your lordships must permit me to have grave doubts. I know my people and their character—each for himself and God for us all.

I should not recommend the people who said these things to come here in Essequibo nor to take a walk on the west coast, because I fear they would fare badly. The people who have plantations there are exposed to the greatest danger; and if the Spaniards have dared to attack the Post of Maroco, to carry off as prisoners both the slaves and whites from the coast, to take the boats from your lordships' plantations, and the goods belonging to the Postholder, they would not make any bones about going some five hours further and plundering the lowest plantations,

especially since they openly maintain that Powaron belongs to them as far as the bank of Oene, this being quite in our river, several plantations lying below that bank.

The letter from the Assistant Van Wittinge is so far satisfactory that there does not seem to be any danger at hand yet for the Post; this, however, does not detract from the fact that the establishment of the missions of Cajoeny is a very serious matter. I charged this man to proceed up the river with all possible caution, and to make an ocular inspection as well as he could, and to collect reports from the nations up above. Up to the present this has not been done; but what shall I say, my lords—he is a creole.

He ought not to have removed the Post without my permission, but fear often leads us into mistakes. He is once there, and is much better protected against surprises, but the position is not in accordance with my wishes, because for very good reasons I would have liked to move the Post gradually higher up the river.

The Postholder of Arinda, not yet having been able to pursue his journey on account of the severe drought, will, I expect, now that the rivers are beginning to swell, soon start on his way. I expect news from him every day.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 232.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

June 15, 1770.

I RECEIVED a report yesterday that nine creole slaves and two free maids belonging to J. Van Rode had run away and are probably gone to Orinocque. If the creoles of that plantation begin to run away I fear that it will not stop there. On the other hand I have received a letter from the Postholder of Cajoeny which I have the honour to enclose.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Inclosure in No. 232.

The Postholder at Cajoeny to Director-General, Essequibo.

Your Excellency,

June 1, 1770.

THIS is to inform Your Excellency that I am sending down with Gerrit Van Leeuwen a female slave with her child belonging to Diderik Neelis, the Postholder of Maroco, and who were taken from him by the Spaniards, and also some free Indians who were also living in Maroco, who have run away from the priest. I understand from these same Indians that there are more coming on behind, but that in the bush they got separated from each other. I hope that they may come to light, and then I do not know how they will come home, because I have no boat and people to send them down, because the greater part of the Caribbians have departed from Cajoeny to Masseroeny to make dwelling places there, and some have gone to Upper Siepanamen to live there.

I must ask Your Excellency for my discharge. I shall serve until New Year; my time is up then. Further nothing to say, &c., &c.

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) JAN FREDERICK VAN WITTINGH.

At the Post of Cajoeny, June 1, 1770.

No. 233.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 30, 1770.

THE fishery in Orinocque still being closed, I am compelled to buy cod for the plantations and for the rations of the slaves. This is very expensive, and I hope that, with the new Governor who is expected there, matters will change. Don Vincente Franco, whom I have known for over five and twenty years, a man of over eighty, came to Essequibo in March, and told me that they expected there as Governor one Don Carlos de Sucre, a son of one Don Carlos de Sucre, who was Governor there in the year 1738 when I came here. If he follows in his father's footsteps everything will go very well. As soon as I hear of his arrival I will write to him.

Contrary to expectation I am, thank God, fairly well; and if I continue so, it is my intention to undertake the return journey to Essequibo.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 234.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 18, 1770.

YOUNG Mr. Tulleken, having asked for a permit to go to Maroco, and having obtained the same, I now hear that he went farther, and that he was arrested and is now a prisoner in Orinocque. I fear that this young gentleman, being afraid of his father's return, undertook that journey because he had neglected the affairs of the plantation.

I am informed that young Mr. Tullekens has returned.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 235.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

November 24, 1770.

AS cases of desertion are now becoming so frequent I find myself obliged to seek some remedy for this state of things, and therefore wrote to the Postholder of Arinda on the 3rd of September to ask the Caribbans in my name to send a detachment of fifty men of their nation here to keep a watchful eye upon the plantations. If they accede to this request I hope to make a clean sweep. I have offered a reward of 250 guilders to whomsoever shall bring back alive the negro Tower Hill, who is still at large, and 100 guilders to whomsoever shall bring him back dead.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 236.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

January, 1771.

ORINOCQUE is in all respects a sharp thorn in the side of this colony. The English and French get their slaves returned to them, and we can obtain nothing. That the French are privileged I can understand, but I cannot see that the English are better friends of the Spanish than we are, unless it be that they go to work in this affair with more vigour. Such matters have occasionally, however, good results. It is certainly a great loss for private people to lose their slaves in such an unfortunate way, but, if the matter be properly looked at, it is perhaps better that such insolent scoundrels should go to Orinocque than that they should stay here and provoke a revolt or rebellion.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 237.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

March 8, 1771.

THE Postholder of Arinda having been ill and confined to his bed for four months, has come down with over fifty Caribbans, and on the 1st of this month went into the woods behind the plantations with those men to look for the runaways. I hope this expedition will be successful, because if they succeed this will certainly intimidate the negroes from running away in future when they find that they are not safe even in the thickest bushes. I have had a good deal of trouble with the Caribbans (one of whom was the leader of the expedition against the rebels in Berbices) because they spoke only of killing, and with a great deal of trouble and promises of double payment I got them to undertake to catch the runaways and bring them back alive.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 238.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 23, 1771.

I HAVE just been told that two Dutch ships are lying off Barima, probably the "Jan Daniel" and the "Swerver."

No. 239.

Director-General, Essequibo (in Demerary), to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 24, 1771.

THE report of the two ships lying off Barima has not yet been confirmed. Mr. A. Zeagers, who was here last week, told me that he had heard from Indians that there was a ship lying off Pomeroon. This cannot be right, because it would have been in already; vessels can make their way from Powaron here very well in one or, at most, two days.

No. 240.

The Widow Rousselet in Demerary to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 30, 1771.

MY lands situated in Marokko, which may be computed at 2,000 acres, and upon which there were some cattle, . . . and which was vaguely and undeterminedly described in the sale as a piece of land situated in Marokko, with all that is found upon it, without further particulars either of the dimensions or quality of the lands, cotton trees, &c., and which was thus sold all for 200 guilders more or less.

No. 241.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

June 21, 1771.

THE Court of Policy sat on the 25th of May, when about sixty petitions were presented for grants of land. No decision could be come to concerning the majority of these, because the Court did not know how far it was possible to accede to them; they have, however, been placed in the hands of one of the surveyors, who is to report to the Court, whereupon some decision will be arrived at.

At this meeting were also read the several letters from your lordships in which orders are given to grant tracts of land in the creek of Maheyka, which surprises us very much.

It is some time now since the Court of Policy came to the resolve not to make any grants of land in the creek Maheyka until the sea-coast on the east side of Demerary was populated.

Maheyka being situated full seven hours from Demerary, the Court thought that if land were granted there, the planters would be too far beyond the reach of the Government, and would be able to do as they liked without the least fear of being pursued, which could only lead to very bad results, and this is the reason of the resolution which your lordships will find in the last protocols of the Court of Policy sent over.

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 242.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 27, 1771.

IF the news from Barbadoes be confirmed, namely, that the war between England and Spain has actually commenced, there is some probability that we shall get mules at a moderate price; the neighbouring Spaniards will then be in want of a good many things, and will require us, and we shall then get permission to fetch these animals from Orinocque. A few North Americans do still come, but not many, and they bring no horses.

Among other things, Mr. Struip told me a few weeks ago, in the presence of a good many of the colonists, that he, having had the honour to be present at a large party in Middelburg, where there were also some members of your lordships' Company, Mr. de Chüy had asked him why the Pomeroon had not yet been thrown open, and that he had thereupon replied, "That is a question

I ought to put to Your Honour." Thereupon the aforesaid gentleman is said to have answered, "No, I really do not know, &c."

It is very easy to see through all this. I fully understood the aim that he had in view; he wished to make many of those present believe that I was the only one who was opposed to that river being thrown open.

Whereupon I answered, "Their lordships are perfectly free to throw that river open or not;" but as long as I have the least influence this shall not occur, since the throwing open of Pomeroon would certainly result in the downfall of Essequibo and Demerary, and the opening would only be to the advantage of the English, who would come there in heaps for the fine timber that is there, and not for the purpose of laying out proper plantations. The Company would therefore derive no profit from this, but it would be absolutely harmful, and if that river were at any time thrown open with a strict provision that no timber might be exported, we should have very few or possibly no applications for land there.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 243.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

November 12, 1771.

THREE slaves have run away from Piraut Destouches, living in Cajoeny. The Caribbians attempted to capture them, but as they made some defence they were obliged to kill two of them, and brought back the heads. In all places where Caribbians are living in the neighbourhood there is little fear of desertion.

No. 244.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

January 6, 1772.

ON the 21st of December Peter Kerks brought back to the Fort here four runaways from Upper Demerary whom he had caught off the mouth of the Pomeroon on their way to Orinocque.

Captain E. Bishop, of Barbadoes, having arrived here asked me to give him a commission to go as a flag of truce to Orinocque to claim his runaway slaves; this I granted him. I have at the same time written to the Governor there asking him for the restitution of the slaves.

I am certain that this is in vain, and that no attention will be paid to this demand. Bishop, however, has orders from the Governor of Barbadoes to come back immediately in case of refusal, when his Honour will send a war-ship there to claim Bishop's slaves as English property.

The English do not make so many ceremonies as we do, and it is indeed very hard, my lords, to be cheated and robbed of one's property in this way without any reason; it looks more like piracy than the dealings of two allies.

The number of our slaves there now is very large. There are about forty of Leary's alone; there are likewise seven of the best creoles from your lordships' plantation of Aegtekerke and several more belonging to me. Those belonging to private colonists are innumerable.

The numbers of the runaways increasing daily, this matter will end in the total ruin of a great many plantations, unless efficacious remedies be adopted.

The former Postholders in Maroco were able to do something to arrest the progress of this evil, they having at least six or seven hundred Indians around that Post, some of whom they could always have out at sea, but the unauthorised attacks of the Spaniards have driven these natives away, and the Spaniards even came to the Post, as your lordships know, sword in hand, to drive away or carry off the few that still remained, and succeeded only too well in doing so.

I know very well that little notice was taken of this action, but the Colony, as I foresaw, is beginning to feel the consequences, and I have good grounds for believing that matters will become still worse.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 245.

The Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extract.)

My Lords,

January 6, 1772.

WITH respect to the land in Maroco, the same is granted without determination of the number of acres and upon the express condition that the owner or owners are bound to establish an outpost there; one of the grounds lying close to the river Orinocque, full two days' sail from here, has, however, not been cultivated by the lessee for some time, and is lying quite waste and flooded at every spring tide, and must therefore be sold immediately.

The cattle would probably fetch about fifty or sixty guilders each here (but not eighty) if they were at Fort Zeelandia, but the animals being wild there would be few bids for them, since no one would care to capture them, bring them away, and deliver them at the buyer's place without receiving for the use of his men and boats (to say nothing of the risk of the Spaniards) thirty or forty guilders apiece. We were therefore very glad when a bid was made for the place and all the cattle upon it. No one could have supposed, my lords, that a single bid would be made.

No. 246.

Inclosure in Despatch of May 15, 1772.

List of the Persons in the Service of West India Company in Essequibo and Demerary.

(Extract.)

December 31, 1771.

Pieter Schreuder, Postholder at Arinda.
 F. M. Feyter, Assistant Postholder at Arinda.
 Diderik Neelis, Postholder at Maroco.
 Paul Vermeere, Assistant Postholder at Maroco.
 Jean Louis,
 Jan Van Wittingen, Assistant Postholder at Cajoeny.
 Gerrit Dirkse Van Leeuwen, Assistant Postholder at Cajoeny.
 Pieter de Muyt, Postholder at Maykoeny.

No. 247.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 14, 1772.

IT is related here that a new Governor has arrived in Orinocque. Should that be true, I hope that he will not be such a Turk as his predecessor. With the latter there was not the least chance of getting anything out of Orinocque, and he even forbade the usual salting in the mouth of the river, and set a strong watch to prevent it. If the present one shows a little more tractability, as the former ones did, I will soon take advantage of it; there must now be abundance of cattle there. The English no longer bring either horses or mules and very little provisions, the cause of this being the protested bills.

* * * * *

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 248.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

August 27, 1772.

VERY many plantations having been laid out on the west coast of this River, Bouwman, the surveyor, who measured all those plantations, has at my request made a chart of that coast as far as Pomeroon and the Post of Maroco. From the actual mouth of the Essequibo to the creek Hamalte there are twenty-seven plantations; from there to Mana Caboera there are about six thousand roods, and from Mana Caboera to the mouth of Bowaron Ollira there are nine thousand roods (taken up), so that we are beginning to get close to Pomeroon, and we shall therefore have to discontinue making fresh grants of ground in that direction.

What astonished me most, my lords, was to see in these exact plans the situation of the Post in Maroco; I could never have imagined that it lay so far up the creek from the sea-coast. It lies upon and fully commands the inland road through the itabos, which is used by the inhabitants and the Spaniards as the safest, but it is absolutely useless as far as regards the run-away slaves, who pass along the coast by water, that being just beyond reach of the Post.

From this we see how little reliance is to be placed upon all the verbal reports of the Postholders, the latter having their own reasons for keeping up the deception, and I therefore believe that the visit of the surveyor was not very agreeable to them.

Bouwman has sent me the new sketch, but I will make a neat copy of it, which I hope to have the honour of sending your lordships.

In the best chart of South America by Mr. D'Anville, the Post of Maroco is also wrongly placed in accordance with the aforesaid inaccurate information.

* * * * *

At eleven o'clock on the morning of the 13th of this month I received a letter from the Captain-Lieutenant Bode containing the bad news that during the previous night the slaves of P. C. Hoofd had revolted and killed their owner and his wife, and asking me for immediate assistance.

* * * * *

I then sent Major Van der Heyden there to take command, principally because he understands the Caraiiban language, to which nation I had sent warning on all sides. Before his

arrival two men named Clinton Williams and William Williams, with three companions, had taken possession of E. M. Bermingham's house, which is a fairly strong one, and defended it for thirty-six hours against the rebels, all the rest (of the colonists) having fled to Mr. Struys in Bourasirie.

At last, more than two hundred of the Caraibans being assembled under Van der Heyde, it was resolved to make a general attack upon the 24th, and notice of this was sent to Messrs. Looft, Boddaert, and Trotz in Demerary, who take the command down there in turns.

The attack was made, and my son, sent here by Mr. Trotz, passed there at six o'clock in the morning and told me that the firing had been hellish.

Eight Caraibans, who killed four rebels, have come here for payment; it is their custom that those who have killed a man go away and do not fight again for some time.

The Owl has reported to us that his people were yesterday engaged in trying to discover the place where the rebels were concealed, and that to-day, the 26th, another attack would be made.

On the west coast of this river the slaves belonging to Mr. Backer have also risen, and after having killed their director and the director of A. Zeagers have retired into the bush.

I have never seen any Acuways come to our assistance with arms. They are good friends, but nothing further. Last week, however, five of them came down and went to Van der Heyde, saying that their nation would come down the Demerary to aid us. I have sent information of this to the Court in Demerary.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 249.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

My Lords,

August 29, 1772.

THE very dangerous condition of the Colony, which has been and still is on the brink of total ruin, compels me to report the same to His Serene Highness as speedily as possible, which despatch, being enclosed, I take the liberty of humbly requesting your lordships to forward to him at once.

On the night between the 12th and 13th of this month the slaves belonging to P. C. Hooft on the sea-coast revolted, killing their master and his wife and another planter, and setting fire to the houses on three or four plantations.

I immediately sent a sergeant, a corporal, and fifteen men to the coast, together with fifteen well-armed creoles, and on the following day I sent Councillor Broodhaage with another fifteen creoles.

And immediately sent to my good friends the Caraibans on all sides asking them to come to our help, which they did not fail to do, for they came down from all parts, and as I write they are three hundred strong on the coast under Councillor Van der Heyde, who is perfectly acquainted with their language.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

No. 250.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

September 24, 1772.

ON the 11th of this month Mr. Meider arrived with a party of Caraibans. On the morning of the 12th he proceeded to the coast, where in all probability the brave Jan Antonie Clyver also arrived on the same day with Caraibans from Pomeroun.

The Postholder of Maykoeny, having arrived in Demerary with a party of his Indians, has been ordered by the Commander *ad interim* to proceed with the same for some distance up the Oubabou and then to march overland through the bush to the coast.

On the morning of the 12th I was informed by a despatch sent by the ensign Van den Heuvel that Messrs. Williams having shot two negroes at their Posts and taken prisoner a boy who had offered to lead them to the hiding place of the rebels he, Van den Heuvel, had resolved to go into the bush with some soldiers, the creoles, and a few volunteers, forty strong, to seek out the rebels, and not to come back until they had found them, leaving the two Posts with a garrison in charge of one of the Messrs. Williams.

(Signed) L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

P.S.—Fourteen Caraibans have just arrived from Upper Essequibo, and inform me that six canoes full are still to come down; I hope that with these we shall be able to put an end to the matter.

No. 251.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

April 6, 1773.

A STILL more ruinous occurrence for the Colony occurred a few days ago on the plantation belonging to the Widow Leary, situated in the mouth of the Demerary, where, notwithstanding the fact that four negroes were on the watch all night, eleven negroes, five negresses, and one child made off in a boat to Orinocque, which has now become a refuge for these people. Unless your lordships be pleased to adopt efficacious means most speedily and demand early redress from the Sovereign we shall, I fear, hear before long of a large and increased number of similar occurrences, resulting in the total ruin of the Colony and of those who have an interest in it. May I entreat your lordships to take this matter into serious deliberation and to consider the pernicious results with which we are daily threatened? If no treaty can be concluded with the King of Spain by which our runaway slaves may be restored to us *in natura* upon the first complaint or demand made to the Governors in Orinocque, the Island of Trinidad, and other Spanish possessions, then I foresee, *luce meridiana clarius*, that our Colony, which is now beginning to flourish, will in less than ten years suffer irremediable ruin.

Your lordships will be pleased to understand that we shall never be able to prevent our slaves from making off in that direction by establishing Forts or Posts, by stationing boats or by any other such measures; there are therefore no other remedies but the one mentioned above.

(Signed) G. H. TROTZ.

No. 252.

Ten Directors, West India Company, to Director-General, Essequibo, in Council.

(Extract.)

April 15, 1773.

AS concerning the prevention of the insults of the Spaniards, concerning which orders were asked by despatch of the 15th March 1769, they might repel violence by violence: but they should be on their guard against the aggression occurring from our side, or reasons for disputes being given by our people: on the contrary they should try, as far as possible, to observe good harmony with our neighbours.

No. 253.

Netherlands' Ambassador, Spain, to States-General.

November 18, 1773.

I HAVE been honoured with your High Mightinesses' Resolution of the 26th October, whereby I am desired, in writing, to renew the complaints of the running away of slaves from the possessions of the Netherlands West India Company to the Spanish possessions, and to demonstrate that this evil takes place not only at the Isles of Curaçao and St. Eustace, but is also beginning to break out at the Rivers Essequibo and Demerara.

I shall not neglect to make, pursuant to your High Mightinesses' orders, earnest remonstrances, according to the tenour of your High Mightinesses' highly respected Resolution, and to give, as speedily as may be, information of the result of my commission.

No. 254.

A. Brown, the Fiscal in Essequibo, to West India Company.

My Lords,

December 22, 1773.

I TAKE the liberty of enclosing herewith* a duplicate of my letter and petition to the Court of Ten, from which your lordships will gather the nature of my requests.

With regard to the first, I can assure your lordships that there are no more grounds fit for coffee plantations to be had except in remote parts on the west coast in the direction of Orinocque, and therefore fully two days' sail from the Fort.

And since it is uncertain when the River Pomeroon or the canal between Essequibo and Demerary will be opened, I should be compelled (in case the aforesaid Court were disinclined to grant my petition for permission to lay out the sugar plantation) to pass my time in idleness here without being able to do anything profitable either for the Company or for my family.

There is still some ground fit for sugar plantations up in the river, but it is all situated very far from the Fort and densely covered with wood, and every year new plantations have to be laid out, which entails very great cost and much trouble.

* Not found.

On Varken Island the woods are also very thick, but the ground yields good sugar cane for many years consecutively, which is not the case up the river. On the lowest back-grounds on the said island there are also some parts that are well fitted for growing coffee; the heirs of Cornelis Boter have some trees there which grow fairly well; but for a beginner to lay out a whole coffee plantation there would be very dangerous, since the fore-grounds are not at all suitable for coffee.

What I have written concerning the boats is also very true. The stretches of water between the islands and this river are too dangerous to be crossed in small open boats; accidents frequently occur, occasioned both by the waves in fair weather and by the gusts and squalls. This was lately seen in the case of Captain Marriten Van Low, whose boat was capsized (and he is a sailor into the bargain), and he and his crew saved themselves by clinging to the keel of their boat for a period of four hours until they were taken off by others. He declares emphatically that there was no wind.

The planters who can afford it use eight oars or a tent-corrial with twelve or fourteen paddles. The directors of the Company's plantations also use fourteen, and the Director-General twenty-two, paddles.

These corrials are indeed the safest boats, since they lie lightly on the water and rise with the waves; and when, in rough weather, it is difficult to row with oars good progress is made with the paddles.

But a boat like that with so many men would be too expensive for the Company, especially if it were put to no other use than that of the Fiscal; I therefore only mention this in order to show your lordships that this river cannot be navigated without danger, unless one is provided with a good and fitting boat manned by good rowers or paddlers.

The Scheldt, the Hond, the Paardemarkt, and the Roompot in Zeeland, and the Zuyder Zee in Vriesland are not more dangerous than the waters here. And since, according to what I have been told by the Director-General, I shall frequently have to navigate this river in all winds and weathers, I beg your lordships may be pleased to favour my petition to the Court of Ten with your lordships' powerful support and intercession.

I remain with great respect, my Lords,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
(Signed) ANTH. BROWN.

No. 255.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

December 23, 1773.

THE former Governor never left the Fort either to inspect the Honourable Company's plantations, although he was their administrator, or to investigate or enquire into any other matters of the colony, and therefore did not require so much assistance, but I have to superintend and enquire into everything myself, for which purpose I am always compelled to use my own slaves, to the great prejudice of my pocket.

From this your lordships will see that the whole Court of Policy is *parvi momenti*; indeed we should be very well able to do without it altogether, especially since the transfers are very often dealt with outside that Court by the Governor, the secretary, and one councillor, although the thirty-six guilders are divided amongst all the members in the ordinary session. It is now an opportune moment for closing the Court, because there are no longer any grants of land to be made; no one will ask for lands in the upper reaches of the river, and most of them are already annexed as timber grounds for the plantations below.

(Signed) G. H. TROTZ.

No. 256.

Court of Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

My lords,

January 31, 1774.

We were also much honoured with your lordships' respected commands contained in your lordships' resolution of [no date given], concerning the manner in which we were to deal with and distribute the silver ring-collars, *salempouris*, combs, beads, mouth-drums, and mirrors.

We have the honour to inform your lordships in answer to this that we discussed this matter at our last meeting, and that we came to the following resolution in conjunction with Mr. Van der Heyden:—

The ring-collars being intended as a present for the Indian chiefs (commonly called Owls), we have found that they are not well suited for that purpose, since it would not be very fitting if one of those chiefs should come to the Fort here and wore an ornament similar to that worn by the officers of the militia. This is a present which would have been very acceptable to them in former times when they were very glad to get hold of these collars, but the Spaniards have made these things so common amongst them that they now have some in gold which cover their whole chest.

We have therefore resolved to request Your Lordships to send us at the first opportunity

Twelve ordinary canes with knobs covered with thin silver and twelve common hats with broad sham silver brims or points d'Espagne, it being our opinion and that of Mr. Van der Heyden that this would be a particularly acceptable present to these Indian Owls, and we shall therefore await your lordships' instructions concerning the collars.

The common Caribbans having already been sufficiently rewarded at the time of the revolt we have, after due deliberation, conjointly with Mr. Van der Heyden, come to the conclusion that it would be best to divide the *salempouris* and other trinkets amongst the Honourable Company's slaves who also distinguished themselves on that occasion, and who are therefore making continual and daily applications for rewards and presents.

All of which we hope your lordships will honour with your approbation, and we have the honour to be

Your lordships' most obedient servants, &c.,

(Signed)

The Director-General and Councillors of the Court of Policy.

No. 257.

The Director-General and Councillors of the Courts of Justice and Policy in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extract.)

January 31, 1774.

IT is useless attempting to stop the desertion of the soldiers or to capture the runaway slaves by placing sentinels or posts, since this river, on account of its considerable extent and its four mouths flowing into the sea, can be as little protected against these evils as against external enemies; the slaves also make their way into the bush, where they can only be captured by surprise parties of Indians and trusty slaves who follow their track.

But here we again take the liberty of entreating your lordships to be pleased to make an alliance or contract with the Court of Spain by which orders shall be given by his Catholic Majesty to the Governors of the neighbouring Spanish colonies, such as the Isle of Trinidad and Rio Orinocque, to restore and to send back our deserting soldiers or runaway slaves upon the first demand. For if your lordships be not pleased to take proper measures in this, the whole colony will some day come to total ruin.

No. 258.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 1, 1774.

ACCORDING to the despatch addressed to your lordships by the Court and sent by this vessel, your lordships will be pleased to observe that the six silver ring-collars sent for the Owls (but not given them) are still in my possession, and it would therefore be desirable to know what is to be done with them, two similar collars in addition to these having also been handed to me by the former Governor.

(Signed) G. H. TROTZ.

No. 259.

The Commandeur ad interim, Demerary, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

February 15, 1774.

I HAVE done all that lay in my power to bring the militia into order, in which I flatter myself that, considering the circumstances, I have succeeded. Your lordships will be pleased to remember that I have never been able to visit the Posts and give the necessary orders except in a casual way, and that I have received the reports in a similar manner, there being no boats at the Posts.

I shall now be in a position to visit the Posts, as I have bought some men and boats for myself; it has grieved me exceedingly that circumstances have hitherto prevented me from fulfilling more completely the mission with which your lordships have been pleased to entrust me.

(Signed) B. J. H. DE WINTER.

Commandeur, Demerary, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

March 19, 1774.

MR. VAN DER HEYDEN, a planter of Essequibo, who is on the most excellent terms with the Indians, is in the best possible position for assuring the safety of the whole colony for many years. This man, who is a creole or native, really saved the whole colony in the last revolt with the help of his Indians, but (if your lordships will not take my expressions amiss) he was not rewarded proportionately to the services he rendered or to the importance of the matter. If therefore this man (who is by no means rich, but ambitious) were made colonel over his Indians by your lordships, and his sons (who get on very well with the natives) were appointed captains, and in addition to this old Van der Heyden were exempted from paying the Company's taxes as long as he lives, this would in my humble opinion be a much greater reward than a silver coffee-pot (seeing that this man has spent more than a thousand guilders in making the Indians presents and in treating them and even abandoned his own plantation for a time), and would afford material security to this colony for many years.

(Signed) J. C. DE WINTER.

The Court of Policy in Demerary to West India Company.

(Extracts.)

April 21, 1774.

CONCERNING the outlier at the lighthouse we are of opinion that he is not required there, and that an officer ought to be placed there, and we further consider that both here and at the outposts it would be of good service to have more than one.

Concerning the desertion of slaves, we must again complain of the false ideas that are entertained in Europe concerning this matter; no boats, however numerous they might be, nor any Posts would be able to hinder this on the water, unless every boat belonging to the planters were stopped coming or going, which measure, on account of the strong current and the continuous traffic, would seriously interfere with all communication and cause the colonists endless inconvenience, whilst it would fail to effectually prevent any of the slaves from running away, for in that case they would make off through the uncultivated and almost impassable tracts of brushwood to some other place on the sea-coast, and so proceed still farther by water in small boats. Concerning the running away overland, we must inform your lordships that this does not take place along roads or boundaries, but through dense woods full of brushwood and thorns and in the rainy season often flooded in many places with several feet of water, so that no white man and no natives except those who are used to these woods can pass through them or make the least headway; we have, however, given the Postholders such orders concerning this point as we considered necessary, in the same way as we shall never fail in future to have recourse to any measures which we think may bring good results.

There are still several other points, my lords, the importance of which would require us to make much further demands upon your lordships' attention.

The second point is the desertion of the slaves to Orinocque, from which place we are informed that very few, or none, have ever been claimed with any success, however fully the right of their owners to the same has been proved. Again, we do not know what steps have been taken by the Government in this matter in the past. . . .

The third point is the regular proof of slavery of many of the Indians. . . . We regard this point, my lords, as one of great importance, although we have no doubt that there is a large number of Indians both here and especially in Essequibo whose slavery cannot be properly proved: this, however, we consider highly necessary in the case of the persons of a nation whom we regard as free, and whose help, assistance, and friendship is of such importance to us that your lordships yourselves very earnestly recommended us to live in harmony with them but a short time ago.

The fourth point is that of the direction or extent of the boundaries of the old concessions in Essequibo, in this river, and the coast. This point is so complicated that it is almost impossible to explain it in writing or at least not otherwise than in a very extensive treatise from the pen of someone perfectly acquainted with the matter and having access to all the voluminous and frequently conflicting resolutions and decisions of the former Government.

Signed by the Councillors of the Court of Policy.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

My Lords,

September 30, 1774.

SINCE I had the honour of writing to your lordships by Captain Van Las, a copy of which is sent herewith, nothing of importance has occurred in this colony, except that we have been continually annoyed by the Spaniards, who, to the number of forty, recently came down as far as the Post of Maroco, carrying off with violence or killing all the free Indians in those parts, by which these people who are of such advantage to our colony are at once driven out of our land, they fleeing in whole troops to the river Corentyn.

Unless your lordships are enabled to adopt efficacious measures most speedily in this matter and in the matter of the slaves running away to the Spaniards, we shall all be totally ruined here some day; your lordships will be pleased to bear in mind that here we can never be successful in preventing these invasions and the running away of our slaves, either by establishing Forts or by keeping boats lying out, as some wished to do, and perhaps still do. No, my lords, our Illustrious Sovereign will have to interfere seriously in this matter, and see that we get redress from the Court of Spain. It is really *periculum in mora*, because when once the horse is out of the stable we shall never get it back again; when once the Indians have fled they will never return here; and when they are gone, our slaves will run away up the river to make plots there, and will always be a source of anxiety to us, as we still daily see in Surinam where the Indians were also once driven away, and a free passage given to the negroes into the upper lands, in consequence of which the colonists suffered terribly, many of them losing everything they possessed in that way.

(Signed)

G. H. TROTZ.

James George Williams, a Colonist in Essequibo, to West India Company.

My Lords,

December 1, 1774.

YOUR lordships having been graciously pleased to reward me for my zeal in the last unfortunate revolt here, by presenting me with a silver sword bearing the mark of the Honourable West India Company, together with the gracious assurance that your lordships will always try to favour me as far as possible in all matters, I feel myself obliged to express to your lordships my most humble thanks for the above-mentioned gift, adding the assurance that I shall always be ready to use the said sword against all or any who shall attempt to attack or annoy the possessions of the West India Company; and if at any time there should be a breach of the peace (which God in His mercy forbid) between this colony and any foreign power that might seek to disturb these possessions of the Honourable Company, your lordships would do me a very great honour by procuring for me, either upon your lordships' own initiative or by your lordships' mediation with His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, or Their High Mightinesses my lords the States, an act of commission in order that I might thus be able to prove that I am a loyal subject and a defender of the so dearly bought liberty and religion.

Finally I take the liberty of most humbly requesting your lordships to further my material welfare by granting me 2,000 acres of land in the river Bouweron, on the east side, in order that I may raise timber there.

Commending myself to your lordships' gracious protection,

I have the honour to be, with profound respect,

Your lordships' obedient Servant,
(Signed) JAMES GEORGE WILLIAMS.

Memorial Addressed to the Director-General and the Councillors of Essequibo assembled in Ordinary Court January 2, 1775, by the Burgher Officers of that River.

(Extract.)

THE undersigned also beg the Honourable Court to take into consideration the incessant running away of slaves that has now gone on for some time both here and in Demerary. The Memorialists are convinced that all these continuous and unpunished desertions becoming known to the slaves who still remain with us can only set a bad example, and cause them to form wrong impressions of the land of the Spaniards and the pretended religion of the same, and that in consequence of this the slaves—whether it be that they fear merited or unmerited punishment and ill-treatment from their masters (against which your Honourable Court was pleased to issue a most laudable proclamation for the welfare of the Colony dated December 11, 1773, Art. X), or whether it be out of sheer insubordination or other malicious causes that animate the slaves to run away whenever an opportunity offers—always having a very easy and open road to Orinocque, must in the future be induced to show greater disrespect, insubordination, sloth and

malice, all of which can only tend to bring about the downfall of the planters or their agents, or the flight of the slaves.

Wherefore the undersigned, wishing to prevent the total ruin of this Colony, humbly request Your Excellency and Your Honours to be pleased to bring this matter, which is one of threatening danger, most speedily to the notice of their lordships so that we may be ensured against further ruin and the loss of all our possessions both by the establishment of a few Forts in the direction of Orinocque and by positive orders from the Court of Spain for the restitution of our slaves.

For all of which reasons we entreat and beg Your Excellency and Your Honours that you may be pleased to bring this matter to the notice of their lordships in order that by forts, soldiers, &c., as well as by an alliance with the Court of Spain, we may be protected against the desertion of our slaves and the invasions of pirates and evil intentioned persons, who, incited by and allied with the Spaniards, make raids upon our coasts, and kill, carry off, and drive away our Indians, our protectors, from our very Posts and territory.

Signed by the burgher officers of the Colony of Essequibo.

No. 265.

Resolution of States-General, March 2, 1775.

RECEIVED a letter from the Representative of His Serene Highness and the Directors of the West India Company in the Presidial Chamber of Amsterdam, written there on the 27th of last month, to the effect that they had too often been compelled to address themselves to their High Mightinesses concerning the prejudice suffered for a long time past by the inhabitants of Curaçao and St. Eustace by reason of the Spaniards continually being in the habit of retaining the slaves of the said inhabitants who come to run away to the coasts of Coro and Porto Rico, and of their refusing to give them back.

That although no such agreeable prospect was held out to them as that further remonstrances might attain the desired success, they, however, felt it had become their duty afresh to bring to their High Mightinesses' knowledge the new complaints which they had lately received from the Director-General, Essequibo, not alone with respect to fugitive slaves, but even that the Spaniards had come under and at the Posts of the said West India Company, and there had forcibly carried away or killed the free Indians, also the misfortunes which were to be expected to result therefrom, unless provision were made thereagainst by some speedy efficacious means. The same would be sufficiently proved to their High Mightinesses from the despatch of the Director-General, extract whereof was annexed to the letter aforesaid of the Representant and Directors aforesaid, to which they were referred, the aforesaid Representant and Directors requesting, for reasons in the aforesaid letter assigned, that it might be the pleasure of their High Mightinesses to take all such measures as they should suppose to be required for the prevention of further damage and of the irreparable ruin of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned Colonies of the State in general, and of Essequibo and Demerara in particular.

Whereupon, deliberation being had, the Lords Deputies of the Provinces of Holland and West Friesland, and of Zeeland, having taken copies of the aforesaid letter and addenda, in order that they might become more circumstantially acquainted therewith, have particularly insisted that, upon the aforesaid subject, earnest appeal might be made to the Court of Spain.

And it is therefore approved and decided:

That copy of the letter aforesaid shall be sent to the Comte van Rechteren, their High Mightinesses' Extraordinary Envoy to the Court of His Majesty the King of Spain, and that a letter be written to him therewith to represent this, and that in a manner calculated to secure the best result, by a note, either directly to His Majesty aforesaid, or even to His Majesty's Minister;

That their High Mightinesses had hoped and expected that some attention would have been paid to the numerous complaints from time to time made of the retention of fugitive slaves, and of the refusal to give them back; that at least some negotiation would have been set on foot for concluding a Contract with them on this account, as has been done with other Powers—

That however much difficulty this may have caused their High Mightinesses, they would not, considering the slight regard which has hitherto been paid to all their representations on this subject, have again troubled his said Majesty thereon, and would have limited themselves to contriving means of repression for the effectual prevention of the flight of the slaves, but that they are compelled by the advices which they have received from their colonies, particularly from that of Essequibo, to make a renewed appeal to his said Majesty, in order that he may be pleased at once to issue order against such outrages as conflict with the good neighbourship and harmony subsisting between the officers on either side, which cannot be reconciled with the far-famed equity and well-known good intentions of his said Majesty. That the servants of his said Majesty in the West Indies, not satisfied with affording a place of shelter for fugitive slaves, have gone so far that they have come even under and to the Posts of the Colony of Essequibo to carry off by force or to slay all the free Indians thereabout; that their High Mightinesses are perfectly persuaded that His Majesty will not approve, or yet permit, such a mode of action, and that when His Sovereignty shall have been informed thereof, he will give the orders requisite to obviate the consequences which might possibly spring therefrom;

That undertakings of this nature are so prejudicial and ruinous to the Colonies of the State that they should be compelled to take measures to repulse these violent acts; that it would be very painful to their High Mightinesses to do anything which might prove disagreeable to His Majesty, but that men cannot refrain themselves from using the means they have at hand to defend themselves; and that their High Mightinesses therefore, in order to prevent all estrangements between officers on either side, request, in the most entirely friendly and earnest manner, that the necessary precautions may be taken; with the object not only of taking care that no free Indians may be carried away by violence from, or ill-treated in, the Colonies of the State, but also that the retention of fugitive slaves may be effectually prevented:

And extract of this, their High Mightinesses' Resolution, shall be placed by the right quarter in the hands of the Vicomte de la Herreira, Extraordinary Envoy of His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, with a request that he will, to the best effect second with his powerful support and credit at his Court, these their High Mightinesses' instances.

No. 266.

Directors of West India Company to Commandeur, Demerary.

(Extract.)

March 16, 1775.

AS we have been informed by the Director-General in the Essequibo, by his despatch dated the 30th September, 1774, of new insults of the Spaniards, particularly at the post of Marocco, in the vicinity of which they have forcibly carried off or killed all the free Indians, we have brought this to the knowledge of their High Mightinesses.

We have been pleased, therefore, on the 2nd of this current month, to take such serious Resolution as your Honour will learn from copies thereof, which we are sending you to serve for information; and then, thereafter, these, as all other documents, are always to be at hand, and can serve for the fulfilment of the object for which the documents existed.

We trust that attention will be paid to the orders of the Committee of Ten, which are contained in the letter dated the 1st July, 1772, prescribing the manner in which all documents, as well those addressed to the President singly as those addressed to him and the Council, may be left as a record next to all Protocols, and these in good order prescribed, in charge of the Secretary,

We repeat these orders, and shall accordingly expect to be furnished, at the first opportunity, with the lists also thereby required, but which, hitherto, have not yet been received.

In the meanwhile, we hope that His Majesty the King of Spain will now really put an end in the future to all cause of complaint, and that thus there may exist and be cultivated a good harmony between the inhabitants on either side.

No. 267.

Netherlands' Envoy, Spain, to States-General.

April 10, 1775.

MY Lord Marquis de Grimaldi has placed in my hands the reply to my note which I presented pursuant to your High Mightinesses' orders contained in your Highnesses' resolution of the 2nd ultimo.

I have the honour to add herewith copy and translation thereof, and with all zeal and respect to subscribe myself.

Inclosure in No. 267.

(Translation made at Hague the 28th April, 1775.)

Sir,

IN the official which you have presented to me, dated the 28th March, you complain of the asylum which fugitive slaves from the Island of Curaçao and of St. Eustace find on the coasts of Porto Rico and of Coro, adding that the subjects of the King have so far transgressed as to carry off with violence the Indians of these countries and even to slay some of them.

As regards the first subject of your complaint, I am obliged to repeat to you that which I said by order of the King on the 5th November to Jhr. Francis Doublet, viz., that a very long time has elapsed since it was decreed in Spanish-America that slaves who became fugitives from Protestant Colonies with the intention of embracing the Catholic religion, should remain free. Wherefore this has been observed, and is still observed, in all the dominions of the King in these regions without any possibility of altering this incontestable practice,

But with regard to the outrage which you assure [me] that Spanish subjects have committed in the Dutch Colonies, in taking by force or killing free Indians, I must declare to you that these acts of violence have caused the King much surprise, and that His Majesty has ordered the Ministry of the Indies to make the most minute inquiry into the fact, and to proceed to the condign punishment of the aggressors.

[Signed, &c]

No. 268.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

May 27, 1775.

I HAVE the honour to reply that I cannot understand that your lordships require an explanation concerning the non-distribution of the trinkets to the Caraibans according to the directions of the Chamber of Ten, since the Court informed your lordships some time since by letter that the Caraibans had already been satisfied long ago, and asked your lordships to consider whether it was not best to divide the trinkets, &c., amongst the slaves belonging to the Honourable Company who had distinguished themselves in the revolt instead of amongst the Caraibans; whereupon the Court received an answer from your lordships saying that your lordships were pleased to approve of the Court's action and proposal, and authorizing us to make the aforesaid distribution amongst the slaves, which has already been done as your lordships will see from the lists of goods and provisions kept in the factory. At the same time your lordships also requested us, in accordance with our suggestion, to return both the old and the new ring-collars in order that some canes with silver knobs for the Caraiban Owls or chiefs might be made out of them, with which request we have now the honour to comply, and send herewith two old and six new ones, those being all that are here.

Nothing has occurred here except that I have given Oostenrijker, the newly appointed Postholder to the Post of Arinda up in the river Essequibo and his assistant Steijner, their discharge at their own request; I shall not lightly employ old soldiers for this purpose again, having seen both from former and recent ones that these people are not fit for the situation.

I have now appointed a Mulatto or native named Schultz, who knows how to deal with those nations up the river, he having travelled about in those parts for some time and being acquainted with the languages, for your lordships will be pleased to understand that the only use of this Post is to get the Indians up the river to become somewhat more accustomed to us and at the same time to keep a sharp look-out whether those nations might not be planning something against us, of which however there is little fear.

(Signed) G. H. TROTZ.

No. 269.

The Courts of Policy and Justice in Essequibo to West India Company.

(Extract.)

July 10, 1775.

IN reply to your lordships' resolutions of September 22, 1774, we first note your lordships' approval concerning the gifts of ring-collars and salempouris, &c., and the order sent therewith to the Director-General to return to the Chamber of Zeeland the ring-collars sent there both in the year 1773 and in former times, which order the Director-General will obey by the first opportunity that presents itself.

We shall await the twelve canes with silver knobs and the twelve hats with false silver trimmings or point d'Espagne, and when we receive the same we shall distribute them according to the positive orders given on April 7, 1773.

It were desirable that the remonstrances made by Their High Mightinesses to the Court of Spain concerning the desertion of the soldiers and the running away of the slaves had had better results, because it is impossible to devise or to carry into effect any preventive measures in this river, both on account of the size and the wide extent of the same, as well as by reason of the many embouchures or mouths, so that we fear with reason that this matter may one day be of evil consequence for the colony.

No. 270.

Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

October 22, 1775.

I TAKE the liberty of forwarding to your lordships the copy of the letter sent to me by the Postholder of Maroco, from which your lordships will again be made acquainted with the liberties taken by our injurious neighbours the Spaniards. I will submit that letter to the consideration of the combined meeting of the Courts, but it will be impossible to arrive at any useful conclusion in the matter.

* * * * *

(Signed) G. H. TROTZ.

Inclosure in No. 270.

The Postholder in Maroco to Director-General, Essequibo.

Honoured Sir,

October 11, 1775.

THIS serves to inform Your Honour that on the 8th of this month the Spanish Captain Mattheo, having with him fifty men, amongst whom there was also Hendrik Rodemeijer, who ran away from the mouth here, (have been here) and taken away all the Indians and boats, going as far as a distance of more than two hours below the Post; they have even carried off the Indians who had come hither to lay out plantations, although I told them that the Indians belonged to me and were in my service, but they answered "We found them on the water."

So that there is no longer an Indian to be found in these parts. The Spanish Captain said that they had come to look for the Indians who had killed the Spaniards, and that they had come in two large vessels lying at Biejarra at the mouth of the Hittaba, and that he, the Captain, had been sent out from those vessels, and he further said that his lord and master would shortly set a guard in the arm of the Weene called the Barmani, and that the whole of Maroekka belonged to the Spaniards, and I thereupon answered that the rivers Barima, Sweedt, and Weene, as well as Maroekka, belonged to the Dutch, and they said that it was not so.

I therefore feel compelled to inform Your Honour of this as speedily as possible, because I do not know what I am to do in this matter—that is to say, with a Post without any men or Indians.

Therefore I beg Your Honour to send me a reply how and in what manner I am now to act.

I further beg Your Honour to pay the Indians whom I send with this letter, because it is impossible for me to lay out everything out of my own pocket.

I further beg to commend myself to Your Honour's favour, and am, &c.

(Signed) PAULUS VERMEERE.

Maroekka, October 11, 1775.

No. 271.

The Director-General, Essequibo, to West India Company.

(Extract.)

January 23, 1776.

FROM the pay-book sent over in December 1774, your Lordships will have seen that there were two men, named Le Clair and Feidler, serving at Post Arinda up in Essequibo. One of these, Feidler, having already long served his time, was dismissed at his own request, and Le Clair, being up amongst the nations of the Indians, no assignments were in that year delivered either to him personally or to any one else as his proxy, and Feidler, on coming down, told me that he had been informed by the Indians that the said Le Clair had gone over to the Spaniards, whereupon I put him down in the aforementioned book as having deserted.

But about two weeks ago some Indians, who told me that they lived near the Portuguese frontiers, came and reported to me that they had come down stream expressly with a message from one Le Clair, who was at present among the Portuguese, and who had sent them to inquire whether he might come down with some of the Portuguese nation, when he would explain his long absence, and offering to put us in the way of some lucrative trade with the Portuguese.

Seeing no possibility of getting the aforesaid Le Clair to come down by forcible means, and being curious to know how far off from us the Portuguese are in the River Amazon, I let him know by means of a letter sent by the aforesaid Indians that no harm should be done to him, and that he could come down with two or three Portuguese, who, the Indians say, treat them very mildly, and were of assistance in preventing the invasion of the Spaniards, whilst the latter drive away, capture, or kill all the Indians both inland from the River Orinocque, at the back of this Colony, as well as along the sea-coast. As soon as I receive further information of this matter, which will probably not be for another six months, because the distance is so great, I shall have the honour of giving your Lordships a circumstantial report of the whole.

Meanwhile I have appointed a new Postholder and Assistant to that Post, and shall try to bring the place into a better condition.

It is a pity that that boundary-line, if I may call it so, lies so far up the river, and that the numerous strong waterfalls and the unhealthy climate render it so dangerous to go and inspect

the same; I shall, however, see whether in the next dry season it will not be possible to take four weeks to arrange this business, and give your Lordships a circumstantial account of the same.

These Postholders receiving little salary, their only profit consists in buying and exchanging Indian slaves, hammocks, cotton, &c., which, on coming down from time to time, they sell to the planters after having reported to the Director-General whether anything has occurred, on which occasions he always has had the preferential right to buy for himself any of the said slaves, provided he pays as much as any private person.

(Signed)

G. H. TROTZ.

No. 272.

Extract from the Minutes of the Court of Policy, held at Fort Zeelandia, Essequibo, on Friday, March 6, 1778.

Present:

J. C. Severyn, Captain Commandant.
A. Van Doorn.
L. W. Stotzel
De Winter.

After prayers, the Chiefs of the Indians named respectively—

Awamca, Meccura, Caribs from Mazaruni;
Argy Manare, Mamwarra, Adeakaya, Awamuroe, from Essequibo;
Koeyonwa, Noero Jaroe, Semetie, Arawacks;
Kaitewan. Warrow;
Courimar, Cugaromares, Caribs from Cuyuni;
Jam Jawba, An Kom, Accaways;

and their attendants who were at the fort having appeared in Court, the Captain-Commandant, J. C. Severyn, as President of the Court, assured them through the interpreters, J. Pulvise and A. Tathmore, of the continuance of the existing friendly relations with the tribes, and presented them, as a token of friendship, sticks with large silver knobs, bearing the impression of the seal of the West India Company, hats with large silver pointed plumes, blue drill coloured clothes, axes, ribbons, looking-glasses, and other articles, and requested them to visit the fort from time to time and keep up existing friendly relations.

Accepted gratefully by all the Chiefs, being well pleased with their gifts; they promised to be always ready and willing in rendering every assistance whenever required and called upon by the Government, and further to keep their present abode where they shall be found.

Agreed to.

No. 273.

Extract from the Journal kept for the Government in Demerary.

July 9, 1779.

THE formal distribution of presents granted by their Lordships to the Indians took place to-day, and the following Indians were presented with commissions as Captains or Owls of their nation:—

Carrouwe, of the Aruwak nation.
Perivuris, of the Caraiban nation.
Arroywaynima, of the Caraiban nation.
Abraham, of the Warouw nation.
Cloos, " " "
Maycoanaree, of the Caraiban nation.
Morabu, " " "
Moraru, " " "
Morawary, " " "

No. 274.

Netherlands' Ambassador, Spain, to States-General.

(Extract.)

February 12, 1784.

HAVING already some weeks ago observed that the reply of the Comte de Florida Blanca to my note, presented respecting the conclusion of the Cartel in question, had not made its appearance, I have reminded his Excellency himself at different times, and even often as I went to the Prado, and obtained a promise that the matter was in progress. Notwithstanding this,

having made myself conversant with the complaints made anew and in these days, on account of the West India Company, of the continual and increasing desertion of slaves in Essequibo and Demerara, I spoke last Monday, on the Prado, to the said Minister of State, on the said subject repeatedly, in the most emphatic terms, and have placed in his hands a second note relative thereto.

The want of reciprocity being an evil to which that Cartel is most visibly subject, doubtless this Court will not be otherwise than reluctant to assent thereto. Notwithstanding this reflection (which is all too well founded), the same promise above-mentioned was repeated, and confirmed in my last verbal representations, wherein I employed all the arguments which could serve my object.

I shall now, again remaining quiet, allow some days to pass without showing any activity, before anew resuming my urgent appeals.

No. 275.

Commandeur, Demerara, to Amsterdam Chamber.

(Extract.)

April 3, 1784.

THEN, too, we have had to experience the fatality of being unable to overtake some twenty-eight or twenty-nine negro slaves, who, in spite of everything, had run away from the plantation, although every possible means thereto was pressed into the service in order to cart them off from the passage to Oronoque.

It is supposed that they had a vessel which waited for them out to sea, and went with them all to Trinidad.

It is to be desired that the Address of their High Mightinesses to the Court of Spain, concerning the running away of slaves, will have been of good effect, otherwise it will be highly necessary that speedy means be taken in hand to burthen it with the formation of Posts along the coast, which may be provided with light sailing-vessels, ready to go to sea at the first signal.

No. 276.

Petition of Colonists to States-General, September 14, 1784.

(Extract.)

FOR it is an incontrovertible truth for any others than those to whom the situation of the west sea coast and the nature of the landing thereon are very little known, as also the route of the fugitive slaves, that all Posts and strongholds are of no avail because vessels, by reason of the level nature of the strand and four outreaching sandbanks, can be enfiladed by no artillery.

No. 277.

States-General Minute, July 15, 1785.

RECEIVED a despatch from the Comte van Rechteren, their High Mightinesses' Ambassador to the Court of Spain, written at Aranjuez the 27th of the previous month, making mention, *inter alia*, of the receipt of their High Mightinesses' Resolution of the 30th May previous, containing their High Mightinesses' reiterated order relative to the establishing of a Cartel with the august Court in question for preventing the desertion of slaves from the Colonies of Essequibo and Demerara to the contiguous ones of the Crown.

And further, that he had now for almost two years allowed no opportunity to pass by, either by speaking or writing, to bring about the conclusion of a Treaty of this nature.

That he was steadily put off with favourable promises, and that they, under all sorts of pretexts, had always avoided, not only to enter upon negotiations, but also, after the fashion customary with the Ministry there, even to give a written reply.

That he had continually been delayed an interview by them. That then, two months previously, he had performed the duty which devolved on him from new and pressing orders from their High Mightinesses, and pursuant thereto had delivered a further Memorandum, a final and satisfactory reply to which then, not yet eight days previously, had been promised him, copy of which Memorandum is forwarded with his despatch.

No. 278.

Extracts from a Journal kept by the Commandeur, ad interim, in Essequibo.

October 2, 1789.

J. BERTHOLI, the Postholder of Post Maroco, arrived at the fort to-day to fetch his rations and other necessaries for the fort.

October 29, 1789.

A certain Van Lou, living up in the river, reported that there were some Spanish Indians there, of whom he complained.

About eighteen Indians who had assisted us in the last troubles arrived here, bringing with them a letter from A. Backer, the Director-General *ad interim*.

November 11, 1789.

Ordered one Aruwak Owl and two Indians, who had assisted us in the revolt, to be paid.

November 15, 1789.

The Assistant from the Post at Maroco arrived at the fort, bringing with him a negro named Frantz, whom he had captured, and who had not long ago escaped from his chains here, and also a letter from the Postholder Bertholi asking for his rations, &c.

November 18, 1789.

The Assistant who arrived here on the 15th returned to-day to the Post.

The Assistant from the Post of Maroco came to the fort to-day. Mr. Van der Meiden complaining of the Postholder Bertholi, I have written to the latter, and recommended him to be of good behaviour, and the Assistant has returned to the Post.

December 7, 1789.

A passport granted to the Indian Carwe to go to the coast of Essequibo, and to pass the Post of Maroco.

No. 279.*Director-General, ad interim (in Demerary), to West India Company.*

(Extract.)

May 12, 1790.

IN the beginning of this month a fresh disaster befell the River Essequibo by the desertion of negroes, twenty-eight having run away from the plantation of the Widow Noordhoek, from which plantation, as your Lordships were informed by the Director-General Jan Lespinasse in his letter of the 5th August, a party had also run away in 1788. This time they went together with some belonging to a certain Winthuisen, also living on the so-called Arabian coast, and made their way to Orinocque, every means employed to overtake them having been in vain. Since all the measures adopted by the Government here have hitherto proved insufficient to prevent the slaves from running away from both rivers, and especially from the Essequibo, and since a continuance of such can only bring about the most terrible results and the complete ruin of these rivers, I take the liberty of requesting your Lordships to further with your support and powerful influence the representations made to the Court of Spain for a Cartel providing for an exchange of runaway slaves to the Orinocque and other Spanish possessions.

*
(Signed)*
A. BACKER

No. 280.

Extract from a Journal kept by the Commandeur, ad interim, in Essequibo, transmitted July 23, 1790.

February 9.

SENT back the Indians, and wrote a letter to Mr. Van der Heyden, informing him that he would receive further instructions concerning the dispatch of the same, and that they had departed to-day.

February 19.

Upon the request of Daniel van der Heyden, presented the mulatto Felix Patist with a permit to pass the Post of Arinda.

February 26.

The Postholder Smith, of Post Arinda, came to the fort.

March 2.

The Assistant of Post Maroco came to the fort, bringing a letter from the Postholder J. Bertholi, asking for rations and necessaries for the Post.

The Postholder Smith proceeded up the river again this morning.

April 9.

The Postholder J. Bertholi arrived at the fort this morning from Post Maroco.

April 11.

The Postholder Bertholi departed to-day for his Post, having received what he required.

May 12.

The Assistant of Post Maroco came to the fort for the rations and necessaries for the Post, bringing a letter and a journal from the Postholder Joseph Bertholi, also the soldier Jan Verlaat, in whose place I have sent the soldier Kathoff to the Post.

May 27.

A letter sent to Mr. Van der Heyden, asking him to call together most speedily, and certainly before the 6th of next month, as many Indians as possible, and to send them down to the fort so that they may make an expedition into the woods between the two rivers, tidings having been received that a troop of runaways are concealing themselves there.

June 4.

Received a letter from Mr. Van der Heyden to-day in answer to mine of the 31st May, telling me that he would have a message sent to the Indians already asked for to postpone their journey till further orders.

June 16.

The Commandant of the Post of Maroco having come to the fort submitted to me his Report concerning the aforesaid Post.

June 17.

J. Bertholi, the Commandant of the Post of Maroco, returned to his Post to-day, taking with him the rations due to him.

(Signed)

G. VON MEYERHELM.

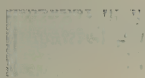
Resolution of States-General, November 16, 1790.

(Extract.)

THAT nevertheless their High Mightinesses cannot omit on this opportunity, recalling the numerous complaints and representations made by them over the retention of negroes who have fled from the possessions of the Republic to those of His Catholic Majesty, without any restitution having followed thereupon; that to speak of no older instances, their High Mightinesses have special regard to the reclamations made in the years 1770 and 1773 for the retention of negroes from St. Eustace in Porto Rico, and from Curaçao in Coro, and from Essequibo and Demerara in Oronoque; reclamations which, in the years 1775, 1777, 1778, and 1783, were repeated with renewed urgent appeals, so that every new event (of some of which we are hardly at liberty to speak, being instances of violent treatment) has supplied a motive therefore. They are well aware that (as was remarked by the Memorandum of the Comte de Llano), no Cartel or Convention subsists between Spain and the Republic for the reciprocal rendition of malefactors and runaways, but that it is also true that their High Mightinesses have incessantly insisted upon the importance of such a Convention, which they have always considered, and still consider, as the sole means for preventing such differences as would otherwise occur daily in the contiguous possessions of the two nations.

That their High Mightinesses are ready in the first place to cause the negotiations to be recommenced, trusting that His Catholic Majesty will be as well persuaded of the usefulness and necessity of such an arrangement with respect to this Republic as his august self has been with respect to other Powers who hold possessions contiguous to those of Spain in the West Indies.

APPENDIX No. III.



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APPENDIX No. III.

Extracts from Spanish Archives.

No. 1.

Memorandum on the Condition of the Island of Trinidad and Guayana, drawn up for the Council and deliberated upon by the King in Council, 1614.

(Translation.)

THE Lieutenant-Governor of the Island of Trinidad, in a letter of 16th June of this year, wrote to His Majesty that there was a great want of arms and ammunition for the defence of the country, and that it would be well if *fifty muskets and 10 cwt. of powder, with six of gun-matches** and as many of lead, could be sent out in the ship thither bound. It having been decided in the Council of War to provide for this necessity, an order on the Commander-in-chief of Artillery to deliver the said arms and ammunition in Cadiz to the person you shall name is herewith sent to Your Excellency, the arms and ammunition to be delivered at the same price as they cost His Majesty. And in case there should be no powder to spare in that place, an order has been sent to Malaga for its delivery there, of which I am to inform you that you may take steps for receiving it there. It is ordered that the price of the arms and ammunition be paid out of any money which may have come in the said ship or from the proceeds of the sale of her merchandize; or, in default of both these, from any of His Majesty's funds, as a loan, until the money is sent from the said Island, which they are to be enjoined to remit at the first opportunity, with the cost of freightage and other expenses, to make full satisfaction to His Majesty's Treasury for whatever loan may be due to it.

Your Excellency shall advise us of what has been done herein, and of the departure of the said ship, that there may be time to prepare the despatches she is to carry.

God preserve Your Excellency many years as I desire.

Your Excellency is to inform me if a Royal Order is necessary, that it may be despatched forthwith.

(Signed) JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS.

Madrid, October 7, 1614.

"Archivo General de Indias," Seville, Simancas, Secular Affairs. Audience of Santo Domingo. Letters and Reports of Governors, &c., deliberated upon by the Council, 1586 to 1699, 54, 4, 1. "Memoria" on the condition of the Island of Trinidad, 1614.

Memorandum in Response to the Above.

An Account of the State of Affairs in the Island of Trinidad.

In margin No. 1. Don Bernardo de Vargas, Governor of Margarita, in a letter to His Majesty of the 10th July, 1613, reported that he had information (as also confirmed by another from an inhabitant of Trinidad, of which he sent the original) that in the country of the friendly Indians, the Aruacas, not far from Margarita, on the coast of the Mainland, some English had settled, with the favour of the Caribs, with the intention of cultivating tobacco, and begged leave of His Majesty to allow him to leave a Lieutenant in his place while he went to subdue the Caribs, and drive the English from their settlement.

In margin No. 2. In a letter of 12th July of the same year he gives information of the settlements which are being made in the Island of Trinidad and coast of San Thomé of Guiana, where, with the friendship of the Caribs, they are cultivating tobacco, and that they should be driven out before they make fortifications, on account of the injury which may be caused to the surrounding villages; for which reason it would be well if the galleons which were going there in 1614 went to the said Island and left there fifty soldiers, with arms and ammunition; that with fifty others used to and well-acquainted with the coast they might attack them by land—with the command of the Governor, who is to be made aware of the undertaking—the said soldiers to be paid by the inhabitants of the two cities, and if the matter were delayed, more expense and preparations would be necessary to drive them out.

* Italics are in original.

In margin The "Cabildo" of Trinidad, in a letter of the 30th of June, 1613, having given No. 3. His Majesty an account of the state of things in that Island, where they are always persecuted by enemies, say, further, that at that time a privateer was in the port attempting to anchor, and threatening them that when other ships they were expecting should arrive they would lay waste the city.

And that at this time Antonio de Muxica, Lieutenant of Santo Thomé de Guiana, in a letter of the 25th June, asked their assistance in ejecting the English, who were making settlements on the rivers in union with the Caribs, and sowing tobacco. And because of the mischief they do, the Indian Chiefs came with a letter from the said Lieutenant (which is with the inclosed) to ask for help, because the Flemish and Caribs steal the friendly Indians and carry them to their settlements to employ them in cultivating tobacco. That in the Florentines (Corentine) there are more than 50 married Dutch, who commit insolent robberies, which must be put a stop to; and there being but few people in that Island, they despatched Captain Andres Garcia Pardo to get what arms and ammunition he could from Margarita.

In margin Antonio de Muxica Buitron, Lieutenant of Guiana, in the absence of Sancho de No. 4. Alguisa, in a letter of the 30th of May, 1614, says that the insolence and ill-treatment which the Aruacas suffered from the Flemish and Caribs were such that he proceeded to the river called Corentine, 200 leagues from that city, where the Flemish and Caribs have a fortress with artillery and swivel guns, taking with him 34 musketeers and 300 friendly Indians. Arriving at nearly midnight he summoned them to surrender three or four times. They only replied with jeers and ridicule, seeing which the Spaniards set fire to the fort, so that not one of the Flemish escaped, but all were burned. It would be well to free our coasts of them entirely, for from the River Marañon to the Orinoco there are three or four more of their settlements, and their plantations are very considerable. They have possessed themselves of the mouths of these two rivers, and are making themselves masters of the produce and possessions of the natives, which is a serious matter, and also makes it necessary that the city of Guiana should have sufficient men, pieces of artillery, and ammunition for its defence.

In margin In another letter of the same day he sent the plan of the fort in which the Flemish No. 5. were.

And in the Council of the 24th of July, 1604 [? 1614], it was ordered that the letters relating to the English settlements on those coasts should be laid before the next Council of War.

On the 9th September, in the Council, it was decided to lay the matter at once before the Council of War so far as concerned the arms.

In margin Don Juan Tostado, who, in the absence of Sancho de Alguisa, governs the Island

No. 6. of Trinidad, in a letter of the 16th June, 1614, relates that he hanged several Flemish, whom he had captured in a small vessel, and delivered one of them to Don Geronimo de Portugal in 1613, and that he has persecuted and given such ill-welcome to those that have attempted to reconnoitre that port that they have never returned. For this reason the traffic has been ousted from all points of this Island, and 60 leagues from that Government on the mainland at Santo Thomé which is called the River Orinoco of Guiana, will be [the centre of] the traffic and the resort of foreign ships; and the Lieutenant of that place shall give an account of the state of things there. In June of 1613 he of Guiana on account of having, while disarmed and [sailing] for a run along the coast, encountered the Caribs and Flemings, sent to ask the assistance of the "Cabildo" of Trinidad to go to occupy the settlement of the Flemings which they had fortified, and were sowing tobacco, on one of the rivers of his jurisdiction, and having received notice of that [occurrence] on the coast thereupon they hastened back and assisted him with twelve soldiers and a corporal and captain, without any expense to His Majesty.* These were the most suitable for the occasion that were to be had, and with 22 more whom the Lieutenant of Guiana took with him they burnt the fort of the Flemish and Caribs, and destroyed it. For this reason the 50 men, and more, asked for by the Governor of Margarita for this undertaking, were not necessary, and it would seem that he asked for them more on account of the profit which might accrue to himself than for any other reason.

They also report, that about twenty days ago some natives of the Island brought news that they had seen a number of Carib canoes on the southern side of the Island in company with some Flemish vessels, which are those that the Flemish in the fort were expecting in order to load them with the tobacco they had prepared. They are now seeking revenge, and it is feared that time will aggravate their intention, and there are neither arms nor ammunition in the city for its defence nor for that of the Island. They therefore beseech Your Majesty to send directly fifty muskets and 10 cwt. of powder, lead, and gun-matches, which will be sufficient for some time, for which a ship is sent, that this succour may arrive without delay; and the ship being prepared in this country it is loaded with produce, the returns of which are to provide the inhabitants with clothing.

It is proved by the information of six witnesses that this Island is generally surrounded by the Flemish and Caribs both by sea and land, so that the inhabitants live in constant want of many things which they cannot go and fetch for fear of the enemy, the Caribs even coming as far as the city to rob and ill-treat them, which comes of their strong alliance with the Flemish, always moving together as they did when they attacked the Aruacas, taking many of them prisoners, and carrying off their wives. And with the help of the soldiers given to the Lieutenant of Guiana, their fort was burnt and all perished except two, who were distant from the spot, who gave information that they were waiting for ships to load with tobacco, and other produce which

* This sentence is by no means clear in the Spanish copy.

they had prepared. These are the ships which the natives saw near the Island in company of the Caribs, so that the city is in a tumult and in great danger of being taken by the enemy, unless His Majesty commands them to be assisted with guns, powder, gun-matches, and lead, that the inhabitants and passing soldiers may be provided with arms when occasion demands.

Another report of five witnesses from the same Island says that the captain and corporal who went with the twelve soldiers, and the others joined with them, burnt all the Flemish who were in the fort near the River Corentine, captured a long-boat and tender, and tore up all the tobacco they had planted, so that their settlement was laid waste, and what was done on this occasion made a very great effect.

And on the 29th August in the Council of War Don Francisco de Tejado was instructed to inquire into the contents of the papers, particularly from Don Francisco Verrio.

And that he should learn whether Sancho de Alguisa was charged to eject the English from those parts.

In margin Juan Diaz de Mansilla, parish-priest and vicar of the Island of Trinidad, in a letter

No. 7. of the 30th of June, 1614, advises that he has been informed for certain, that from the river called Guayapoco as far as the Orinoco, a distance of 200 leagues, there are four Flemish settlements, which should be prevented. And that the Reports that have been sent [to the Court] were made by persons interested for their own particular ends, for the evil done by the Caribs is notorious. He says that Don Juan Tostado is not well looked upon in the Island, because of the vexations and molestations he has caused the inhabitants; that there are many more worthy to be Governor, and entire credit should not be given to his reports. To gain the goodwill of several who praise him, he has allowed them to keep some of the chief Indian women, like prisoners, in their houses, which prevents them from receiving instruction in our holy faith, an evil which ought to be remedied.

In margin In a letter of the 2nd of September, 1614, the "Casa" made known what had

No. 8. been heard from the ship which came from that Island, and sent its declaration, and stated that the Governor's Lieutenant writes to them that there are no longer any Flemish ships to be seen, as they have been frightened by his treatment of them, and also because there is nothing in that Island but tobacco. The port being open and without defence, the inhabitants feared that no ship would come from Spain before the Flemish had built fortresses and defences. They determined to prepare and send the said ship, laden with tobacco, to bring them back linen and clothing, and because of their great want of arms and ammunition to defend the country. It is therefore thought fitting to send back the ship with all speed, with the things they ask for.

And in pursuance of the decision in the Council on the 9th of September, the "Casa" was instructed that the ship should be despatched with all possible speed, that, being provided with what is needed, it may set sail when ordered, and the matter be laid before the Council of War.

In margin And the "Casa," in a letter of the 20th of September, 1614, say that in conformity

No. 9. with the Order of the Council that they should send fifty muskets, ten cwt. of powder, six of gun matches and the same of lead, to the Island, they came to an agreement and took the necessary funds from the coffers of deposit for the casting of artillery; and the purchasing and despatching of them was committed to Don Phelipe Manrique, and with these arms the ship should sail under convoy of the mainland fleet, and he should therefore arrange for her setting out, and a Royal Order was sent to the Governor of the Island to remit the money at the risk of the Royal Exchequer, with freightage and costs for the satisfaction of the debt to the said coffers.

And in the Council of the 9th of December, 1614, it was commanded to bring the letters of this Judge, that an answer might be sent to them.

No. 2.

Account of the Map from the ports of the River Amazon to the Island of Santa Margarita, where there are pearl fisheries.

HIS MAJESTY has seen the report and map from the ports of the River Amazon to the Island of Santa Margarita, which we are advised the Dutch have the intention of settling; and he directs me to remit the same to you, to be laid before the Council of the Indies, that they may

take information of the contents of the account of the said map, and all that is said in it, and may decide upon the measures to be taken.

God preserve you.

(Signed)

THE DUKE.

Valladolid, June 27, 1615.

To the President of the Indies.

"Archivo General de Indies," Seville, Simancas, Patronato. "Consulta" of the Council of Portugal to King Philip III of Spain, concerning the enterprise of the Marañon and of the events which took place there with the French, who were attempting to establish themselves in this place (with very rare documents), year 1615. Marañon, 2, 5. $\frac{1}{2}$.

First, we are advised that all the names on the said map written in red are the names given by the Indian savages, and are the principal rivers which the Dutch intend to settle, in the course of time, beginning from above the Amazon to the Island of Margarita; all the capes are likewise marked and indicated in red, and as they are known on the Spanish maps.

The small rivers marked in black on the said map are so small that they are not navigable for big ships, but only for sloops or light craft.

The rivers, marked in red or in black which are not finished off and have no mark at the end, are those which have not been fully explored, and it is not known how far they penetrate into the country southwards, although the Orinoco and the Viapoco have been navigated past the equator for more than forty leagues, especially the Orinoco, which has been navigated to the River Caroni.

The Viapoco has been explored to the third fall of the river, each one occupying a space of three hundred feet; the falls have to be surmounted by dragging up the shore the boats or canoes which are used to navigate the river from one fall to the other. The savages assert that there are twelve similar falls to be surmounted before reaching a large lake which leads to Manoa, the principal town of the Kingdom of Guiana.

Here it was that the brother of Atavalipa established his kingdom, and here gold is found in greater abundance than in any other part of the world.

The aforesaid Captain journeyed for four leagues up the smaller rivers at various times in obedience to the order given him by his superiors in the year 1599.

Since then a true map has been drawn up, which they have kept secret as long as possible, from which original map the one we send has been copied, and it is from this map that they have begun to put into practice the plan of the colonies aforesaid, of which we have been treating, and of which we will treat further. Respecting this matter, we are advised that the map newly published in Amsterdam is the work of Pedro Placio, minister and principal cosmographer, author of all the works on the navigation of the East and West Indies, a resident of Amsterdam.

The map has been falsified, the entrances to the rivers and the principal ports of the Viapoco and Orinoco having been purposely omitted, as also the River Caena (Cayenne) already peopled by Anabaptists, where the said Captain, with eighty persons, resided for eight months, and from where is exported, [?] annatto, tobacco in great abundance, all kinds of flesh meat, fish, "amaras," and other delicious fruit.

As regards the commerce of the East Indies, we are advised, on good authority, that those who are entrusted with the expenditure of the said Dutch commerce, represented in the Council of the States of Holland at the Hague, towards the end of the month of December 1615, that the expenditure of the said commerce from the year 1597, to that time, during the war, had amounted to ten millions of florins, so that they could no longer maintain it, in spite of the assistance rendered them by the said States, sending to their relief, at various times, three or four men-of-war manned and fully equipped.

Therefore, they urge the said States to take the war and the commerce into their own hands in the same manner as His Catholic Majesty has done in Portugal.

No definite resolution was come to, and the matter was remitted to the first Council to be held after the arrival of the Ambassadors of the Confederate Kings and Princes of which we will take information in due course, and advise you of the result.

Teodoro Claessen, resident in Amsterdam outside the old "Haarlemmer Poort," at the sign of the town of Leyden, is establishing a settlement on the River Viapoco, and another on the River Caena (Cayenne), which have been started with a hundred men, divided between the two settlements, which are situated two degrees one from the other. Here the settlers collect a species of silk found on the tobacco plant, and "palo de litre," red with black spots.

The said Claessen started on the 30th of December, 1614, for the Hague of Holland to petition the States to undertake the establishment of a Colony in the ports of the West Indies, towards which, once started, he and his company of Anabaptists would contribute 200,000 ducats. The said States would grant him nothing in the matter, but ordered him by word of mouth to have recourse to Reynor or Paulo, burgomaster of Amsterdam, who would give him a fair hearing. The latter told him by word of mouth that the States could take no decision in the matter until it was seen whether or no the truce was to continue; but that when the Ambassadors of the Confederate Kings and Princes resolved as to the cessation or continuation of the war of Juliers, a decision would also be arrived at as to the breaking up or the continuation of the universal truce.

To which the said Teodoro replied, that a year might be wasted in this discussion, to which the burgomaster answered that he should bear in mind the short space of seven weeks which Admiral Diego de Hesperque took to fit out a fleet of twenty-six ships for the accomplishment of his purpose in the Straits of Gibraltar in 1609. Teodoro insisted for the States of the said Islands to provide him with artillery, powder, and all warlike stores to supply the two Colonies aforesaid, but he was told that this was unnecessary until it was seen whether or no the truce was to come to an end.

This information was obtained by the aforesaid from Teodoro himself, and this is all that has been said concerning the establishment of colonies in the West Indies.

The Admiral and chiefs of the Fleet alluded to remain in possession of the money for the crew and provisions, until it is known whether or no the truce is to last.

It is also worthy of note that in Pernambuco, close to Brazil, there is a very rich monastery possessing ten millions of gold, in gold and precious stones, which those who have undertaken the populating of America have the intention of sacking on their first arrival, under the pretext that it is situated past the equator, and they mean to do the same to a very rich monastery close to Truxillo, past the Island of Margarita and the coast of Havannah, as far as the said Captain can remember.

In the year 1614 twenty Biscayans went to the northern part round Greenland for the whale fisheries, being hired by men of Amsterdam, from San Juan de Luz, a French possession, the French King having prohibited under pain of death any of his subjects to venture on this fishery out of his kingdom.

These men returned on the eve of All Saints laden with the products of the said whales, with twelve ships, and profits of five to one over and above all expense, and every year this navigation and commerce is to be carried on by the said Biscayans, for without their help it cannot be undertaken.

No. 3.

Help and Fort which the City of Santo Thomé and Island of Trinidad of the Presidency of Guayana request. (MS.)

[? 1620-21 : Without date, but evidently closely connected with the next document.]

(Translation.)

Sire,

THE City of Santo Thomé and Island of Trinidad, of the Province of Guayana and "Dorado," represents that in the month of January 1618 Guatarral (Walter Raleigh), an English pirate, with ten ships and launches, ascended the River Orinoco to the said city of Santo Thomé, 40 leagues from the sea, and disembarked 500 men about a league from it, and the ships ascended to its port.

And the Governor, Diego Palomeque, who with all diligence put it in a state of defence with the few soldiers he had, attacked him with very great courage. And there being nothing else to be done, he engaged him at 11 at night in order to defend the city, seeing himself in want of men, artillery and forces, they being very few, and the two forces began slaughtering each other, and the enemy remained in possession of the place for twenty-nine days, during which time he succeeded in attracting to himself the peaceful Guayana Indians nearest to the town, who at once rose in rebellion, doing much damage, in order to favour the enemy.

Captain Juan de Lezama remained governing as Alcalde ordinary, who, by all the means he could, tried to prevent the natives from communicating with the enemy. And he collected and closely united sixty and more Indians, with their arms, to whom he explained how much it imported to the service of your Majesty to drive the enemy out of the country. And that for the future there would be help and great defence. And with them and twenty-four soldiers, after twenty-six days, he attacked the enemy in the town from different points from midnight to daylight, and he killed many of their people. And having met the Indians with the enemy, they discovered to him all that he wished to learn of those in the interior. And on another day following, when a launch and small boat of theirs went to the plantations on the other side of the river, the said Captain and six soldiers, with thirteen or fourteen Indians, drew them into an ambush, and there killed fourteen English, on account of which they soon embarked, leaving the city, church, and monasteries [*sic*] burned to their foundations, and carrying away all there was in it, and having excited and raised all the native Indians in rebellion, at their pleasure, who dwell on the sea coast, Amacas, Chaguanes, and Caribs of that province, who renounced obedience to your Majesty.

The city was again begun to be rebuilt in the place where it was before, and on account of the straits in which it was, it was ordered that the said Captain Juan de Lezama should go to the Audience of the new Kingdom of Granada for the purpose of giving an account of the event, and request that the help of some soldiers should be sent for its defence. And this having been done, it was provided that, in regard to the soldiers, they should refer the matter to your Majesty, in your Royal Council of the Indies. And the Governor, Don Fernando de Berrio, was ordered to go to his Government, and on his arrival at the coast with forty-four soldiers he dispatched forty of them last year, 1619, to the Province of the Aruacas, which the enemy kept and keeps in rebellion on the sea-coast, to reduce them to their former obedience to your Majesty. Among these Indians there were six of the enemy's ships, trading and negotiating with them, and doing all in their power to dissuade them from acknowledging your Majesty's jurisdiction, and urging them to kill all the Spaniards of the town, for a mighty fleet would be sent by them to settle and fortify themselves therein.

There were five soldiers of the forty killed in the encounter they had with the Indians; and the enemy carried off to England one named Alonzo de Matos, who has come to this Court, and gives an account of all the designs of the enemy; and that they were only awaiting the end of the

truce to return to the city and devastate it and fortify themselves therein, which ought not to be allowed.

It is now nine months since Captain Juan de Lezama informed the Council, and made a report on the matter, and begged that for its remedy 150 soldiers might be sent for its garrison; and that they should be drawn from the garrisons of Puerto Rico, the Havannah, Carthagena, and Santo Domingo, for thereby the city could be put in a state of defence at less cost, for in those places referred to they would not be missed, as they are fortified, and have places from where assistance may be quickly brought to them; and this has nowhere to look for help, on account of being so far distant from settled provinces, the nearest being Venezuela, distant 120 leagues.

And to put this city in a state of defence, and the interior of all those discovered provinces, it would greatly conduce to the service of your Majesty to build two castles in two places which are well adapted therefor: the first at a narrow part of the river 2 leagues from the city and the frontier of it, the second on an island in the middle of the river, which would prevent the enemy from returning to plunder it, and would impede his passage, and prevent him from settling and fortifying himself, and ruling in all those provinces, to the new Kingdom of Granada and Government of Venezuela, by ascending the River Orinoco and the navigable rivers which flow into it, for he promised the natives he would return to it, and sounded the river for 100 leagues up, and made inquiries in regard to the navigation in the direction of those provinces and of Dorado.

The Council has instructed the Governors of Santo Thomé, Cumaná, Venezuela, Santo Domingo, Carthagena, Puerto Rico, and the Havannah to report on their resources and garrisons, so that there will be a long delay until they report, while it is important to provide a remedy and defence without loss of time; for if it is not done the enemy will be able to carry out his intentions without any risk, and when the native Indians, who are to-day obedient, see the little help and remedy given, they will say that they have been deceived, and that what was promised in the name of your Majesty by Captain Juan de Lezama was not carried out, as they said before he left the city for this Court, and having seen that he really did leave, they waited in confidence, and now knowing that his arrival has produced no effect, and that the rebellious Indians, their companions, have not been reduced, they, too, will rise and unite with the enemy on the first occasion, and will take possession of the city and the wives and children of those residents who died in its defence; and in case it be decided still to wait until some of the Governors of those parts report, there are in this Court those who have governed the Island of Margarita, Puerto Rico, and Carthagena, who, being great soldiers, and possessing much knowledge and information in regard to that region, will be able to do so if commanded by your Majesty.

The said Captain has already informed the Council that there will be great delay in awaiting the reports of the absent Governors in order to arrive at a decision on this matter, on account of the great distance, for the Governor of the Havannah is 800 leagues distant by sea, and some others 300 and 400, and some without any information of that country, and without means of getting any; and he submitted that, in view of these difficulties, it would be well to send Captain Martin de Vadillo, Chief of the galleys that were going to Carthagena, as a person entirely trustworthy, ordering him to put in at the City of Santo Thomé, for it was all in the same course, and examine the condition of it, and report thereon, and that from his opinion a resolution should be taken; and the Council ordered that he should report with the other Governors, and thus the delay is not remedied, and great harm will be caused that should be considered.

At the same time, he called the attention of the Council to a "Cedula" of His late Majesty, forwarded to the Governor, Diego Palomeque, ordering the Governor of Puerto Rico to send to that province eighty soldiers of the garrison, the expenses thereof to be defrayed from the account of salary, for the purpose of scouring those coasts and clearing out the enemy therefrom, and without there being so much necessity for so doing as at present, and to a despatch which he wrote to the City of Santo Thomé, advising how the Governors of Puerto Rico and Cumaná were ordered that the soldiers who might be requested for the help of the city should be given, which remained without effect; and that it was in a worse condition to-day than ever, as it had been robbed and pillaged, and was without artillery or soldiers, and the residents in great misery; and the enemy have now full knowledge of the navigation of the river, its entrances and outlets, and the Indians are in their power, whom they have made to rebel.

They entreat that the eighty soldiers be increased to 100, and that they be left for the guard and defence of the City of Santo Thomé until such time as it be determined whether a fort is to be established since it will not increase the expense to your Majesty, and that eight pieces of bronze and good iron artillery should be sent, with artillerymen.

The Council ordered that the Royal "Cedula" dispatched to the Governor of Puerto Rico should be carried out, but although the application has been renewed no decision has been arrived at.

It may be held as certain that the enemy will be able to fortify themselves in this city or near it on account of the great delay, with the favour of the Indians, in such a manner that it will not be possible to defeat them or remedy the matter otherwise than with great expense to your Majesty.

In the meantime, they will invest all the ports and cities of those coasts, such as the Islands of Trinidad and Margarita, Cumaná, Cumanagote, Venezuela, Rio de la Hacha, Santa Martha, Carthagena, Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, and other places, as they are situated to the windward of all of them, and they will interfere with their ships and the ships coming to these parts; and it will be necessary and very advisable to secure them, by fortifying the places that are not fortified, and this will cause very great expense to your Majesty. Moreover, the enemy will come to an understanding with all the multitude of the Carib nation, which dwells in those islands to

the windward, such as those of Tobago, Granada, Matalino, and Dominica, and many more besides, and the sea-coast to the River Marañon, uniting with all the Caribs, natives of them, who are the great pirates and freebooters and cannibals of all those coasts, and the two together will cause great injury in the said cities and their ports.

With the help that is requested, a great number of natives in the said provinces of Guayana would be restored; and, in the contrary case, there would be no means of bringing them to a knowledge of the holy Catholic faith; and numbers of Spanish villages would remain unpeopled where there are very rich agricultural lands for cultivation and also for cattle-breeding, with many other products, and a great quantity of gold in places, which would be extracted by settling them; and the discovery of the Province of Dorado, so much desired, would not take place, as the way thereto is nearer and surer for it through the said Province of Guayana, concerning which there are new reports, which the Indians of the Peñoles have furnished, a province which is near the said Dorado, according to a letter in the possession of Captain Juan de Lezama, from the City of Santo Thomé, and the Governor, Don Fernando de Berrio, to whom is confided the said discovery and settlement, cannot carry it out until he has placed the city in a state of defence, so as not to leave it unprotected, for only one ship of the enemy is enough to rob and ruin it, and as he must take as many soldiers as possible in his company for the discovery, in which he himself, his father, Governor Antonio de Berrio, and his uncle, the Adelantado Don Gonçalo Ximenez de Quesada, have spent more than 300,000 ducats, and the expense incurred will have been without result, and the native Indians that have been converted to the Christian faith will go over to the enemy, becoming heretics and continuing their old bad ways, and all those souls will be damned which might be saved by the Royal protection of your Majesty.

It will be very important to your Majesty's service that the Council of War examine this request for help which is petitioned for and implored, together with the papers that have been presented, dispatched, and forwarded by the Audience of the new Kingdom of Granada and from the City of Santo Thomé, with a map of the River Orinoco and its navigation, and where the forts referred to may be built. And in case it be still considered well to await the Governors' Reports before establishing the fort, assistance ought to be sent in the meantime by dispatching 100 soldiers from Puerto Rico, whose expenses might be defrayed from the account of salary, or they might be sent from the Audience of the new Kingdom of Granada, sending from these parts eight pieces of artillery with artillerymen, so that the enemy may fear him who defends the entrance which he desires to pass, covetous of the gold there is in these provinces which he has discovered, and carrying away with him barrels full of earth to England, from which they have taken very rich specimens.

This city implores your Majesty very humbly to protect and help it, for it is of the greatest importance to your Majesty's service that, in accordance with its Petition, the two forts be built and artillery and men supplied; to reduce the expense, the second fort will be taken in charge by the city, garrisoning it with people from its community, supplying the ordinary expenses and the ammunition, and placing it in defence; and if the inhabitants are in a position to do so they will take charge of both, in order the better to serve your Majesty, being loyal subjects.

And they beg your Majesty to be pleased to arrive at the decision which seems best to your Majesty without delay, &c.

No. 4.

"Expediente" and Royal "Cedula" on the Condition of Guayana, taken by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1618. Santo Domingo, 1621.*

(Translation.)

"EXPEDIENTE"* of the City of Santo Thomé and Island of Trinidad of Guayana, requesting soldiers for the defence of that Province.

Minute of Council.

Sire,

Captain Juan de Lezama, Procurator General of the City of Santo Thomé and Island of Trinidad of the Province of Guayana, says that in respect of the English pirate having entered into that city in the year 1618, and killed the Governor, and sacked the place, and left it in so much misery that the inhabitants are in no way able to defend themselves from the enemies with which all those coasts are very much infested, And having excited the Natives of it, and caused them to rise in rebellion, and refuse to acknowledge the obedience which they had given to Your Majesty, and allied themselves with the enemy, he entreated Your Majesty might be pleased to command two forts to be built, and that men and necessary munitions should be sent for them, so that that [province] might be put in a proper state of defence.

And Your Majesty was pleased to command that the Audience of Santo Domingo and other persons should report upon it, And as it is notorious in this Royal Council how little defence that country has, and that the said enemy by means of it will be able to dominate, even to the new Kingdom of Granada, And His Majesty (who is now in heaven) by a "Cedula" of the 12th December of the past year, 1615, which is presented, commanded the Governor of Puerto Rico that whenever the Governor Diego Palomeque de Acuña should transmit the said "Cedula"

" Archivo General de Indias," Simancas. Secular. Audiencia de Santo Domingo. Letters and Reports of Governors, &c., of the Island of Trinidad de la Guayana. Examined by the Council, 1586 to 1699. 54—4—1.

* The word "Expediente" has been kept throughout. Its nearest equivalent in English is a "file" of papers and reports, including the Minutes thereon.

he should forward from the said fortress of Puerto Rico seventy to eighty soldiers in charge of a competent officer, so that with them and the people of the place he might drive out, from there, the enemy. And that the men that might be sent should be paid out of the account of the subsidy. And since it is ordered in a letter which Your Majesty in like manner wrote to the said city of Santo Thomé on the 18th September, 1618, having received information of the entry of the enemy into it, that the Governors of Puerto Rico and Cumaná are to be communicated with who have been commanded to succour it with men, And that the Governor of Puerto Rico is to send eight quintals of powder, two of matches for firing guns and four of lead (a copy of which [letter] is in like manner presented),

And the said letter was not received by the said city, and nothing whatever resulted therefrom, And seeing that it is now in greater necessity than then, as they are daily expecting the enemy, as he has arranged with the natives to return and sack the said city and fortify himself therein, It entreats Your Majesty, meanwhile, until the report be made as to whether the two forts already requested are to be built or not, to command the said Governor of Puerto Rico to send at once the eighty soldiers referred to, together with twenty more, which may bring the number of effective men up to one hundred, with arms and munitions, and those which Your Majesty commanded to be brought to the said city from the before-mentioned fortress, the expenses of which were to be defrayed according to what was set forth in the said "Cedula" in order that they may now defend this land, and that the natives in rebellion may be reduced and thereby brought to recognize Your Majesty, For their want will not be felt in Puerto Rico, as that place is well fortified. In which it will deem itself favoured.

(Signed) CAPTAIN JUAN DE LEZAMA,*

Procurator of Santo Thomé and Island of Trinidad.

(Signed) J. R. DE CONTRERAS, *Secretary.*

"Cedula" to the Governor directing him to carry out what has been ordered in the matter.

Council of 21st July, 1621.

(There is a Rubric.)

Annex (1) to Minute of Council.

THE KING.

Don Felipe de Biamonte y Navarra,
My Governor and Captain-General of the
Island of San Juan de Puerto Rico,

Considering how much it imports to my service that I appoint a person for the Island of Trinidad and Guiana to govern that country and maintain it in defence, I have, therefore, appointed, as my Governor and Captain-General, Diego Palomeque de Acuña, who will, with all despatch, go to serve me in that post.

And, as it has been understood that in the region of Guayana the enemy have made some settlements in which they are planting a very great quantity of tobacco, and to which ships go very commonly to be laden therewith, and on the way they traffic and do all the other injury they are able.

And as I desire that the said Governor be commanded to try to dislodge [them] from there, by taking from them the said settlements, And it is hoped that for that object he will do all in his power, and as it may be that with the forces in the country he might not be able to put into execution a matter which imports so much, it has appeared to me well to command you, as I now order and command you, to place a garrison of fifty men there, that will be sent in the fleet of New Spain, next year, 1616. The number of three hundred effective men which belongs to the Garrison will be filled up, And you will be able, without causing any want there, to send to Trinidad from seventy to eighty soldiers; you will send them when the said Governor requests you, sending you this despatch by means of a person of confidence, that with them and the men of the country he may be able to bring together he may try to do me this service, by taking the necessary measures to extirpate the enemy from every point of that island on which they have taken footing.

And this exploit being ended he will return them to you at once, as I now by this order command him to do, without detaining them any longer. The expenses of those that are to be sent will be defrayed from the account of the subsidy of that garrison, as such is my pleasure.

(Signed) I, THE KING.

By command of the King our Sovereign,

(Signed) JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS,

And Countersigned by the
Council of War of the Indies.

It agrees with the entry in the Register.

(Signed)

JUAN BAPTISTA DE UBEROAGA.

Pardo, December 12, 1615.

* Apparently in Spain and summoned to the Council. Compare Annex 3 and also No. 3, *supra* p. 208.

Annex (2) to Minute of Council.

THE KING.

To the Chief Magistrate and Government of the City of Santo Thomé de la Guayana,

I have been informed of your letter of the 26th January of this year, in which you relate what happened in the taking of your city, and the death of the Governor, Diego Palomeque de Acuña, and how badly situated the inhabitants thereof have thereby remained. And I am particularly grateful to so good and loyal subjects, for, being so few and unguarded, you defended the place valiantly. And thus I charge you to continue to do on all other occasions that may present themselves, For apart from the fact of you, yourselves, being interested in fulfilling and complying with such glorious ends, it is of the greater importance on account of it being the Catholic religion opposed to heretical enemies; its cause will not remain without satisfaction, and the matter is now being treated with the earnestness it demands.

And in regard to whatever may happen to you in this respect for the future, you will correspond with the Governors of Puerto Rico and Cumaná, whom I have commanded to help you with men, And now for the present the Governor of Puerto Rico will send you eight quintals of powder, twenty muskets and as many arquebuses with all their appendages, and two quintals of gun-matches and four of lead, which is what has appeared necessary in conformity with the number of men that has remained, And of these arms and munitions you will make use with the greatest care, preserving them in some public place where they may be at hand at the time of necessity, or delivering them to the account and care of those persons that appear the best for the defence [of the place].

(Signed) I, THE KING.

By command of the King our Sovereign,

(Signed) JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS,
And Countersigned by the Council of War.

It agrees with the entry in the register.

(Signed) JUAN BAPTISTA UBEROAGA.

San Lorenzo el Real,
September 18, 1618.

(?) *Annex (3) to Minute of Council.

Sire,

Captain Juan de Lezama, Procurator-General of the Province of Guayana, says that it has come to his knowledge that some of the things, which, in the name of the said province, he has requested, have already been provided for by Your Majesty, as a "Cedula" was given to the Governor Diego Palomeque de Acuña, in which the Governor of Puerto Rico was commanded to succour him with eighty soldiers of the garison on all occasions when there might be necessity of them, And Your Majesty ordered a letter to be despatched to the City of Santo Thomé de la Guayana in reply to the report that was made of the loss of that city and the death of the said Governor Palomeque, and of the great necessity in which it remained. The which said despatches did not reach the said city, and remained without effect. He entreats Your Majesty, therefore, to order that, for the purpose of presenting them in this Royal Council, he may be granted copies of the said "Cedulas," and letter from the books of the Secretary's office; in which he will receive favour.

The Fiscal agrees they may be given him. (Rubric.)

The Fiscal says it is granted by summons in Madrid on the 9th of July, 1621.

Cedula.

THE KING.

To my Governor and Captain-General of the City of Santo Thomé de la Guayana,

In a despatch from Juan de Lezama, Procurator of the city, an account of the miserable condition in which the English enemy left that city in the year 1618, has been supplied to me, and it is stated that those coasts are very much infested [by the enemy]; and that the natives have thrown off the obedience which they had given me, allying themselves with the enemy.

* This document is out of its place on the file as brought from Simancas. In point of order it precedes the Minute of Council, but seems to be annexed to it in illustration of the course of proceeding.

And for its defence it is requested that two forts be built, and that the men and munitions necessary therefor be supplied. And it is commanded that the Audience of Santo Domingo and other persons report upon it, And by a "Cedula" of the 12th December, 1615, of the King, my father, who is in glory, the Governor of Puerto Rico was commanded, at the time that Diego Palomeque de Acuña was Governor of that city, that when he transmitted the said "Cedula" to him, he should send him from seventy to eighty soldiers, in order that with them and the people of the place he might dislodge the enemy from there, And that the expenses of the said men that might be sent should be paid from the account of the subsidy.

And by a letter which was written to the city on the 18th September, 1618, after information had been received of the entry of the enemy, it was ordered to correspond with the Governors of Puerto Rico and Cumaná, who were ordered to send it help, and the Governor of Puerto Rico would send eight quintals of powder, forty muskets and arquebuses with their appendages, and two quintals of gun-matches, and four of lead, But this letter was not received by the city, nor were the above arrangements carried out, and to-day there is more necessity than then for every care, as they are daily expecting the enemy.

It entreats me in the meantime, until the report concerning the two forts be made, to command the said Governor of Puerto Rico to send at once the eighty soldiers with the addition of twenty more that would bring the number up to one hundred with their arms and munitions with those that are ordered to be sent from that garrison, the expenses of which are to be paid in the manner indicated in the said "Cedula," for the defence of the city, and to reduce the rebellious natives, And it having been deliberated upon in my Royal Council of the Indies I have agreed to give the present [Cedula], by which I command you to observe what had been ordered and commanded in this matter, as such is my pleasure.

Madrid, August 9, 1621.

(Signed) I, THE KING.

By command of the King our Sovereign,

(Signed) PEDRO DE LEDESMA. (Rubric.)

To the Governor of the City of Santo Thomé de la Guayana,

He is to observe and fulfil what is commanded in reference to what is contained in this "Cedula."

Agreed.

(Rubric.)

No. 5.

Letter to His Majesty from the "Cabildo" of Trinidad (dated 27th of December, 1637) concerning the state of the town of Santo Thomé of Guiana; taken, plundered, and burnt by the Dutch, and the Indian Caribs, who also threatened the said Island of Trinidad with a powerful fleet.—Report on the said events.

(Translation.)

Sir,

WE are advised from the town of Santo Thomé of Guiana, by the Governor of these provinces, Don Diego de Escobar, that the said town has been taken, burnt, and plundered by the enemy, the Dutch and Indian Caribs from the River Bernis (Berbice), and other tribes from Orinoco, Amacuro, and Essequibo.

The Dutch threaten this Island of Trinidad with a powerful fleet, and are in league with the numerous Indian tribes, and with the very natives of this island, who are all risen, the Dutch being so mixed with the Indians that they marry with the Indian Carib women as well as with those of other tribes.

This is a most efficacious and important means of attaining their end, which is to make themselves masters of all these parts, both of all Orinoco and of this island, putting us all to the sword; and they have always wished to found Dutch settlements in all these parts, to extend their dominions, if possible, to the confines of the new Kingdom of Granada.

We must advise Your Majesty that every measure was taken to put the town in a state of defence with the small number of soldiers at our command; but on the 14th of October of this year, 1637, the Governor, Don Diego de Escobar, being in Guiana, the Dutch and the Indian tribes of Aruacas, Caribs, Tibetibes, and Nepuyos came in great numbers to this Island of Trinidad, making their entrance by the Port and River of Caroni, having taken prisoner the watchman we kept at the mouth of the river.

This they effected by the stratagem of carrying with them two guides, taken prisoner in the assault on Guiana when they sacked that town; everything being thus in their favour, they commenced their attack on us three-quarters of an hour before day-break.

They were resisted by the guard stationed at the church-door, assisted by all those who had taken the alarm, care being taken to carry away the Blessed Sacrament; but we were powerless to prevent them burning the church, as also all the ornaments and articles of the divine service to be found in it, nothing escaping them. In the same way they burnt all the houses in the town.

"Archivo General de Indias," Seville, Simancas, Audience of Santo Domingo. Letters, Reports, &c., deliberated upon by the Council, 1586 to 1699, 54, 4, 1.

The enemy employed every means of attracting the negro slaves of the inhabitants, as also the few natives in our employ, being about 50 in number, and they succeeded in carrying off some of the negro slaves, who assisted them in the burning and sacking of the town; but in their retreat we pursued them to the port, where they embarked, suffering the loss of a great number of their party, as also Flemish and Indians.

The small force at our command is well known, but it pleased God to help us and prevent them establishing themselves here, and so it happened that they retreated with the loss of life referred to.

At present we have recent information, dispatched by our Governor, Don Diego de Escobar, from the said town of Guiana, that the enemy, not content with what they have accomplished in that town and this, have the intention of returning to complete the work of our destruction. This news is confirmed by the declaration of an Indian, whom they took prisoner at the sacking of Guiana, and who was captured from them in the aforesaid retreat. This man advises that the Dutch have the intention of settling in this Island, as also in Guiana.

The enemy are aware of our powerlessness to resist them; and that being so few, we must necessarily fall into their hands. We have therefore decided to beseech Your Majesty to come to our assistance by sending soldiers, arms, ammunition, and clothes, to bring relief to our destitution, and that of our wives and children, and particularly the destruction of the Holy Church, which we have already referred to.

We beseech Your Majesty that this relief may be dispatched as speedily as possible, taking pity on the serious and harassed state of this poor community, destitute of all help but that of God and Your Majesty; and if relief does not speedily arrive, there is no doubt that the enemy will possess themselves of the two places aforesaid. This would be to Your Majesty's great disadvantage, this island being situated to windward of all the mainland of Cumaná, Carácas, and Margarita. As to ourselves, should we escape, we should migrate to other places to serve Your Majesty, where we should be more able to defend ourselves, and where there are more fortifications.

All this trouble is caused by the enemy having heard of the quicksilver mines of Guiana, as also of the benefit to be derived from the fertility of the island, and the commerce of Indians, and woods for dyeing, which they could carry on here, and of which they make great profits.

May God grant the Catholic person of Your Majesty, so necessary to the Christian world, many years of life.

(Signed)

AUGUSTIN SANTIAGO. (Rubric.)
MIGUEL DE MORILLA. (Rubric.)
AUGUSTIN DE CAÑAS. (Rubric.)
GASPAR SANCHEZ. (Rubric.)
FRANCISCO RENIZ MONS. (Rubric.)
JACINTO DE MENDOZA. (Rubric.)

Island of Trinidad, December 27, 1637.

By Order of the "Cabildo,"

JUAN DE PENALBER, Secretary of the Corporation. (Rubric.)

[This letter is endorsed, "La Trinidad."—"To His Majesty, 1637." "The 'Cabildo,' December 27." "This letter must be taken literally, as being an account of the event."]

[Accompanying the above letter is a copy of a report which was drawn up in consequence of the events referred to in the said letter. Of this report an extract of what is most important has been made, as follows:—]

Annex (1).

"Auto."

In the town of the Assumption, in this Island of Margarita, 4th of December, 1637, General Don Juan de Eulate, Governor and Captain-General of the Island, by Order of His Majesty, advises that he has received a letter from the "Cabildo" of the Island of Trinidad, dated the 17th of November of this year, informing him that the Dutch, on the 14th of October of the current year, had sacked and burnt the town of San Joseph de Oruña, the principal Spanish settlement of the said Island of Trinidad, coming for this purpose, accompanied by numerous Carib, Aruacas, and Nepuyos Indians, begging that His Majesty (God preserve him in the Royal Government of the Indies!) may be advised of this.

It is necessary that information should be taken, of the bearers of this news, as to the plan of the enemy in burning and sacking the said town, as also Santo Thomé of Guiana a few months previous, as also of the present state of these two towns, and what news there is of the enemy, and of the force at their command in those parts; that His Majesty may judge of the measures to be taken advantageous to his Royal service, and also among these documents should be placed a copy of the letter sent by the "Cabildo" of Trinidad, and a copy of the resolutions

passed by the Council held in this town in regard to the help to be sent, &c., and evidence of the assistance rendered them by this town; thus it was ordered.

Witness my hand,
(Signed) DON JUAN DE EULATE.

In my presence:—

FRANCISCO GONZALEZ DE BARRIO-NUOVO, Notary.

Annex (2).

Declaration of Witness.

In the town of the Assumption of this Island of Margarita, the fourth day of December of the said year, with a view to drawing up the report referred to, the aforesaid Governor and Commander-in-chief ordered to appear before him Captain Miguel de Morillas, ordinary Alcalde of the Island of Trinidad, resident in this Island of Margarita; who having been sworn in the usual form, and promising to speak nothing but the truth, was questioned in regard to the matters referred to above.

He says that all he knows in the matter is, that on the 22nd of July of the current year, the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, the Governor Don Diego Lopez de Escobar being engaged in the removal of the settlement of the town of Santo Thomé of Guiana to another site up the Orinoco, 10 or 12 leagues distant from where the said town was situated, the new site being considered healthier and more favourable to the well-being of the town.

The greater portion of the inhabitants had removed to the new town, where they had begun to establish farms, the Governor remaining in the old town with some of the inhabitants, a few only, the population being scanty in these parts. On the said feast of St. Mary Magdalen a quarter of an hour before dawn the town was attacked by the Dutch, assisted by great numbers of Caribs and other Indian tribes, burning the houses and plundering all that remained in them, the Governor and the settlers, about 12 to 14 men being forced to fly, as the enemy was in great numbers; so this witness says he has heard, he being at the time in the Island of Trinidad, where news of the event was sent.

Respecting the attack on the Island of Trinidad, this witness said that he was the bearer of the letter from the "Cabildo" of the said island to the Governor of this, giving information of the event as follows:—

At dawn on Wednesday, the 14th of October of the current year, the enemy attacked the town of San Joseph de Oruña of the said Island of Trinidad, bringing with them 20 vessels and numbers of Indian Caribs, Aruacas, and Nepuyos, the last named being natives of the said Island of Trinidad. They burnt and plundered the houses, and also burnt the principal church; and although the few inhabitants of the island, 28 to 30 in number, resisted them as far as possible, they were powerless against so many. However, at the retreat the enemy suffered great loss. Of the said inhabitants, one man, Juan Gallardo, was killed, and Captain Santiago and others wounded. The population of this island is scanty, and the enemy settled in the mouths of the rivers Amacuro, Essequibo, and Belbis (Berbice) threaten that, as they did not succeed in putting all the inhabitants to the sword, they will return and complete their work of destruction.

For which reason, the said inhabitants have sent to this island for assistance, and the Governor and "Cabildo" of this town have taken measures for their relief; and from among the settlers many alms and clothes have been collected, as also things necessary for the divine service, the enemy having sacked and burnt the church.

In the state of the aforesaid towns, if His Majesty does not send settlers there to assist the present inhabitants, these last will fall by the enemy's hand, who, taking possession of the land and peopling it, will give great trouble to all the coasts and the new Kingdom of Granada by the navigation up the Orinoco, as also to the Government of Carácas.

An Indian named Andrés, formerly in the employ of Captain Christobal de Vera, resident in Guiana, was captured during the retreat of the said enemy. This Indian advises that in the three colonies of Amacuro, Essequibo, and Belbis (Berbice), the enemy are in great numbers, particularly in the two last named. Beyond saying they were in great force, the Indian could not tell their number, but says that they are in league with all the tribes of Caribs and Aruacas. He further says that every year two, three, and four ships come from Holland to bring them assistance, and return with a cargo of annatto, cotton, hammocks and some tobacco.

This is all that this witness knows, given under oath. He further states that he is 30 years of age, and has said in this matter nothing but the truth.

Witness his hand,
(Signed) DON JUAN DE EULATE.
MIGUEL DE MORILLAS.

In my presence:—

FRANCISCO GONZALEZ DE BARRIO-NUOVO, Notary.

Annex (3).

Further Declaration.

There appeared before the aforesaid Governor and Captain-General, for the purpose of the aforesaid report, Ensign Jacinto de Mendoza, Regidor of the Island of Trinidad, who, having been sworn, said: That what he knew respecting the matter was, that news was dispatched to the Island of Trinidad that in the month of July of the current year, Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, at dawn, the Dutch, accompanied by many Caribs and Indians, made an assault on the town of Santo Thomé of Guiana, there being in the town at the time the Governor, Don Diego Lopez de Escobar, with a few settlers; the rest, few in number, had removed to the new town, the old town being unhealthy. The Dutch and their allies were in such force that the Governor and the settlers were obliged to retreat, and the enemy burnt and sacked the houses, as also the principal church and the convent of San Francisco. He further says, that on the 14th of October, feast of Saint Calixto, at dawn, the enemy, with 20 vessels, came by the River Caroni and attacked the town of San José de Oruña, settlement of the Spaniards in the Island of Trinidad. They were accompanied by a great number of Carib, Aruacas, and Nepuyos Indians, these last natives of the said Island. Although the inhabitants, some 28 to 30, did what they could to resist them, they were powerless against so many. The enemy sacked and burnt the houses of the said town, as also the principal church. On this occasion one man, Juan Gallardo, was killed; the wounded were Captain Augustin de Santiago and Don Juan Lopez de Albaran, cousin of the Governor, Don Diego de Escobar, and others.

At the retreat of the enemy the settlers pursued them, killing many Indians, and five Dutch, as testified by eye-witnesses. This witness, accompanied by another soldier and several Indian servants, captured from the enemy fifteen of the settlers' slaves, whom they had carried off in the pillage, as also an Indian named Andrés, one of the enemy's guides, whom they had taken prisoner during the assault on Santo Thomé of Guiana.

This Indian declares that the said enemy are settled in Amacuro, Essequibo, and Belbis (Berbice) in great numbers, and will not be content until they are settled in Guiana and in the Island of Trinidad; from there to take possession of this Island of Margarita and enter into the kingdom by the Orinoco.

Therefore, this witness, together with Captain Miguel de Morillas, ordinary Alcalde of the said Island, came here bearing a letter from the "Cabildo," begging for soldiers to be sent to their relief, as also clothes and other necessary things, they being left in great destitution.

Respecting the state of the said towns, he repeats what has been said before; and that if His Majesty does not issue an order for men to be sent to the assistance of the said towns in Trinidad and Guiana, there is no doubt that the enemy will put their threat into execution, as declared by the Indian, and will settle in Orinoco and the Island of Trinidad, which would be greatly to the disadvantage of these coasts and the new Kingdom of Granada; this is the truth, &c.

This declaration is signed by—

(Signed) DON JUAN DE EULATE.
JACINTO DE MENDOZA.

And the Notary—

FRANCISCO GONZALEZ DE BARRIO-NUEVO.

Précis of further Papers on the File made by the Director at Simancas.

Immediately after, by order of the said Governor and Captain-General, for the purpose of the said report, there appeared before him Lorenzo Manuel, resident in the Island of Trinidad, who, being sworn to declare nothing but the truth, said:—

(As he gave no new details, or any other information than what is found in the preceding declarations, agreeing entirely with what the other witnesses had said, a copy of his declaration is not given here, nor even an extract.)

Here follows a letter from the "Cabildo" of Trinidad (dated from San José de Oruña, the 17th of November, 1637), and addressed to the Governor Don Juan de Eulate, informing him of all that took place in the aforesaid island at the time of the assault of the Dutch with the Caribs and other tribes, concerning which the preceding report was drawn up.

Following this letter is the record of proceedings of the Council called by the Governor and Captain-General, Don Juan de Eulate, in the town of the Assumption in the Island of Margarita, held on the 25th of November, 1637, at which Council were present the Vicar and Chapter of the church of the island, and the officials of the Royal Service.

The result of which was that, in view of what was stated in the previous papers, and considering the necessity of sending relief both with men and general assistance, as also of repairing the damage to the church caused by the enemy, and punishing and ejecting these last from the position they had usurped with so much violence, it was agreed, at the suggestion of the

Governor, in view of the precarious state of the church, that alms should be collected from among the settlers; and that, although in the Royal Arsenal there were no arms or ammunition to send an edict should be published calling upon all those who were willing to go to the relief of the inhabitants of San José; and that twenty men should be paid from the Royal coffers to remain a month in the Island of Trinidad.

Here follows an account of the clothes and alms collected for the church plundered by the enemy, which were sent to the Governor, Don Juan de Eulate.]

Here follows a copy of the letter of thanks addressed to the said Governor Eulate by the "Cabildo" of Trinidad for the relief sent them (dated the 27th of December).

Finally, there is a document relating how the aforesaid Governor received a sworn deposition from Juan de Peñalver, public notary of the Island of Trinidad, stating that among other things carried off by the enemy from Guiana was the Blessed Sacrament which they keep guarded in their fort at Macaroni [*sic*], and it was ordered that a copy of this deposition was to be sent with the other documents for the information of His Majesty;—which was done, as appears from the signatures which follow.

No. 6.

Extracts from the Report of Major Diego Ruiz Maldonado on the Condition of Guiana (? 1638).

(Translation.)

Account of the great River Orinoco, Meta, and Casanare, with its resources, and the Indian tribes living on its shores, and all information concerning its course until it empties itself into the sea facing the Island of Trinidad.

THIS report was furnished by Major Diego Ruiz Maldonado during his voyage to Guiana, whither he was sent to the relief of the town by order of Don Martin de Saavedra y Guzman, President and Captain-General of the new Kingdom of Granada.

(Fol. 2.) In the year 1638 the Dutch attacked the town of Santo Thomé of Guiana, burning the town and its churches, and carrying off the Blessed Sacrament, which they keep guarded in their fort at Essequibo.

Don Martin de Saavedra y Guzman dispatched a body of some 200 infantry, of which I was named Major, to demand its restoration, a special order being given me that I was to control the navigation of the great River Meta and Orinoco.

(Fol. 3.) Various obstacles supervened preventing me from accomplishing this matter, and the Governor of Carácas detained me for the recovery of the Island of Curacoa. Later, when the enemy first entered the Lake of Moracao, being Lieutenant-Captain-General of the town of Coro, I went to its assistance with fifty Indians, from the villages subject to the Crown; the second time, when they sacked Lainda and fortified themselves in the town, I went there in command, with four companies and 150 Indians from the villages subject to the Crown, and remained there until I ejected them from their fortifications. Later, when reconnoitring the country with eight soldiers and fourteen Indians, I took prisoner ninety men from an English ship, which had lost sight of the fleet referred to. These men we exchanged for our own prisoners, and the arms which I took from them I used in the service of His Majesty.

(Fol. 5.) The infantry went to the relief of Guiana to defend it against the enemy, who had stolen the tabernacle with the Blessed Sacrament, and, as an insult to His Majesty, had burnt the statue of Nuestra Señora de la Peña, a statue of Christ, the church and pictures, and sacked the town, leaving the inhabitants in the woods in the greatest destitution.

[Up to folio 26 is a report of the voyage, after which he continues as follows]:—

Account of what took place in Guiana with the infantry, and desertion of the Governor of the province.

(Fol. 27.) On Sunday, the 14th of February, the Governor asked for 16 soldiers to accompany him down the river, for the destruction of some small ships held for the Dutch by the Indians. I complied with his order, and he embarked with the men, and sailed down the river to the farm of Oqueta, which he plundered after much bloodshed. Crossing to the Island of Trinidad he sent back the soldiers with a letter advising me that he would return for the entry into Essequibo and Beluis (Berbice) against the Dutch.

(Fol. 29.) On the other bank of the river (Orinoco) is the village of the Aruacas Indians, a very brave tribe, enemies of the Caribs and friends of the Spaniards. Not one of these has the slightest knowledge of the Law of God; they all trade with the Dutch and other nations.

(Fol. 30.) The Caribs sell the Indians they steal from the villages to these Lutherans, who keep them in their service, or sometimes exchange them for small ships to navigate the rivers, or for provisions.

(Fol. 37.) The Caribs from these places (Margarita and the shores of Guiana) give their spices to these Lutherans.

(Fol. 38.) For the security of the coast and settlements, the friendly tribes of the river can be depended on, but we should prevent the union between the Caribs and the Lutherans.

(Fol. 39.) This Island (*i.e.*, Trinidad) has been invaded by different nations at various times, and the Dutch have the intention of settling at Point Galera, and to accomplish this with greater security they have allied themselves with the Indian Caribs.

In the time of Don Fernando de Berrio the town was burnt and sacked, and several Spaniards killed. Again by Walter Raleigh, when Governor Palomeque was killed in Guiana. In the time of Don Diego Lopez de Escobar the town was again sacked and burnt by General Llanes (?), the sacred pictures burnt, and the tabernacle with the Blessed Sacrament stolen, at which time the Companies of Santa Fé with many distinguished men came to the relief; and again during Aranda's government the town of Trinidad was attacked by the Caribs and Lutherans, and at the present time, Don Martin de Mendoza being Governor, they are building a fort on Point Galera and founding settlements; and though these last have been destroyed for want of ships, we have not been able to demolish the fort, and thus the poor settlers are continually harassed by skirmishes.

The Island is very fertile, though there is a scarcity of cattle, and many poor people would settle in it but for the risks referred to.

These Lutherans are seeking favourable sites for the foundation of new settlements, more so finding that they succeeded in gaining the Island of Curazao by the thefts they accomplished daily with their "pingaes" and long boats, which is still peopled by them. For they have access to all the ports of the mainland, so that they enter and steal cattle for their subsistence from the ranches, for two or three leagues inland.

This they could not accomplish but for the help of the said Indians, and those of the neighbouring island of Oruba, who act as their guides.

This ill-gotten wealth has moved many merchants of their lands to fit out ships and other craft to carry on the same thefts, thus bringing ruin on many, and destroying the traffic carried on by the ships of Carthage and New Spain with Santa Marta, Rio de la Hacha, Maracaybo, Coro, and Caracas.

No. 7.

Minute of the Council of the War of the Indies, with Royal Decree, in reference to a new Settlement of the Dutch on the Coast of Guayana between the Rivers Amazon and Surinam.

(Translation.)

Council of War, March 19, 1676.

Docket.—Places in Your Majesty's Royal hands the note sent by Manuel de Belmonte, reporting that the States of Holland have resolved to establish a Colony on the coast of the mainland at Cape Orange, upon which the Council offers its opinion to Your Majesty.

"Archivo General de Indias," Seville.
Intendente General.
Decrees, reports, letters and other documents respecting the despatch of the fleet of galleons, &c.
Years 1640 to 1676.
152—4—16.

[Present]* :

Count de Medellin.
Duke de San German.
Marquis de Hontineros.
Don Baltasar Pantoja.
Don Antonio de Castro.
Don Joseph Ponze.
Don Bernabe Ochoa.
Count de Paredes.

Sire,

Manuel de Belmonte sent to me, the Count of Medellin, in a letter of the 17th February last (which I received by the last post from Flanders), the inclosed note, in which he relates that the States of the Provinces of Holland and West Friesland have resolved to establish a Colony on the Coast of the Mainland at Cape Orange, between Surinam and the River Amazon, where they hold the chief portion of the coast from Trinidad up to this River, with settlements in Barbiche, Sequiebes and Surinamte; and in order that this new Colony may be better cultivated than the preceding ones, it is under the care of the cities of Amsterdam, Leyden, Haarlem and Rotterdam, which have contracted with a hundred shareholders, who undertake to bring 10 youths and 2 girls each, and in four years as many more, so that they would have about 2,600 persons, excluding those who might be born there and who might come from other parts; and that for their encouragement many privileges of hereditary judicial offices are granted to them, and the privilege of not paying duty for 10 years, and other exemptions, and the Hollanders undertake to

* The names are mixed up in the Spanish copy, but are apparently those of the Councillors present.

maintain them and to keep a sufficient garrison in two fortresses, which are to be constructed at their cost, with other conditions. And he says that in order to commence it seven war frigates were lying ready in the port of Amsterdam, three of 54 guns and the remainder of 36 to 40, three pataches of twelve guns each and other vessels, and that they are to set sail in the month of April of this year, conveying the shareholders, their people, and 300 soldiers for the garrisons, and all else necessary for their establishment. And that their object is to try to take possession of the Island of Cayenne, which is close to the shore of the Mainland and which the French possess and captured from the Dutch, and it is believed they will effect it with little resistance. He also says that the Commandant of this squadron is Jacob Binques; and he has heard that on reaching the coast of the Mainland he will remain with four frigates, and Pedro Constante will proceed with three frigates and the pataches to stir up strife in the Windward Isles owned by the French. And that in one of the pataches the Pirate Erasmus is going, who is well known through having plundered the Island of Granada, which belongs to the French, and that Pedro Constante is well acquainted with those parts, for he was Governor of the Island of Tobago, and was in the Tortuga Islands when their inhabitants revolted against their Governor Augeron. And Manuel de Belmonte suggests that this is the best opportunity for driving the Buccaneers and French from the point on the North of the Islands of Santo Domingo and Tortuga, and that although they demand such a large sum for doing it, they may be induced to accept lower terms; but action must be taken without delay, for, if peace follows, that thorn will remain, and added to that of Jamaica will be the ruin of all.

The said note having been seen in the Council of War, it has been decided to place it in Your Majesty's Royal hands, pointing out that Don Manuel de Lira gave notice of another proposal made by the States of Holland, offering to go with naval forces to dislodge the French from the settlements which they have on the Windward coasts, and to demolish their fortifications, although the Dutch could not settle on the same places, or gain further advantage than seizing the negroes and other goods and properties possessed by the French, whereof I, Count de Medellin, gave a report to Your Majesty. But (according to the contents of the note from Manuel de Belmonte) what the Dutch are now desirous of attempting is more absolute, for their object is to increase plantations in the Indies by conveying settlers and everything else necessary thereto, and to extend them along the coasts of the Mainland in order to get the trade more into their hands, to the serious loss and prejudice of the inhabitants of those parts, and the evident risk of the Indies being lost through the numerous settlements which the Northern nations have made in those provinces, for which there is no other remedy except the new formation of the Windward fleet, in order that wherever the necessity may be most pressing it may hasten thither.

And therefore the Council finds itself compelled to bring the matter under Your Majesty's consideration, that you may deign to order the necessary measures to be taken without delay; and that a letter may be written to the States-General, or that they may be given to understand from the proper quarter the annoyance which would be occasioned if they were to make new plantations in the Indies without informing Your Majesty, since it is a matter of such serious prejudice to Your Royal Crown. For although the Island of Curazao is so insignificant and sterile, notorious inconveniences result from its possession by the Dutch.

Your Majesty will resolve whatsoever may be most conducive to your service.

(Five Rubrics.)

Madrid, March 12, 1676.

Annex to No. 7.

Letter of Manuel de Belmonte.

With this document is the following:

Excellency,

The States of the Province of Holland and West Friesland have resolved to establish a Colony on the coast of the Mainland at Cape Orange, between Surinamte and the River Amazon, where they possess the greater part of the coast from Trinidad to the River Amazon, for they already have settlements in Barbiche, Sequiebes, and Surinamte; and in order that this one may be better cultivated and maintained than the other three, which are hardly kept up, the cities of Amsterdam, Leyden, Haarlem, and Rotterdam are taking charge of it, and have made a contract with a hundred shareholders who undertake to bring ten youths and two girls each, and in four years time as many more, so that they will have about 2,600 persons, without counting those who may be born, and those who may come from other parts; and for their encouragement many privileges of hereditary judicial offices are being granted to them, and also freedom from taxation for ten years and other exemptions, and the Hollanders undertake to maintain them and to keep a sufficient garrison in two fortresses which are to be constructed at their cost, with other conditions.

To commence this work seven war frigates are lying ready in the port of Amsterdam, three of 54 guns and the rest of 36 to 40, three pataches of 12 guns, and other vessels, which are to set sail in April of the present year 1676, to convey the shareholders, their people, and 300 soldiers for the garrisons, and all necessities for their establishment; and their object is to endeavour to take possession of the Island of Cayenne, off the Coast of the Mainland, which is held by the French, who took it from the Dutch in years gone by; and it is understood they will effect it with little resistance. The Commandant of this Squadron is Jacob Binques,

who is instructed, on arriving at the coast of the Mainland, to remain with four frigates, while Pedro Constante, with three frigates and the pataches, will proceed to stir up strife in the Windward Isles, which the French hold in America. And in one of the pataches the pirate Erasmus is going, who is well known through having, with one small frigate, plundered the Island of Granada which belongs to the French. And Constante is the man best acquainted and most in touch with those places; he was formerly Governor of the Island of Tobago, and was in the Tortuga Islands when their inhabitants revolted against their Governor Augeron, because they did not want to allow him to trade.

I do not enlarge further on this matter, because Señor Don Manuel de Lira will have done so in the last post received in His Majesty's cabinet; and Your Excellency may regard it as certain that this is the best opportunity for driving out the Buccaneers and French from the point to the north of the Island of Santo Domingo and Tortuga Island, and although a large sum is asked for doing it they may come down to better terms; and it is a matter that should not be delayed, since, if peace is made, that thorn will remain, which, together with Jamaica, will be the ruin of everything.

*Decree of Council.**

There is a Decree which runs thus:—

The formation of the Windward Fleet being of the greatest importance, which the Council represents, and which is recognized, I charge the Council, in fulfilment of what I have resolved, to apply its greatest care to the furtherance of the execution thereof, and to seeking the necessary means for this object; and, in view of the time and season, it does not appear advisable at present to bring the proposed complaint before the States-General of the United Provinces.

Published on the 14th April.

(Signed) DON FRANCISCO DE MADRIGAL.

No. 8.

Reports concerning the Carib Indians of Guayana, with Report of the Fiscal (1686).

Minute of the Council commanding Copy of the Royal "Cedula" of 1682 to be added the File.

(Translation.)

For the purpose of being annexed to an "Expediente" of the Capuchin Missionary Fathers of the Province of Cumaná, the Council has agreed that a copy be taken of the "Cedula" issued in the year 1682, in which, at the instance of Don Tiburcio de Axpe y Zuñiga, orders were given to abolish, in the Province of Trinidad of Guayana, every sort of bondage-contract of Indians, in order that they might enjoy their liberty. And as it concerns the Secretariate under Your Honour's charge, you will please be good enough to order search to be made for this "Cedula," and a copy thereof to be sent to me to place with the said "Expediente."

May God, &c.

(Signed) ANTONIO ORTIZ DE OTALORA. (Rubric.)

Madrid, April 26, 1686.

To Señor Don Francisco de Amolar.

(On the margin.) In execution of Your Honour's directions I forward herewith the copy of the "Cedula" required.

May God, &c.

(Signed) FRANCISCO DE AMOLAR. (Rubric.)

Madrid, April 30, 1686.

Report of the Fiscal.

THE Fiscal, having seen the reports of Don Tiburcio de Axpe and the "Cedula" of the 29th May [16]82 which has been annexed to this "Expediente," says that, in view of what these papers contain, and of the last resolution taken by the Council respecting the abolition of the personal service of Indians or any other kind of service, real or apparent, in regard to the first of the two points reported upon he has nothing to say, but is strongly of opinion that the measure proposed for obtaining the service of the Indians for the public advantage, without injuring them, could not be more suitable; of course always leaving to the Indian the amount of his hire.

And with regard to the removal of the Carib Indians, who are close to those Missions, he agrees with the report of the said Don Tiburcio and Don Sancho; in whose proposal and in their method of carrying it out by hostilities, which are rendered necessary by the character of the Indians, the Fiscal sees nothing objectionable; nor in laying this duty upon the Spaniards of the Province, with certain honorary rewards and a claim upon the first Commissions which may fall vacant; for being thus encouraged by their own advantages and the quiet they will obtain, they

"Archivo General de Indias," Seville. Simancas. Secular-Audiencia of Santo Domingo. Letters and Expedientes of Governors, Royal Officers, the Cabildo and secular persons of the Island of Trinidad; seen in the Council from 1586 to 1699. 5—4—41.

* Apparently recorded on back of file, but placed here for convenience.

alone will be able to carry out the enterprise successfully ; and when it has been carried out it will be possible to place the Caribs in other Islands, and in the neighbourhood of Spanish settlements, so that by change of climate, and by being held in subjection on all sides, they may live as rational beings and in safety to the increase of the Public Good, and may be better educated in the Catholic Faith and Doctrine.

Madrid, May 22, 1686.

Annex 1 to the Report.

Don Tiburcio de Arce y Zuñiga to Secretary, Don Antonio Ortiz de Otalora.

Madrid, April 26, 1686.

In fulfilment of what is contained in the letter which you were pleased to direct to be forwarded to me, and which bears the date of the 3rd instant, wherein you direct me to give my opinion, from the experience I possess of the Mainland Provinces of the Indies, upon the proposal which has been made to the Royal Council of the Indies by the Capuchin Fathers who are conducting the Mission in Cumaná, as to whether it will be advantageous that the Indians of that Province should be prohibited from binding themselves for service when first converted, as was done in Trinidad and Guayana at my instance, in order by these means to secure the freedom, preservation and perpetuation of the said Indians ; and likewise as to providing a measure for removing the Carib Indians from their present place, on account of the injury which they do to those provinces, and the conveyance of them to another part, where it might be hoped that with change of climate they would change their habits, as we have experienced with those who were brought from Brazil and who are now peaceful : And the Royal Council orders me to point out the advantages which will ensue or any objections there may be.

With reference to the first point of the advantage which may ensue from recently converted Indians not binding themselves to servitude, I consider it very much for the service of Their Majesties that the Indians should remain subject to the Missionaries for the space of ten years, and should afterwards be under the Royal Crown, and that, in recognition of Vassalage, a small tax be placed upon them, not exceeding twelve reals yearly ; and when they are more advanced they will be able to contribute a larger amount, for at first they will not be able to do so until they become capable of cultivating the land. And in order that the Indians may not give themselves up to idleness, and likewise that they may have sufficient to clothe themselves and may be able to go to church more decently, for at present they go naked, and also in order that the Spaniards may have some assistance in making their settlements, it will be advantageous that the said Religious should distribute some Indians for monthly service at a wage of sixteen reals per month and their food, and thus they will have what they need ; and when they have to pay tribute will be enabled to meet it by devoting one month to labour. The injury which results to the Indians and to His Majesty through the bondage system is : firstly, that their liberty is taken from them, and they are oppressed with personal labours for which they receive nothing ; secondly, that they remain untaught, the result of which is that, although among Christians, they are still as barbarous as they could be in their solitudes, and are worn out with continual work ; so that, with this experience, the Indians of those regions withdraw and defend themselves in order that they may not be compelled to settle ; and they regard the proposal to convert them as a snare, for they say that it is only for the purpose of making them work ; and so His Majesty is continually defrauded, without any advantage, in his primary rights to extension of territories and feudal dues. And with respect to this very proposal, when His Majesty was giving his attention to the conversion of the Indians, he charged and ordered me, by his Royal "Cedula," dated in this Court on the 29th May, 1682, not to permit personal service, and to attend with care and vigilance to the conversion and settlement of the Indians, which I did. This is what occurs to me upon this point.

In regard to the removal of the Caribs to other regions, I have to observe that this nation is very numerous (not, however, those in those parts about Guarapiche or the Golfo Triste, described by the Capuchins as being sparsely populated), for on the Mainland various places are occupied by them, as, for instance, Amara, Pao, Caura, and all the coast from the River Orinoco to the Marañon. And respecting the place spoken of by the Capuchins, it will be very advantageous if the said Caribs are compelled to leave it ; and the method which seems most suitable is that His Majesty should bestow upon any one who will drive out the Caribs from that part the grant of an appointment of Captain Conquistador and a claim to the first vacancy in Cumaná, upon condition that he raises the necessary troops at his own cost and bears the expense of their maintenance, in which case he might be assisted with some munitions ; and also upon condition that all the Carib Indians, men and women, above the age of 14 years, who might be captured, should be conveyed to the Islands of Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, and Havannah, and that the others who, upon the attack against their nation, might retire to other places should be left alone, for it is impossible to conquer them all owing to their great number and the various territories they occupy in a space extending over 300 leagues in length. And if this measure should seem harsh, we must bear in mind their mode of life, which is very harmful, for they regard human flesh as delicate food, and kill Indians who are not of their nation, and even white people, without any cause, but simply from their evil nature ; and those of the Golfo Triste in particular have committed much slaughter and devastation in alliance with the French, with whom at the present time they have traffic and communication, and it is much to be feared that they are going to help the French to settle on the Mainland. These Indians likewise prevent the conversion of the others, and have on various occasions

carried off villages of Indians already subdued. For these crimes such a race may be chastised by force of arms. And by these means and by occupying the ancient fort of San Carlos Fernandez de Angulo, it will be rendered certain that the Caribs will not return to give assistance in the Golfo Triste. And thus the Capuchin missionaries will easily convert the rest of the Indians.

I must not omit that the Brazil Indians who are in Trinidad, Margarita and Cumaná, and who came with the Portuguese when they arrived in the year [16]66, being strangers and few in number, have been and are very obedient, and the same thing will happen with the Caribs, who may be captured if they are transported to the said Islands. This is what occurs to me, and what I am able to say in reply to the questions addressed to me, desiring that the results most conducive to His Majesty's service may be obtained.

May God, &c.

Your very obedient Servant,

(Signed)

TIBURCIO DE AXPE Y ZUÑIGA. (Rubric.)

Madrid, April 26, 1686.

To Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora, *Secretary.*

Annex 2 to the Report.

Don Sancho Fernandez de Angulo to Don Antonio Ortiz de Ojalora.

Sir,

Madrid, May 2, 1686.

In fulfilment of the order you sent me by direction of the Council concerning the representation made by the Capuchin Fathers of the Mission of Cumaná that every kind of bondage-contract of the Indians should be abolished in those Provinces, and that at the same time a remedy should be provided against the Carib Indians on account of the mischief they do to those Provinces, and that they should be taken from there, and transported to other parts, showing the disadvantages or advantages which might result therefrom; it seems to me that in regard to the first point which concerns the bondage-contracts it is desirable to abolish entirely this abuse, which is not only productive of harm to the service of God, and to the preservation and increase of the Missions, but is likewise contrary to the interests of the vassals themselves to whom the said contracts are given, although, led by covetousness and their own interest, they would deny it; for when they go to fetch the Indians, whom they hold under bond for the labour and cultivation of their farms, they give them compensation in the form of axes, pruning knives or cutlasses, beads, knives and other things, in payment of their labour (and these are called Indians of Compensation) from which the grave inconveniences result, of the vexations experienced by the Indians when they are fetched away, and of irregular payments of their compensations, of making them work on feast days and of entering the Missions to seize them by force, causing scandals under the pretext that they are Indians in bond to them, in contempt of the Religious and to the ruin of the Indians. These scandals will cease when such contracts are no longer granted; and the Spaniards will not on this account fail to have the Indians necessary for their labours; for the Religious themselves, when they are asked for them, if they have any, will make them go to work with the Spaniards; they know the compensation due and its proper payment, and this will result in advantage to the Indians from the Protection of the Religious, and subordination to them, and likewise in their defence and preservation and in their attendance at the instruction and catechising. And thus the object for which the Religious went will be attained, and all the Spaniards will enjoy their advantages at the hand of the Religious, who have always taken care and will take care that the Indians are not idle and that the Spaniards make use of them without violence. And I do not see any disadvantage in this matter being in the hands of the Religious, owing to their great virtue and disinterestedness, and because from the alms they obtain they are continually helping both Indians and Spaniards desiring and soliciting the welfare and convenience of all, whereof I had great experience.

As regards the Carib Indians, they are a nation very numerous in various parts, and in the Island of Saint Vincent (one of the Windward Islands) they are proud, valiant, warlike and the arbiters of peace and war, and trample on the other nations; they eat human flesh generally, and every year at a fixed time they gather together and go to the districts of the River Orinoco to make war on other nations, and they eat the Indians whom they kill, and of the Indian women and men whom they capture they keep the former in their service, and fatten the latter for consumption.

They summon gatherings among themselves and other nations to rejoice in these feasts, wherein they usually decide on warlike expeditions, which are very pernicious, both against the Spaniards and against other Indian nations, and against the Missions and Religious.

Upon entering the interior, which I did with a large body of troops, when I was Governor and Captain-General of the Provinces of Cumaná, for the purpose of pacifying it and administering punishment for certain disorders and serious crimes which had occurred in the time of my predecessors, I held a council in one of the Missions then existing upon the advisability of commencing a war against the Caribs; but for reasons which then prevailed it was suspended as far as they were concerned, and they remained in perfect security, for it was then advisable and they assisted me by a national force against the nations I was attacking.

When the war was ended, and I had left the whole country peaceful and generally disposed to receive the word of the Gospel, I founded the city of San Carlos Fernandez de Angulo, for the maintenance of the peace in which I left it and for the increase of the Missions (all at my

cost—houses, church and other things of which I gave a formal account to the Council where it can be seen). And this foundation I made in the most suitable spot that could be desired both for the present time and for the future; for it is near the rich land of the River Guarapiche, which are excellent for every kind of industry and produce, and where there is the largest number of Carib Indians; at the same time it enjoys the conveniences of the sea through the mouths of the said River Guarapiche; and it was in this part that they permitted the French to enter and gave them assistance in the time of my successor, Don Francisco Ventura de Palacios Rada, which resulted in the abandonment of the said city of San Carlos (which I have heard His Majesty has ordered to be re-established) and of the Missions of Our Lady del Pilar, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint Francis, which I knew and saw in a flourishing and progressive condition.

From the above statement the consequences may be perceived which will follow to the service of God and His Majesty from the dislodgment and ejection of the Carib Indians from these lands (especially from the districts of the Vegas and mouths of the River Guarapiche), and the evils which will result if they remain therein. For in addition to the reasons upon which I rely, it is not of less weight that (as I hear) they sell to the French like merchandise the Indians they capture, for having tasted this devilish profit the very Indians of the Missions will no longer be safe from them, nor will anyone else in the country. And in order to fulfil their ambition and that of the French, they will make joint incursions with the latter, and it is to be feared will proceed to occupy the territories and ports of His Majesty as they have done in other parts, and as the Dutch have also done with some towns on the River Orinoco in the region of the Mainland. And passing on to consider the effect of taking the Carib Indians from there and transporting them to other parts, it seems to me that not only should the Council allow and approve the execution thereof with vigour and force of arms, but should encourage it by orders and by giving countenance and reward to those who may serve in this war, and that His Majesty should make some grants of commissions in those parts to the person or persons who (at their own cost) will undertake the duty; and I think it probable that the former settlers of the city of San Carlos will offer to do it and would return to settle there again. And this is better for His Majesty's service, seeing that they themselves will endeavour (for the advantage they will derive therefrom) to clear the land of such evil neighbours, so as to live quietly and securely. And if in this invasion any Indians, men or women, are taken prisoners, they can be easily transported to the Islands of Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, or to New Spain, in the frigates which frequently come to the Port of Cumana, and in other vessels which proceed from it with cargoes for various parts; and not one of them must be allowed to remain in the country under any pretext on account of the facility with which they would return to their own place. And if it is not carried out in this manner I consider it not only difficult, but even impossible, that it can be done, humanly speaking in any other, even though His Majesty were to expend much from His Royal Treasury. This is all I have to report upon this matter.

May God, &c.

Your obedient Servant, &c.

(Signed) SANCHE FERNANDEZ DE ANGULO SANDOVAL. (Rubric.)
Madrid, May 2, 1686.

To Don Antonio Ortiz de Otilora, Secretary.

No. 9.

"Consultas" of the Council of the Indies in reference to the founding of a new Town and the building of a Fort on the River Orinoco.

(Translation.)

Council of the Indies, November 10, 1728.

General Archives of the Indies. Seville. Audience of Caracas. "Consultas" Royal: Resolutions of Cumana, Guiana, Margarita, Trinidad. Years 1728 to 1798. (130-3-20). (Cover.—Cumana.—1728.—"Consultas" on secular matters.)

Says as follows:—

THAT the Governor of Cumana, Don Juan de la Tornera Sota, in the letter which he remitted for the information of the Council, says that the Procurator of the Capuchin Missions of that Province represented to him that there had been despatched repeated Royal "Cedulas" relating to the foundation of a Spanish town amongst the converts, which should serve as a safeguard and defence against the savages, as also to prevent commerce with foreigners.

To this end the Governor published an edict, stating that if any person was willing to negotiate with the Religious for the foundation of the said town he should appear before him with a view to commencing operations.

That there being no one willing to undertake the work, the Governor, at the instance of the Procurator of the Missions, took the matter into his own hands, arranging the plan of foundation with the Religious, binding them to obtain the approval of Your Majesty, as also Your royal consent to his son, Don Miguel de la Tornera, succeeding him in the government thereof, or in his default another of his sons, added to a grant of Title of Castile for his house exempt of fee.

That the site of the town being chosen, his son, Don Miguel, took possession thereof in his name, and gave to the town the name of San Juan de la Tornera and Province of Nueva Cantabria, which was accomplished with the aid of forty-five inhabitants, as was agreed.

That Friar Victoriano de Castejon came to Spain to solicit Your Majesty's approval of the agreement, but his mission was a failure, notice being given him that the foundation of the said town had met with opposition in the Council; for this reason the Governor begs that he shall not be despoiled of the possession which he has taken, or be made to break his compact with the Missionaries, and that he be given the preference before any other persons attempting the foundation, it being an onerous undertaking, accomplished according to the laws of the Indies, Ordinances and Royal "Cedulas" in force in the said province.

And he asks, in consideration of the funds he has expended, and of his forty years of service, especially those services which he has rendered in the said government by impeding foreign commerce, that he be allowed to retain all the advantages secured to him by the agreement for the foundation of the town, or in default of this, that he be rewarded with a post in accordance with his merits.

That on the subject of the foundation, and the different favours solicited by the said Governor offering to found a town and fort on the River Orinoco, the Council drew up several Consultas, in view of which Your Majesty resolved by a decree of July 1st, 1726, to send Don Carlos Sucre to Cumaná for the construction of the said fort on the River Orinoco. He accepted the charge, and begged Your Majesty that, as the aforesaid Tornera had accomplished his term of government, the same should be entrusted to him; on this subject the Council drew up a Consulta on the 5th of April of the present year, which is still in Your Majesty's hands.

In view of the statement of the Fiscal, and bearing in mind the representations made by Friar Victoriano de Castejon, in favour of the foundation of three Spanish towns in Cumaná, for the foundation of one of which towns the Governor Don Juan de la Tornera Sota had negotiated with the Missionaries, for which he now requests the royal approval, and seeing that the representation of the said Tornera that he should be maintained in the possession of this town, and obtain the other favours which he asks, is of no effect, since before commencing operations he should have communicated with Your Majesty, submitting the different conditions by which he bound himself, to see whether or no they met with Your approbation, as the Missionaries were not a legitimate party to treat the matter with, and still less had the Governor any right, in virtue of the compact, to take possession of the site and to name the town.

The Council is of opinion that Your Majesty should entirely reject the petition of the said Tornera, and direct the ordinary Alcaldes of the town of Cumaná to take possession, in the name of Your Majesty, of the place and of the newly-founded town, giving to it the name which Your Majesty may approve, and that they should without delay send an official report on the manner in which they have carried out their instructions. As to the remuneration of his services which the Governor solicits, he should recall them to Your Majesty that he may be granted a suitable post; and in respect of the funds expended in the said foundation, he should be allowed to take proceedings against whom he thinks fit.

As it appears to the Council.

Annex to No. 9.

(Paper accompanying the preceding Consulta.)

Don Juan de la Tornera y Sota, Governor of Cumaná, at the instance of the Procurator of the Capuchin Missions of that province, founded a town in the neighbourhood of the Missions, gave it the name of San Juan de la Tornera, and entrusted the government to his son, acting on the assurance given him by those Religious that they would obtain Your Majesty's approval to the government being entrusted to him to cede to one of his sons, and would obtain for him a grant of Title of Castile. To this end the said Procurator came over and solicited these favours, all of which were refused him.

He begs Your Majesty to allow him to retain what is stipulated by the agreement in regard to the foundation referred to, or in default of this to reward him with a post according to Your royal pleasure, in consideration of the funds he has expended and of his forty years of service.

The Council is of opinion that the Governor had no authority for founding this town, or for naming it, or to treat with the Missionaries respecting it, since the agreement should have been made with Your Majesty, and Your royal approbation waited for, and therefore the Council holds this representation of no weight.

And it is of opinion that Your Majesty should reject this petition and direct the ordinary Alcaldes of Cumaná to take possession of the said place and town in the name of Your Majesty, giving it a name according to Your royal pleasure, and report their action in the matter, and as regards the remuneration of the services of the said Governor, he should recall them to Your Majesty, that he may be employed as Your Majesty may direct.

Also, that the right should be reserved him to make a claim against whom he thinks fit as regards the funds expended in the foundation.

No. 10.

Royal Order to the Governor of Cumaná, Guayana, and Barcelona, commanding a Report on the Settlement which the Swedes intend founding in Barima.

THE KING,

"Archivo-General
de Indias." Seville.
Audience of Carácas,
133-3-16.

TO the Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Cumaná.—The Alcaldes of the City of San Joseph de Oruña of the Island of Trinidad and of Guayana, charged with the government of the Province by the death of the Governor, Don Bartolomé de Aldunate, made known by a letter of the 22nd of December, 1732, that the Lieutenant of the Province of Guayana informed them that the Swedes were founding a settlement in the Island of Tabaco, having already built houses, ploughed fields, and established twenty-five families and a certain number of negroes. For this reason the aforesaid Alcaldes resolved to send (which was done) Don Felix Cresel, an inhabitant of the said city of San Joseph de Oruña, to find out the truth of this report from the Indians who inhabit the northern coast of the said Island of Trinidad. He reported that he coasted the southern side of the Island as far as Point Galera, where he found some Indians engaged in fishing, and one among them, called Antonio, told him that some Frenchmen who passed that coast in a bilandra, told him that they wished to make a settlement in the Island of Tabaco, where they had already established themselves on the northern side, with their plantations, without possessing any slaves; that Monsieur Cornete, an inhabitant of Martinique, was already named Governor, and they were awaiting the result of an application to the Court of France to introduce settlers. Not being satisfied with this report, the said Alcaldes resolved to send Juan Miguel Hernandez to the said Province of Guayana to verify the statement, and give the necessary orders. On his return he reported that he had put to sea by the principal river of the Orinoco, and entered the creek called Barima, where, according to the Caribs, the Swedes were established. They said they had seen a number of white men seeking a place for their settlement, and they had presented the Caribs with beads, knives, cutlasses, hatchets, and spirits, and left them much pleased and expecting their return the summer following, according to the account of the said Caribs, who also declared that two long boats came to the creek full of Frenchmen and negroes, fugitives on their way to the city of Guayana, who were all slain by the said Indians, who took their boats and all they had with them. That in the creek there was a Carib Chief, son of the Chief Taguaria, who had more than two hundred Indians, with arrows, guns, and broad swords, which force he kept, said the Indian, for the whites of Guayana, because they hindered him taking the Indians of the nations of the Orinoco and selling them to the Dutch. That these latter told the aforesaid Indians not to show the Swedes a good place for their settlement, and they themselves would give them all they required. Having considered this matter in my Council of the Indies, and taken the advice of my Attorney-General, and deliberated thereupon, seeing that the information sent by the aforesaid Alcaldes, though not to be despised, is not full enough to warrant my making any order in the matter, I have resolved to command, and hereby do command, that so soon as you receive these despatches you do forthwith verify the facts of the matter, and, in case any orders should be necessary, you do forthwith make such orders as you think advisable, giving me an account of your proceedings in this matter with all dispatch, remembering that I have also instructed the Governors of Carácas and Margarita by despatches sent this day.

I, THE KING.

By command of our lord the King,

DON MIGUEL DE VILLANUEVA. (Three Rubrics.)

From the Pardo, March 13, 1734.

No. 11.

Royal "Cedula" to the Governor of Cumaná to prevent the settlement of the Swedes in Barima.

THE KING,

TO Don Carlos Sucre, Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Cumaná.—In a letter of the 18th of July of the year before last Don Rafael de Esclaba, President of my Royal Court of the City of Santa Fé in the new Kingdom of Grenada, having communicated the representation made by Father Joseph Gumilla, Superior of the Missions of the Orinoco, with respect to the settlement which the Swedes were attempting to make in River Barima, for whose suppression the Court of that kingdom had previously taken measures; and as soon as the said President entered on his office, he requested the said Father Joseph Gumilla to repeat his former information that he might take the necessary steps; but thinking this a matter of considerable gravity he sends an account of it for his reassurance. Having considered the matter in my Council of the Indies, and taken the advice of my Attorney-General thereupon, I hereby command that with what people you have and with the Capuchin Missions, you take all proper measures to prevent the

settlement attempted by the Swedish nation from being established, and that you give me an account of your proceedings herein at the first opportunity.

I, THE KING.

By command of our lord the King,

DON MIGUEL DE VILLANEUVA.

(Three Rubrics at the foot of the Royal Order, seemingly those of the members of the Supreme Royal Council of the Indies.)

From Buen Retiro, December 16, 1734.

No. 12.

Précis of Despatch of the Governor of Cumaná, Don Carlos de Sucre, under date of 12th November, 1735, respecting the excesses committed by the Carib Indians in the neighbourhood of the Orinoco.

[UNDER date] Aragua, November, 12, 1735, Don Carlos Sucre: Reports the excesses committed by the Carib Indians in the neighbourhood of the River Orinoco, by reason of his absence from that part; that they have cut to pieces a settlement of 200 persons, which he had founded with three Missionaries, of whom they killed one; and another, Father Joseph del Castillo, who is coming to the court, succeeded in escaping. That upon hearing this he went in search of the said Caribs, but directly they knew it they went off to the hills, and he was not able to reach them. That the said Father Joseph del Castillo will personally report concerning that country, the want of vessels and men which is felt, and consequently the distress in which it is placed for means and troops with which to act; for the troops which he was able to collect by double contributions he has had no means of helping and they have abandoned him, so that he finds himself under the necessity of resorting to the expedient or decision of trying a *coup de main* to gain or lose everything, or else to remain quiet and do nothing. He shows likewise how the Missions are on the point of perishing by the hand of the Caribs, in view of which he will do his utmost to try if he can get together as many as 150 men, in order to try to form at the Angostura of the River Orinoco a redoubt with good stakes, in order once for all to block their way and restrain them.

And he concludes with stating his advanced age, his great anxiety for the subjugation and security of those dominions, and asks that he may receive attention and help by measures fitted to remedy his present distress and struggles.

For the information of the Council of the Indies, June 5, 1736.

No. 13.

Précis of Despatch from Governor Sucre, reporting excesses of the Carib Indians against the Missions, and intention of the Swedes to settle in Barima.

[UNDER date] Cumaná, August 13, 1737, the Governor, Don Carlos Sucre: Represents to Your Majesty that as soon as he went from this city to the River Orinoco, to carry out the operations for which he was appointed, he reported to Your Majesty the condition of that fortress and dependency, and also of the war which the Carib Indians, with other allies, are making, causing death and torture among the Missionaries, and other Spaniards; and that he was without adequate forces and means to remedy such losses, and that not having had any reply or decision on the important matters in these reports, he finds himself again compelled to have recourse to Your Majesty on the same matter, pointing out the weighty reasons which press for a speedy decision, especially as the Northern nations have begun to settle at the mouth of the river, and sundry families of Swedes are expected to come and settle in the Cañon of Barima within the river of that name. This may result in the loss of those Provinces and of that of Carácas and in the ultimate blocking of the road to Santa Fé de Bogotá. And the said Governor is unable to carry out suitable measures both for want of means, as he has pointed out on a previous occasion, the funds appointed and destined to that purpose not having been forwarded either from Mexico or from Havana (and for the same reason it has been impossible to continue the fortification), and likewise for want of suitable forces, those of the Indians of the Capuchin Missions of Guayana being useless, for they have only recently been converted, and are quite uninured to fire and warfare; also the fort existing there is short of men. For this reason nothing further can be taken in hand except defensive measures against the Caribs. To which must be added the great want of powder in the forts of Cumaná and Araya, where there is not enough for a second charge of the artillery. And no help can be obtained from the arrangement made by the Viceroy of Mexico that in case of dire necessity recourse should be had to Havannah; for the poverty of that treasury, owing to greatly increased expenses, is such that it is unable to afford this assistance. Likewise the 400 men forming the garrison of Araya and Cumaná have no other attribute of soldiers save that of drawing Your Majesty's pay; they are without rations or quarters, and have no military discipline. The Governor has remedied their ignorance and deficiencies as far as he could, but to carry the matter out thoroughly he requires Your Majesty's instructions; and in order to explain the circumstances

"Archivo General de Indias," Seville. "Audiencia de Carácas." Documents sent to the Council, Chamber and Ministers from Cumaná, Guayana and Margarita and Trinidad, 1736 to 1807. (Press 130, Case 40, bundle 90.)

more fully he has thought it advisable to send the Marquis of San Phelipe y Santiago to Spain, to whom he has communicated his chief remarks upon these points, and who has likewise had practice and experience in those parts, in his capacity of Major and through having acted as Deputy, whenever the Governor has been compelled to be absent.

This letter was sent to the Council in order that it might be taken into consideration in conjunction with the Report made on the 8th December, 1738.

No. 14.

Acts of the Council of the Indies in regard to a Memorial of the Governor Elect, Don Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, to the King in reference to the construction of a Fort on the River Orinoco, 1740.

Cumaná, 1740.

(Translation.)

Minute of Council.

DON Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, Governor-Elect of the Province of Cumaná, represents that Your Majesty has conferred this Government upon him, with the power of nominating a Deputy while he is engaged in the construction of a fort at the Angostura of the Orinoco, and he supplicates Your Majesty to grant him the power to nominate a satisfactory person to serve that Government, seeing that while he is engaged in the construction of the fort, he could not reside in the City of Cumaná; and to confer upon him the remaining powers and privileges which Your Majesty granted to the present Governor, Don Carlos de Sucre.

The Chamber of the Indies is of opinion that Your Majesty should be pleased to grant this person the power to appoint a Deputy to act for him in Cumaná during his enforced absences for the construction of the fort; and that in respect to the other powers and privileges which he asks for, as the actual Governor enjoys them a new declaration is unnecessary, for in the Commission issued to him, he is ordered to retain all those held by his predecessors.

Sire,

If it be Your Majesty's pleasure the advice of the Chamber may be agreed to.

"As seems good."

To Señor Don Joseph.

Annex to above Minute.

Opinion of Chamber of Indies.

Chamber of the Indies, February 10, 1740.

In view of the application of Don Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, respecting which Your Majesty ordered the Chamber to report, the Chamber says that in it this person represents that Your Majesty has been pleased to confer upon him the Government of Cumaná, with orders to construct a fort at the Angostura of the River Orinoco, with the object of obstructing the foreigners who trade therein, and of securing the Provinces and Missions around it, granting him power to nominate a Deputy, and appointing him a salary and various rights, powers, and privileges. And that desiring shortly to proceed to the execution of what has been ordered, he begs Your Majesty to be pleased to grant him authority to nominate a satisfactory person to serve the said Government while he is engaged in the construction of the fort, during which time he will be unable to reside in the City of Cumaná, likewise conferring upon him the other powers and privileges which Your Majesty granted to the present Governor, Don Carlos de Sucre. The Chamber in view of this application represents that it is a fact that when Your Majesty was pleased to confer the Government of Cumaná upon Don Carlos de Sucre, you granted him the power to nominate a satisfactory person to act for him while he was constructing the fort as ordered, in consideration of the distance between the City of Cumaná and the River Orinoco, and that as the same reason now exists in the case of Don Gregorio Espinosa, seeing that he was presented to this Governorship with the obligation of building the said fort, as it had not yet been done: The Chamber is of opinion that Your Majesty should be pleased to grant him power to nominate a Deputy to act for him in Cumaná during his enforced absences for the construction of the fort. That in regard to the other powers and privileges he asks for, which were granted to the present Governor, the Chamber submits to Your Majesty that although Don Carlos de Sucre was appointed temporary Governor and Chief of the fort which he was ordered to construct, and of the provinces which the River Orinoco includes, of the lands discovered and of those which might afterwards be reclaimed and pacified, with distinct political and military jurisdiction, the Chamber does not think there is any need to make this same declaration, seeing that in the Commission which has been issued to the said Don Gregorio Espinosa he is ordered to retain all the honours, privileges, and prerogatives held by his predecessors, without any difference, in the cities, towns, and villages which are at present settled and which may afterwards be settled; which clauses include what the said Don Gregorio asks for.

Don Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, Governor-Elect of Cumaná, begs that, in order to obtain men to work on the fort which Your Majesty has ordered to be built in the most convenient part of the River Orinoco, he may be allowed to publish an edict, upon his arrival at Cumaná, pardoning the negroes for the illicit trade carried on in that Province, provided that their owners declare them within a certain time, giving every fourth one to Your Majesty; and, upon the expiration of the time fixed, confiscating them all if their masters have not previously declared them. And that whenever Your Majesty resolves that families are to be sent from Spain or the Canaries to New Andalusia, it may be with the express condition that a third part of them shall be artisans, including among them master Armourers, Carpenters, Builders, Blacksmiths, and others.

The Council of the Indies states that the measure of pardoning negroes which the Governor proposes is difficult to carry out, owing to the small number of this class in Cumaná, for there will scarcely be a person who (as it supposes) owns four negroes. That it would considerably disturb those natives if it were carried out, and that it would not produce for the construction of the fort, such a number of negroes as would warrant the expense to the Royal Treasury; and it is of opinion that he should be directed to follow in the erection and building of the said fort the instruction which has been given him by the Council.

And that the measure of sending among the families taken from Spain or the Canaries to Cumaná. Artisans, in the proportion of one in three, is impossible to carry out, both because people of this class will not be found willing to go for the small wage given to each family, and because it is impossible to compel the persons who propose to take them to seek out Artisans. And that when Your Majesty resolves that some families should go to that Province, efforts shall be made to arrange that the largest number of Artisans may go that can be obtained.

Sire,
Does it please your Majesty to agree with the Council?

“As it seems good.”

To Señor Don Joseph.

Further (or continued) Minute.

Council of the Indies.

March 5, 1740.

Says that the Memorial sent to it for report from Brigadier Don Gregorio de Espinosa de los Monteros, states that Your Majesty having been pleased to confer upon him the Government of Cumaná, charging him with the construction of a fort in the most convenient part of the River Orinoco, for a defence against the invasions of the Carib Indians, who are encouraged in that region by the adjoining Dutch Colonies; and that considering among other things that in the Provinces of Cumaná, Cumanagotos and Guayana, owing to their scanty population and the weakness of the inhabitants of which they are composed, there would not be sufficient labourers who could be withdrawn and collected for the construction of the said fort; nor was there an English establishment for the importation of negroes in the said Provinces under his charge; and that he was aware that some had been brought in without Your Majesty's permission, it being likewise possible that owing to the present war there may have been some seizures and sales of negroes; it seemed to him desirable that Your Majesty should direct a royal order to be issued, so that, upon his arrival at Cumaná, an edict might be published pardoning those negroes upon the condition that their masters should declare them, and deliver each fourth one, as selected, to Your Majesty, for the work of the fortress, marking the rest so that it may be evident that they are pardoned; with the declaration that after the period fixed for declaring them those found unmarked should belong to Your Majesty; as was done in Havanna in the year 1727; and as they served in the work of the fortresses of that town, those who might belong to Your Majesty in the Province of New Andalusia might likewise be used for the construction of the fort of the Orinoco. And that as the confiscation of all the contraband negroes would cause universal commotion in the minds of the natives of those Colonies, the measure he proposed would not only be useful to Your Majesty's Service, but very acceptable to the natives, who live in a state of mistrust, with the fear that they will be entirely deprived of the negroes they have acquired by illicit trade. And that the said Espinosa likewise represented, that whenever Your Majesty might be pleased to grant to some person or persons, the conveyance of families for New Andalusia, whether from these Kingdoms or from the Canary Islands, Your Majesty may be pleased to order that it be under the specific obligation of taking artisans to at least one third of the number, including among them Master Armourers, Carpenters, Builders, Blacksmiths and other workmasters and apprentices; and that they are to take the number of the said third part in order to produce all the means required for carrying out the construction of the said fort, and the restoration of the others existing therein, and to place those Provinces in the state of defence which is so desirable.

The Council, in view of this application, and of the opinion of the Fiscal thereon, points out to Your Majesty that with reference to the first part of the Memorial of Don Gregorio de Espinosa de los Monteros, in which he proposes the pardon of the negroes introduced into Cumaná without permission, taking every fourth one, by selection, for the work of the fort which Your Majesty has been pleased to place in his charge, as he states was done by the Governor of Havannah, the Council has only the information derived from a “Consulta” which it made to Your Majesty on the 23rd of October, 1730, in regard to the arrest of Don Juan del Hoyo, late Governor of Cuba; by which, because he had proclaimed in the town of Santi Spiritus

the pardon of negroes introduced without permission as had been done by the Governor of Havanna in 1727, it proposed to Your Majesty that he should be indicted therewith, as it did not appear that he had received a Royal Order for the purpose; and Your Majesty was pleased to resolve that it should not be done, seeing that this Governor had acted regularly in the publication and carrying out of the said pardon; and that in the manner in which the said Don Gregorio proposes it for Cumaná it would produce the inconvenience of disgusting those natives or rendering them distrustful, with little or no advantage in the end; for owing to the poverty of the country it will be difficult to find four negroes owned by one master, so as to select one; and if only one negro is found with each owner, there is the evident difficulty of collecting four, so as to separate one for appropriation to the works; and then will arise the difficulty of taking from each individual the portion he ought to pay so as to compensate the owner of the negro selected; that although this might be overcome by taking a fixed price for each individual pardoned, very little advantage would be gained thereby, and it would not have the result of obtaining negroes for employment in building the fort. That even if a certain number of negroes could be collected for the work by the proposed measure, it would be at considerable cost to the Royal Treasury for their maintenance and custody, to prevent their escape, with the possibility of their being employed, and even forced to labour, in other works or farming operations; which would have to be prevented. And further, that for the construction of the fort use could be made of Indians and Natives of those districts who would come forward when the work was really begun, and who might be paid ordinary wages. On these grounds the Council considers that it is not desirable to allow Don Gregorio de Espinosa to carry out the pardon of the negroes which he proposes; and that he might be ordered, to obtain, upon arrival at his residence, accurate information respecting the advantages or disadvantages which might result, according to the aforesaid objections, in order that Your Majesty may resolve as you think fit in respect to the pardon, and in view of what may be desirable for the introduction and use of negroes in general, or for that Province in particular.

And in regard to the second part respecting the conveyance of families: It represents to Your Majesty that it is usually provided and ordered that some artisans should form part thereof; but that it is not easy to obtain the third part desired by this Governor, as they are not found without difficulty, nor, if they were found, could they be compelled to emigrate in such large numbers without better wages than are given to the families who go for farm labour and ordinary settlement, which would be very burdensome to the Royal Treasury.

Wherefore:

The Council is of opinion that Your Majesty should be pleased to order that he be directed, for the construction of the fort, to make use of the means provided in the instruction delivered to him, and the further orders issued for this object; while the Council will take care that, in the event of a grant of conveyance of some families to the Provinces of New Andalusia, whether from these Kingdoms or from the Canary Islands, as large a number of Artisans as may be obtainable shall be included.

(Translation.)

No. 15.

Report by Don Martin de Landizaval on the Memorial of Don Isidro de Andrade concerning the fortifying of the Orinoco (1741).

Sir,

IN a note of the 5th of the present month and year you were pleased to send me, by His Majesty's Order, the representation made by the Council of the Indies on the 17th November 1740, upon the application of Don Isidro de Andrade to obtain the concession of the Government of the Island of Trinidad, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, in consideration of the contract he offers of providing at the scene of the work all the timber required for the internal construction, for lodging the garrison and mounting the artillery, and all the lime necessary for the Fort which is to be built at the Angostura of the River Orinoco, or in the place which may appear most suitable for the purpose of preventing the passage of foreigners who trade on it, in order that I may inform you confidentially of my views.

I have not a practical knowledge of the country in which this important fort is to be built, nor do I know if it is a fact that there is no limestone there, and that, consequently, it is necessary to bring the lime from the Island of Trinidad; but considering that, even if it be granted that the said limestone occurs in that place, and that the timber offered is found in its neighbourhood, the building would be greatly facilitated by placing, without cost to the Royal Treasury, and in a convenient position, at the scene of the work, the materials he offers; and likewise considering that by this means the door is closed upon the contracts which would otherwise have to be made through the Engineer, and that the Royal Treasury would doubtless suffer loss therein, through too little or too much knowledge of the country, the investigation of which would be difficult for the Governor, owing to the distance of Cumaná from the site of the Fort, even though a person were sent to the spot, at the cost of the Royal Treasury, to look after it, in my opinion it is a very desirable economy to accept the proposal of Don Isidro de Andrade, with the conditions proposed by the Council: and that the Government of Trinidad should be conferred upon him for five years, which, although it is fairly well paid, I do not think can produce other emoluments, nor is it easy therein to gain merit or incur blame in the ordinary course of things, but simply to live a melancholy and solitary life; and if His Majesty should be pleased to agree with what the Council represents, I think it would be desirable to give a private hint to the Governor of Cumaná to see that the Engineer acts in good faith in the delivery and receipt of those materials,

"Archivo General de Indias." Seville.
"Audiencia de Caracas." Communications to the Council, Chamber and Ministers from Cumaná, Guayana, Margarita and Trinidad.
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Bundle 9.
Report of the Council of the Indies, November 17, 1740.

without an understanding with Andrade, and without resentment at being deprived of the management of the contracts.

I beg that you will lay this before His Majesty, in order that he may decide in accordance with his Royal pleasure.

May God, &c.

(Signed) DON MARTIN DE LANDIZAVAL. (Rubric).

To Don Joseph del Campillo.

Madrid, July 6, 1741.

No. 16.

The Council of the Indies informs the King that the Commissary-General of the Capuchin Missions of Guayana has presented a letter from the Prefect of the said Mission, setting forth its miserable condition, &c. (1745).

The Council of the Indies,

Madrid November 8, 1745.

SAYS that Friar Francisco Maria Arenzano, Provincial of the Province of Andalusia and Commissary General of the Capuchin Missions of Guayana, has presented a letter from Friar Augustin de Olot, Prefect of the said Mission, in which he informs him of its miserable condition in consequence of the invasion made by the English in those parts in the year 1742, when they burnt two villages of converts and harried the rest; from which occurrence, and from the incursion of Carib Indians into the same territory, who have likewise pillaged and ravaged it, a great tumult has arisen, and so much restlessness among the converts, that in order not to abandon them some of the Religious have had to sacrifice their lives. He begs that eight Missionaries from the Province of Catalonia may be granted him in order that the accomplishment of his foundation may not be frustrated.

The Council having heard the report of the Fiscal and taken into account that for fifteen years no Religious have gone to Guayana, during which time some must have died, and that this must account for the deficiency of reports from the Viceroy, President or Archbishop of the district which should precede this concession (according to Law 1, Title 14, Book 1 of the Recopilacion): it is of opinion that Your Majesty should be pleased to grant his request, and that the provision in this law should be pointed out to the Commissary General in order that in future he may not present such requests without the necessary preliminaries.

"As it seems good."

Decision of His Majesty placed on the margin of the Consulta.

The Commissary General of the Capuchin Missions of Guayana represented to before the Council of the Indies the necessity for sending some Religious to those Missions, asking permission for eight to go from the province of Catalonia. The Council is of opinion that Your Majesty should permit it, and that the Commissary General should be told not to make such requests in future without the formalities directed by the laws of the Indies.

As it seems good to the Council.

No. 17.

Extract from the Description of the Territories of the Orinoco, the way to preserve them, &c., with an Account of Carácas, and Two Maps with their Explanation by Señor Iturriaga (? 1747.)

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

THE town of Santo Thomé de la Guayana, the only settlement of Spaniards on the River Orinoco, is composed of sixty inhabitants, negroes, mulattos, and half-breeds, and a few whites.

All are idlers, and their wives indolent creatures, content with bad cabins for houses, with the fishing, and spirits, which they make from the sugar-cane that is more than enough for their gluttony.

It is situated on the south bank of the river, a musket shot from a small fort named S. Francisco de Assisi, erected on a rocky hill washed by the same river.

For the expense of its garrison there is assigned in Santa Fé de Bogotá the charge of 100 effective soldiers at the rate of 10 escudos monthly, which amounts to 15,000 pesos.

From the 100 soldiers fourteen places are deducted, which contribute towards the salaries of the "Castellano," Lieutenant, ensign, and two sergeants of the company, twelve that are detached for the Island of Trinidad, and form its garrison; and five, eight, or twelve more for the Missions of the province for the protection of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia; and ten for the escort of the Paymaster, who goes yearly to Santa Fé for the amount assigned. Deducting besides some

"Archivo General Central."
"Alcala de Henares."
State Bundle 2499
(1747).
[On the Docket.
Iturriaga. 1747.]

vacant places, some sick soldiers and others on leave of absence, the garrison must not be considered to count more than fifty men.

Such a small number of soldiers and of inhabitants, and the circumstances of these latter, who, on withdrawing to the interior Missions, leave nothing in their huts and fields to lose, gave an opportunity to the daring of an Irishman, who, at the beginning of the last war, came to conquer Guayana with sixty sailors in a brig, and, in fact, did so, made himself master of the castle, carried away some cannons, spiked and threw into the river the others, and burned the city and two villages of Missions, being irritated at not having found anything to plunder.

Three leagues lower down than the city the great river divides itself into three mighty branches, two of which turn towards the north and north-east, and divide themselves into so many channels, which flow into the sea through more than forty mouths. The third, which turns towards the east, flows almost unbroken for 50 leagues until it flows out in the sea under the name of the Great Ships' Mouth, because by it alone can ships ascend. By some of the other mouths small vessels of six guns can ascend.

Following the great branch in its course to the sea some rivers are met with, which flow out on the right-hand side, such as that called Aquire, and a branch of the River Barima, which divides itself into many other branches, and that great windward point forms a labyrinth of islands and channels.

By these channels, without entering the sea, one can navigate with small vessels to the blockhouse called the Post, which the Dutch of Essequibo maintain with three men and two small cannon, 16 leagues from the Colony towards the Great Ships' Mouth. And it is by this way that the Dutch make their voyages when they are returning from the Orinoco in small vessels, so as not to expose themselves to the strong currents and breezes which impede and render dangerous the navigation outside.

From the Missions of Guayana, under the charge of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia, without doubt some way or communication with Essequibo has been opened up, because the Governor of Cumaná, Don Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, received a letter from the Governor of Essequibo through the Prefect of those Missions, and this prelate did not make any difficulty in taking charge of and forwarding the reply.

The Caribs who dwell within the Orinoco occupy about 70 leagues of the south bank from the mouth of the River Caroni, distant 6 leagues to the west from Guayana, to the mouth of the River Caura.

Their pride and superiority over the other nations keeps them in continual movement against them, although they may be very distant, with the view of slave-raiding, in order to sell them to the inhabitants of the Dutch Colonies—Essequibo, Berbice, Corentine, and Surinam.

For this journey they have besides the navigation of the Orinoco, and of the channels of the Barima, a road by land, which, crossing the Caroni higher up than the Missions of Guayana, goes to the River Aquire, and they descend by it to near its mouth, having arranged beforehand for some vessel to be waiting in this river, and they do not enter the Yuruari, but descend by the River Essequibo.

From the mouth of the Caura from 20 to 25 leagues are traversed, nearly uninhabited on both banks, to the first Mission of the Jesuit Fathers, called S. Ignacio de Cabruta, and, as in the 90 and more leagues from the mouth of the Caroni the Caribs hold sway, the navigation is dangerous for those who are not their friends, or who are not accompanied by a force strong enough to repulse their attack.

The very many attacks on the Missions, their desolation and destruction, are proofs of the dislike with which they regard them, and, with this knowledge, the Fathers are obliged to maintain a constant guard, with the help of an escort, and some small cannon and muskets. But it is seen by experience that this is not sufficient for the tranquillity necessary to their increase.

The threats of the Caribs, which some Indians fear, their suggestions, which perturb others, and the free life of the forest, which appeals to all those recently settled, are likewise causes of the sudden dispersement which they have been wont to suffer; and, notwithstanding all this, such is the constancy of the Fathers, that after their third entry into the Orinoco they have succeeded in founding and maintaining five villages, from S. Ignacio de Cabruta to the rapid of Atures, in a distance of eight days' navigation.

Since the savage and valiant Guipanovis destroyed, in the year 1747,* the new Mission of the rapid above mentioned, the Fathers have again established it, although at the expense of great labours, by bringing together some Indians, Maypures, and Parecas; and they guard the place with as much care as Cabruta, on account of these being the two most exposed—Cabruta to the attacks of the Caribs, that of the rapid of Atures to those of the Guipanovis, who inhabit the Creek Atabapu, seven days distant by navigation from the rapid. The Civitenes are wont to unite with their friends, the Guipanovis. They belong to the upper part of the Rio Negro, which is a half-day's journey by land from Atabapu.

These two nations manage fire-arms with much dexterity, so well, indeed, that the Chief Macapu alone, with eighty of his men, armed with guns, destroyed the Mission of the Rapid, and on that occasion the escort and other Spaniards having followed him, with more than 300 Indians, they did not even dare to attack him in his village, knowing that it was well fortified. The original plan, inclosed, drawn on the spot by brother Vera, of these Missions, shows its fortifications.

In order that the evils explained may not go on increasing, it is advisable to take steps at once; and if some effective remedy can be supplied that not only will put an end to their course, but also conduce to other good, it will be so much the better.

* Sic in copy; the date of the docket therefore seems erroneous.

Report of Don Eugenio Alvarado, Second in Command of the Commission of Limits, on the various Communications between the Province of Guiana and the Dutch Colony of Essequibo.

(Translation.)

Communications between the Province of Guiana and the Dutch Colony of Essequibo.

Communications by Sea alone.

FROM the Province of Guiana to the Dutch Colony of Essequibo there are two ways of journeying by sea. In both the starting point is the great Ship's mouth of the River Orinoco. The first is accomplished by bearing to windward until the necessary point is reached for entering the mouth of the Essequibo, and the second by descending the coast.

The first is that commonly used by the bilanders and light craft entering the Orinoco for contraband trade, the length of the voyage depending on favourable or unfavourable winds.

The second is dangerous, not only on account of the violent swell of the tides, but also on account of the many sunken reefs and the numerous headlands, which have to be doubled by force of rowing. These difficulties are surmounted by profiting by the easy navigation afforded by the creeks of the Orinoco, which run inland. Down these the coasting-vessels run, as will be explained in the following chapter :—

By River, Creeks, and Sea.

The most convenient navigation is to descend the Orinoco to its great Ship's mouth, then avoiding the coast to enter the creek of Barima, facing the Island of Cangrejos, cross the creek of Garambo, ascend that of Baune [*sic*], and so on by others forming a species of zig-zag until the creek of Moruca is reached. Here the Dutch have a castle which they call the Post.

All these creeks communicate with the sea, in a space of thirty-eight leagues of coast. The general opinion is that they are waters of the Orinoco, forced inland by the impetus of the tides.

The aforesaid creek of Moruca is at a distance of twelve leagues from the mouth of the River Essequibo. From the great mouth of the Orinoco to that of the Essequibo fifty leagues of coast are counted. Thus, by the aforesaid creeks, are avoided (it is understood) the thirty-eight leagues which are dangerous on account of the violent swell of the sea, which agitates the waters of the Orinoco, greatly disturbing the tides and their currents.

Eight months can be counted in favour of this navigation during the time when the Orinoco is at its full height or when it commences to rise or fall. The journey can then be accomplished, from Guiana to the Colony of Essequibo, in about eight or ten days. During the four remaining months of the year, which is the time of the height of the summer, the voyage takes from twelve to fifteen days, not on account of insufficiency of water for the boats, but on account of contrary winds.

By Land and Rivers.

The journey to Essequibo can be made from any of the villages of the Missions which the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers hold in this province, on the north, south, and west, the difference in the length of the journey depending on the situation of the village started from.

From the Mission of the Hato de la Divina Pastora to the forests is two or three days' journey through savannahs; to pass through these forests, in order to reach the banks of the River Cuyuni, is a matter of eight to ten days; in summer, the aforesaid river can be crossed on foot, the water not reaching above the knee, or by jumping from stone to stone. In winter it is crossed in canoes made of the bark of trees. Once on the further shore of the River Cuyuni the route is continued to a country house situated on a neck of land (as explained in the next chapter), whence it is easy to re-embark and continue the journey down the River Essequibo.

The aforesaid country house (which is on an estate) is situated on a point of land shaped like a serpent's tongue, which is formed by the Rivers Cuyuni and Massaruny, running in parallel lines, which gradually contract, until both rivers lose themselves in the Essequibo. Both these rivers come from the south, as also the Essequibo, but the three take their rise at a great distance from one another.

The voyagers who have made the journey so far, for two days through the savannahs and eight days through the forest, have to pass to the opposite shore of the Cuyuni by means of canoes; then they are obliged to re-embark to reach a country house situated on the bank of the Essequibo itself at a distance of eight leagues from the Fort of Zelandia, on account of the forest on the northern bank being very rugged and dangerous from the numerous tribes of Indian savages to be met with there, and there being no means of getting provisions.

This route, which by land and water occupies a space of eleven days, is open to all the tribes of Indian savages who inhabit the forests of the southern strip, which serves as a defence to the Colony of Essequibo, especially to the Caribs, under whose protection the Dutch penetrate the forests constantly to trade for the slaves or Poytos, fighting the other tribes of all the western forest, for which reason the passes are not safe to all, but only to those who have a good understanding with the Dutch and the Caribs, as the following examples will show :

General Archives of Simanca. Office of the Secretary of State. Bundle 7390, fol. 16.

Copy of a document signed by Señor Alvarado, dated from the Mission of the Hato de la Divina Pastora, in the Province of Guiana, April 20, 1755. Bundle No. 4.

In the year 1742 this route was regularly opened by a Frenchman named Ignacio, a famous smuggler, in company with an apostate Augustinian monk; he had with him two hundred mules, which he brought from the Provinces of Barinas, Carácas, and Casanar. With these he passed the Orinoco by Angostura, and then through the Caroni, and having reached this part of the continent, he brought them to Essequibo, and shipped them to Barbadoes and Martinique.

In the year 1747 a Dutchman named Salomon Percico, trading in Orinoco, and pursued by a pirate, landed near the Castle of San Francisco of Guiana, and continued his journey through the Missions as though they were the States-General, and returned to his house in Essequibo by the same route which Ignacio had opened, saving the money which he had taken with him on disembarking.

The following year, 1749, a Dutchman, Nicholas Colart, came from Essequibo to Guiana, flying from justice on account of a murder he had committed on his estates. He arrived in ten days at the ruined Mission of Cunuri, having come with some Indians with loads [*sic*].

In the year 1750 the aforementioned Dutchman, Salomon Percico, came the same route, though he did not return to his house overland, but embarked on the River Imataca, which flows into the sea thirty leagues below Guiana, as I have said in the answer to the 13th Article of the Instruction.

By the Imataca he entered the Orinoco, and followed the creeks already mentioned, until he reached Essequibo, where he now lives, and is one of the persons of note in that Colony, in continual intercourse with the Commander and the Accountant of the town of Guiana, as also with the Fathers and other persons of note in the Province.

Although these examples suffice to show the practicability of the overland route which is open to Essequibo, yet to show to what extent it has been practicable in these last years, I will add that in the years 1750 and 1753 a Zambo woman of masculine courage came by this route from Essequibo, and returned the same way; she came to the Islands of Caroni to trade with the Caribs, bringing stuffs and other goods, some carried by Indians, and others by beasts of burden, and returned to her house with the Poytos or slaves which she had purchased from the Caribs. This trade is most useful in Essequibo, as the slaves cultivate the lands, and are therefore as valuable as negroes, at the same time costing infinitely less.

By Rivers only.

In the answer given to the 12th Article of the Instruction were described the different villages in the vicinity of the rivers which communicate, by means of the Yuruary, with the Essequibo, and in the answer to Article 13 it was said that the River Yuruary has many tributaries. Anybody wishing to go to Essequibo by rivers only could do so in two ways: one by embarking on the rivers of Miamo, Cunuri, and others which flow into the Yuruary, navigating the Caroni, until one enters the stream which it discharges, which ends near the Yuruary; only in this case it is necessary to drag the canoes over the intervening isthmus.

Others accomplish the journey by navigating the Yuruary, by which they enter the Cuyuni, which empties itself into the Essequibo.

This journey is more lengthy for some than for others, because those who start from the Missions of Cunuri and Miamo, as also the new village of Yuruary, arrive at a point nearer to the river of the same name, and those who journey by the Caroni and its stream take longer, the way being less direct.

The first take twenty days and the second as much as thirty, for which reason the route is not used by our countrymen, excepting in extreme cases, but it is of great use to the Indian Caribs, Aruacas, and other savage tribes, able to live with little sustenance on the rivers and in the forests, to get Poytos, or slaves, which they sell to the Dutch.

It is also dangerous on account of the rapids and falls with which the rivers abound, especially in summer, and can only be navigated by canoes holding from eight to ten men.

This letter shows the communications between Guiana and the Dutch Colony of Essequibo, and as the navigable rivers and streams, used for contraband commerce, are most numerous, it would have been of great use to draw up a map of the country, that my answers to the Instructions might be the better understood, and that our Court might with greater facility get an idea of this portion of America, which is not shown in the maps which have been published up to the present.

I have made a rough sketch of the principal communications, drawn from what I have seen, and compared with what I have heard from the Indians who have gone to people this labyrinth of waters, and had I a cartographer in my company I should with his help have made a complete map, and thus I am disappointed in being unable to produce a work which would be original.

Names of several of the Chiefs who inhabit the sources of the stream of Aquire (Aguirre):—Avaruary, Ararica, Arincare, Sayricary, Juppo, Annavary, Oraenua, Maravare, Cayupane.

(Signed) DON EUGENIO DE ALVARADO.

*Provincia de Guiana,
Mision del Hato de la Divina Pastora,
April 20, 1755.*

Further Report by Don Eugenio Alvarado on the Course of the River Essequibo and its Tributaries.

(Translation.)

THE River Essequibo comes from the south, and empties itself into the sea due north by three mouths formed by several large islands which separate its waters. All three are navigable for vessels of 500 to 1,000 arrobas.* Ships coming from Europe enter by the principal mouth, called the Great Mouth, without any difficulty. The other mouths would be equally navigable for larger ships if a pilot could be found familiar with their narrow channels.

The river is populated on either side to the distance of thirty leagues; it is very easy to sail up it, and it has been explored to within the neighbourhood of the great Lake Barima, a voyage occupying 45 days, but its source has not been discovered. Divers rivers flow into it, as also one branch of the Rio Negro, which forms the aforesaid lake, and communicates with the Amazon. At a distance of eight leagues from the Fort of Zelandia it is joined by the Rivers Cuyuni and Mazaruni, both coming, like the Essequibo, from the south, and is navigable for light craft for fifty leagues inland.

Fortresses.

The Fort of Zelandia is built to leeward on the last island formed by the Great Mouth of the River Essequibo; its fortifications consist of a low rampart in the form of a hexagon, having a parapet of brickwork, the thickness of which is about one and a-quarter yards. Its artillery delivers a horizontal fire; it consists of thirty-five cannon of the calibre of 4-pounders. The diameter of the fortress, taken from the parapet, is forty Spanish yards; in the centre is raised a square of brickwork twelve yards in height and twenty-four in diameter.

This square contains a two-storeyed dwelling, the walls of which are of the same thickness as the parapet; the terraces running round the circumference of the building are furnished with twenty swivel-guns. A level battery of twenty-four brass guns, the calibre of which ranges from eighteen to twenty-four, is raised at a short distance from the fort, and is protected from the impetus of the river and tides by a strong palisade, needing continual repairs.

Garrison.

The full garrison of this fortress is one hundred well trained soldiers, sixty of whom are paid by the States General and the other forty by the Mercantile Community of the Colony.

A sergeant with a detachment of twenty men is provided by the garrison for the Demarara river, as also the overseers of the plantations of the Company which the States-General have in this Colony.

Allowing for the detachments supplied from the garrison, the want of the full complement, and the sick, of which there are always a certain number, only fifty men can be counted on.

The merchants and inhabitants of the aforesaid Colony volunteer their services in times of hostility or of insurrection among the negroes; for these emergencies the Company has one hundred and fifty negroes, maintained by the direction of the States General, five men being told off to man each gun.

During times of quiet these men are kept working continually in fatigue parties on the fortifications and their surroundings to repair the damages caused by the river and tides.

The Colony and its Commerce.

In the districts of this Colony there are no towns or villages. All the merchants and other inhabitants have houses on their estates in the country, which they call plantations, situated to about the distance of thirty leagues on both banks of the Essequibo.

In the neighbourhood of the Island, which holds the Fort of Zelandia, there are perhaps ten or twelve houses, including warehouses and inns. In these houses reside the officer of the Royal Exchequer, called the Secretary, the officers of the garrison, and the surgeon. The Governor lives in the Fort.

The Dutch have no fixed number of ships for the commerce of this capital. They send ships according to the quantity of produce to be exported. Some years three ships are required; other years one will suffice.

As a rule, consignments and remittances for private merchants form the business of the Company; if these merchants ship merchandise through their own agents they pay duty to the Company corresponding to the freights, unless, as sometimes happens, a wealthy inhabitant chartered a ship and trades on his own account.

The Company has in this Colony three of the most fertile estates; from these they obtain large quantities of sugar and rum. The sugar is exported to Europe, the rum, of which large quantities are made, is reserved to supply the Spanish foreign contraband trade of the Islands of

General Archives of Simanca. Office of the Secretary of State. Bundle 7390, fol 15. Copy of a document signed by Don Eugenio Alvarado, dated from the cattle farm de la Divina Pastora, in the Province of Guiana, April 30, 1755, on the cover of which is written as follows: "Bundle No. 5, supplement to Bundle No. 4, corresponding with the 12th Chapter of the Instructions, 'The Course of the River Essequibo and its Tributaries.'"

* 1 arroba = 25 lbs.

Barbadoes and San Eustacio, different towns on the coasts of the continent, the Windward Islands under the dominion of Spain, and the Province of Guiana.

These articles are the most important in the commerce of the Colony; for although it produces a certain quantity of coffee and cocoa, part is consumed by the inhabitants and part in retail trade.

The three estates are managed at the cost of the General Administration, and are kept up and worked by the Company for the States, to whom belong over 400 negroes employed on the lands.

These estates are under the superintendence of the officer of the Royal Exchequer, who, with the title of Secretary, is the second in command in the Colony.

The whole Colony is governed by the Governor and the Secretary; for although there are a certain number of counsellors, they are looked upon as deputies of commerce, and only meet to discuss matters of common interest.

The River Demarara or Themeraria.

This river flows into the sea at a little more than three leagues to windward of the mouth of the Essequibo; it is of great depth, and so navigable [*sic*] that up to the present it has not been possible to discover its source. It is populated for more than fifty leagues on both banks, in the same manner as the Essequibo.

The population is English, under the dominion of the Dutch. The inhabitants being poor, and their estates small, commerce is inconsiderable.

Fortress and Garrison.

The States-General have in the mouth of the river a small fort of six to eight cannon of the calibre of four; the garrison consists of a sergeant and a detachment of twenty men from Essequibo.

This fort, as also all the jurisdiction of Demarara, is in the hands of a Governor, whom the Prince of Orange has made subordinate to the Governor of Essequibo.

This post is at present held by the son of Monsieur Graveson,* the Governor of Essequibo.

The regular settlement of Rio de Demarara began ten years ago, and although it was formerly inhabited by several English families, as these were fugitives from British possessions, the Dutch had no difficulty in subjecting them to their authority.

Commerce of Demarara.

The principal produce of this Colony is sugar and rum. The sugar forms a third part of the cargo of the Company's ships bound to Europe, which start from the Essequibo with only two-thirds of their cargo, and stop here to take the rest on board.

The inhabitants of Demarara, as also those of the Colonies of Berbice, Surinam, and others trade with the dominions of the Catholic King by means of long boats and small schooners, laden with rum.

With these they enter the said dominions, and exchange their cargo for mules, cacao, and silver, which they carry to their settlements, and then ship to Europe.

As a rule, the Dutch Colonies have a kind of alliance with the many savage tribes of Indians living in the forests, which run from north to south, and separate the Province of Guiana from the Dutch settlements. They hold with these Indians a commerce of barter and exchange, giving hatchets, knives, choppers, gaudy ornaments, and glass beads in exchange for the Poitos or slaves, which these tribes of savages make between themselves.

This trade is of great utility to the Dutch, as the said slaves cultivate their lands, and fetch as high a price as negroes.

These particulars I have had verified by different eye witnesses, and find them all agreed.

(Signed) EUGENIO DE ALBARADO.

*Province of Guiana, Mission del Hato de la Divina
Pastora, April 30, 1755.*

* i.e., Storm van 's Gravesande.

(Translation.)

Report of the Judicial Proceedings instituted by the Commandant of Guiana in regard to the Secret Expedition and apprehension of the two Dutchmen, with their Wives and a Negro Slave, in the River Cuyuni, and the Wound which they gave to the two Soldiers at the Post which they held.

(1.)

Letter of the Prefect of the Missions to the Commandant of Guiana.

Señor Don Felix Ferreras,

Sir,

Suay, June 9, 1758.

THE Caribs of the forest having murdered the Captain of the Indians of the Guaica nation, with his comrade, who were engaged in establishing with their people a village, with good beginnings and hopes of very great fruit, at a place called Avechica, on the banks of the River Supama, that village is now completely lost. For on account of that murder the said Guaicas have returned again to the forests. There are also Indians of that nation in the Missions near the Yuruary, and they frequently demand to be allowed to go to revenge the murder of their people. But the priest of the said Mission, with his accustomed prudence, informed me of these events, and that by his counsels he detained them. And fearing a worse misfortune, and with the object of obviating it, I requested the Señor Commandant, Don Juan Valdes, that he would be pleased to instruct you, in order that you, who are so practical and intelligent, and have sufficient experience of the Indians, might be furnished with the necessary orders, and proceed to the interior for the purpose of investigating and ascertaining the motive of those murders, and, if possible, even to obtain the names of the aggressors.

You carried out the orders of the Señor Commandant, by proceeding to the interior and making the necessary inquiry, and you investigated the affair. The account you were good enough to give me of your journey was as follows: That having been as far as the Missions of Miamo, Carapo, and Yuruary, about the middle of May of the past year, you had well informed yourself that his wife had been seized and taken to Essequibo to be sold; that the murderers were some Caribs, who in the year [17]50 had rebelled in the settlement of Tupuquen, commanded by the Indian Caicarivare, the Alcalde of the said settlement of Tupuquen, and Chief of the principal instigators of the rebellion; and that the said aggressors were living in the interior on the River Cuyuni and at the very mouth of the River Corumo, which flows into the said river; that they were living with some Dutchmen from the Colony of Essequibo, engaged in Slave Traffic, for the said Colony; and that the principal reason for their murdering the said Captain was because he was founding a settlement in the neighbourhood of Avechica, and thereby was inclosing the pass of the River Usupama, and hindering them from passing without being discovered; and you have now learned from the Religious, both by word of mouth and by letters, that the said Dutch, with these very same Caribs, are still living at the mouth of the River Corumo, buying Indian slaves.

Now, in a letter of the 30th May last, you are pleased to request me to furnish you with an exact account as to whether the Dutch are still living in the above-mentioned place, or in any other places near it; if they maintain constant traffic in clothes, hatchets, &c.; and in what state of defence they are, and whether they have any artillery, and of what calibre the cannon are, so that, being now in charge as Provisional Commandant, you may be able to report upon these matters to the Superior Government whenever occasion may demand.

And, in reply, I answer the same as all the Religious of our Missions, who are all acquainted with these affairs, but particularly so the Fathers President of Miamo, Carapo, and Yuruary, on account of their immediate proximity to the frontiers. The Caribs of Miamo have very often told the Father that he ought to allow them to go and seize or kill the Dutch at the mouth of the Corumo, who had a large quantity of articles for the purchase of slaves. The Barinagotos of the Yuruary say the very same; and these have frequently mentioned that the Dutch have threatened to burn their Mission, because they obstructed the pass of the Yuruary. The Caribs of the Carapo informed the Father that the negro who is in the Cuyuni was going to the said Mission, but was afraid, and returned.

The Caribs have given news sufficient that three white Dutchmen and ten negroes, with a large number of Caribs, are building houses and clearing the forest for the forming of a settlement in the Cuyuni. They are unable to say, however, whether they have any cannon; but they do affirm that they have very large blunderbusses, and a great quantity of muskets; and that, at the same time, they have numbers of Aruaca Indians from Essequibo with them. They also stated that the Caribs are deserting them, because they compel them to fell large forest trees with great labour. Of this, however, we have no other news than what the Indians tell us; but some have told it to me personally, and others have given the same information to the other Fathers.

It is by no means incredible that the Dutch are in the Cuyuni buying slaves, for they do not care to carry on that illicit Traffic nearer the Missions, and, as you well know, Captain Bonalde encountered a Dutchman, about a day's journey from the Mission of Miamo, buying slaves or Indians which the Caribs were selling him; and although he did not actually find him in the house of the Caribs, nevertheless, three Indian slaves, some cutlasses, and some glass beads were found in his "rancho," and were distributed among the Indians of Miamo.

Apart from this, we know well how frequently the Dutch go to the Paragua, Caura, and head-waters of the Caroni, so that they maintain their position there every year.

Although it should not be necessary to specify these things, as you yourself are well aware of

"Archivo General de Indias."

Audience of Caracas.

Letters and Reports, year 1778. Press 131. Case 7. Bundle 17.

them on account of the number of years during which you lived in the Missions, and the frequent journeys you have made to the interior, still I say that, in view of the multitude of young Indians which the Caribs, with the Dutch, daily carry to the foreign Colonies, and taking into consideration that it is more on account of slaves than for any other object that every Carib is maintained in the interior with hardware, clothes, knives, glass beads, looking-glasses, fire-arms, and many other articles in use among them, it will not be too much to say that the Caribs sell yearly more than 300 children, leaving murdered in their houses more than 400 adults, for the Dutch do not like to buy the latter because they well know that they will not be able to keep them. Indeed, we know that the grown-up Indians escape from them, as some fugitives were seen in the Missions, and could be recognized by the brands of their masters which they have on their bodies. For the Essequibo Company have ordered that the Indian slaves shall be branded, for fear of losing them.

I am unable to name all the nations which the Caribs pursue with the object of enslaving them. But the tribes dwelling on our frontiers, and the most generally known, are the Barinagotos, Maos, Macos, Amarucotos, Camaracotos, and Añaos, Paravinas, Guaicas, &c. The Dutch and Caribs, in order to go to those nations, ascend the River Essequibo, navigating it for twenty leagues up stream to a point where they have a post; then, on account of a great waterfall, they are obliged to drag the boat overland, and afterwards continue their navigation, communicating, if they wish, with the Rio Negro in the following manner: Ascending the River Essequibo, and turning on the right up the River Aripamuri, some lagoons are met with after navigating the Aripamuri as far as possible, and surmounting a portage of about half-a-league. The River Maubajan is formed by these lagoons, and by it the Rio Negro is reached. Descending the Rio Negro by turning to the left they get to the Amazon, and ascending the same river by turning to the right, they enter the Orinoco.

I have entered into this specific detail of the territories covered by the Dutch, so that it may be known that they, by means of the navigation of the Essequibo, are enabled to communicate with Barinas, as well as with the Paragua, the head-waters of the Caroni, &c.

But as this navigation is both difficult and very long, they enter the Caroni from the Essequibo, as also the Paragua, for all these rivers are communicable with the Essequibo, and into it flow the Cuyuni, Yuruama, Supama, Yuruario; this Yuruama has many ravines and "morichales," which communicate with the Caroni.

We also know that numbers of Dutch, besides those who go to the Paragua, remain in the places called Tucupo, Capi, and Paraman to buy slaves. These places are in the interior, some three or four days' journey from the outermost Missions, and are situated in the forests which extend to the plantations of Essequibo, without any more savannahs intervening. There are generally Dutch merchants in those places, for the Caribs, besides the slaves, also bring horses, &c., as happened in [17]49, when a mulatto from Essequibo bought them. This, however, is not of frequent occurrence, owing to the great distance and want of pastures in these forests for the animals, so that they perish or are lost in the regions about Tucupo and Paraman. Or, again, the Dutch come overland from Essequibo, accompanied by Indian porters carrying large baskets filled with articles of barter for Slave Traffic; or by water by the Essequibo, Cuyuni, and Curumo. This last is a river which, before entering Cuyuni, collects the waters of the Tucupo and Matanambo: both are navigable in the rainy season; and although not long rivers, four or five days' navigation being sufficient to reach their head-waters, they, nevertheless, serve the purpose of the enemy, who are thereby easily enabled to reach our Missions.

But, besides this route, the slave-buyers are also enabled to communicate with the Tucupo by means of the River Morroco, where the post of Essequibo is situated, or by the River Waini, all which rivers flow out near the mouth of the Orinoco. By these rivers they ascend, navigating until they reach the Paraman, where the Caribs dwell in great numbers.

From Morroco and Waini the said slave-dealers also come; and by the Orinoco they enter the Aguirre and Carapo. Although they have no fixed time for their journeys, for they come and go whenever they choose, it is, nevertheless, well known that they are firmly fixed there for the greater part of the year. Indeed, numbers of them have lived there for more than ten years permanently among the Caribs, carrying on their Slave Traffic; and these without moving send the slaves to their agents in Essequibo, and receive in return merchandize and other articles, by which they are enabled to purchase more from the Caribs. The least time they remain in these places is a year, but more generally they reside there for two or three years.

This Slave Trade has so completely changed the Caribs that their only occupation is constantly going to and returning from war, selling and killing the Indians of those nations already mentioned.

And not only the Caribs of the forests, but even those of the Missions, participate in these wars, without our being able to control them in any way; and whenever we make any effort to do so, they immediately desert us in great numbers.

It is very easy to close the port to the enemy, so that neither the Dutch nor Caribs may be able to communicate by the Essequibo, Cuyuni, Yuruaria, and Caroni with the above-mentioned nations, by establishing a village, if not exclusively of Spaniards at least of chosen Indians, with a garrison of ten soldiers to permanently reside there within a fort sufficiently protected by swivel guns; this to be situated at the mouth of the Corumo or on one of the islands in the Cuyuni. By this means the pass would be closed, and the entrance to the Rivers Yuruana and Yuruaria blocked, thereby also closing the Corumo. This village would equally insure respect, and greatly hinder the Dutch from carrying on their Slave Traffic in Tucupo, on account of its close proximity, and on account of the means of communication which would be established between the Indians of the village and the soldiers of the fort. This village would be of such great advantage that it would prevent the enemy from ever ascending by those rivers, and the Caribs

of Miamo, Carapo, and Cumuri from descending by them to Essequibo with slaves, and I believe they would then remain more secure in the Missions, as they would thereby be prevented from communicating with the Caribs of the Cuyuni and Essequibo. But if efforts be not made within a short time to close the pass, the tribes already reduced will be completely exterminated.

It is very sad to see the Indians settling about the Yuruary carried off for slaves. Indeed, it appears to me that the Dutch were never so eager in their pursuit after slaves as they are at present, and it is precisely on that account that so little fruit is obtained in the efforts made to convert the Indians and Caribs, for, being counselled by the Dutch not to allow themselves to be drawn into the Missions, they do not like the villages, and, consequently, retire to the forests. It was precisely owing to these bad counsels that the Indians of the four Missions rebelled in the year [17]50, for they were told at the time that they would be made the slaves of the Spaniards if they allowed themselves to be drawn into the villages, and, consequently, would not be permitted to go to war or have any intercourse with the "Flemings."

I also give you the news which I myself received from Moyo, &c., on coming from Essequibo for the purpose of becoming a Christian. When he was baptized he told me he had brought many papers from Essequibo, and among them an official document in which the jurisdictions of the Governors were marked down. The jurisdiction of his Governor, according to what he said, extends to the mouth of the Aguirre, and from that mouth a straight line due south shows the division between his jurisdiction and the others, so that the said line comes to pass to the margins of the outermost savannahs of our Missions of Miamo. The said line passes by Tucupo and Corumo, and reaches to the before-mentioned Aripamuri.

I consider, if this news be true which the said party gave me, that they have cut the stolen cloth to suit their taste. And it must be true, for it is proved by the fact that the Governors sometimes give passports and permits in which these boundaries are marked. All this, however, is well known and public. But the pity is, the slave-traffickers never learn by experience.

And since His Majesty charges the Magistrates so strongly to endeavour by every means to treat well the reduced Indians who maintain peace with the Spaniards, and equally recommends the Indians to keep well with the Spaniards, who defend and protect them from those who make war upon them, I may mention that all those nations which I have mentioned above belong to this category, and the only thing required is more workers to go and invite the other Indians to come and live in the villages, like the Barinagotos. And so great is the spite of the Caribs against them on this account, that they (the Caribs) call them by no other names than the Guaica slaves, the Barinagotos slaves, Amarucatos slaves, &c., and they say they are slaves even before they are seized.

These nations would be glad to know whether the Spaniards can defend them by apprehending the slave-dealers who buy them. It is quite certain it would be very advisable to apprehend them, so that the new converts may not suffer so much. And if you do this, I am convinced you will render a great service to God and to His Majesty.

God preserve you many years. I kiss your hand.

Yours, &c.
(Signed) FRAY BENITO DE LA GARRIGA.

I certify that this agrees with the contents of the original letter sent to the Señor Commandant, from which I caused it to be taken, and made this true and faithful copy with my own hand, in nine pages, on ordinary paper, there being no stamped paper in this fortress, on this 31st day of October, 1758.

Witness my hand:

(Signed) LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE,
Notary Public.

(2.)

Décret of the Provisional Commandant of Guayana.

Don Felix Ferreras, Lieutenant in His Majesty's Service and Provisional Commandant of this Fortress and Province of Guiana.

Whereas I am informed that on the Island of Curamucuru, in the River Cuyuni, in the interior of this province, there is a Dutchman named Jacobs, with a negro of the same nationality, living there established in houses, and carrying on the inhuman traffic of enslaving Indians, whom they purchase from the Caribs by means of hatchets, cutlasses, munitions of war, and other articles; and such being their business, and that traffic being prohibited by law and by repeated Ordinances, to secure the observance of which forts have been established, and the Missions of the Rev. Capuchin Fathers are protected by a detachment, as the Fathers have experienced, and are constantly apprehensive of, the ruin of their settlements owing to this dangerous traffic; and whereas, in order firmly to maintain this traffic, the Dutch and other foreigners influence the heathen Indians against the establishment of the settlements, from which it results that the spread of the Gospel is not more extended in this province:

Therefore, for the purpose of putting a stop to these prejudicial troubles, and in order that the good intentions of His Majesty may be attained, by preventing any extension of the claims which the Dutch are every day advancing in this part of His dominions, I ordain and command

Don Santiago Bonalde as Commandant, and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente as Second, to proceed this day to the interior, and to the settlement of the Yuruary. Embarking in the boats which they will find in that river, provided with bargemen, provisions, munitions of war, and soldiers, as described in the list which will be given to them, and with the most trustworthy pilots, they will go to the said Island of Curamucuru secretly for the purpose of apprehending the said Dutchmen, and any other person that may there be found, as well as Caribs, or Indians of any other nation, and bring them as prisoners, well guarded, to this fortress, delivering up to the Reverend Father Prefect all the Indians that may be taken under the name of slaves. And that the object of the expedition, which is in the name of His Majesty the King our Sovereign, may be attained, I request and charge the Reverend Father Prefect and the other Fathers of the community to give and command to be given all and every help which the said Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente may require, as the Fathers have been accustomed to do with holy zeal on other occasions. And I ordain and command the soldiers and other persons who may go in the said boats to be under the orders and at the command of the said two principal officers alternatively. And subject in like manner will be all the Indians of the settlements through which they pass, with this provision, that any one who neglects to obey orders will be punished accordingly. For the better success of this expedition, the said Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente will conform to the instructions which will be delivered to them, and from their zeal in the Royal service I expect this commission to be well and faithfully carried out, for which purpose I hereby give them all necessary power and authority.

(Signed) FELIX FERRERAS.

Fortress of Guiana, July 27, 1758.

(3.)

Instructions given to the Chief of the Expedition by the Commandant of Guiana.

Instructions to be observed by Don Santiago Bonalde, Chief, and Don Luis Santos de la Puente, second in command, in the entry to the Island of Curamucuru for the apprehension of the Dutch there established and trafficking for Indians whom they enslave:—

1. They will depart to-day for the settlement of Yuruary. There they will find boats already manned and supplied with provisions, munitions of war, and soldiers, and without delay they will inspect all, and if they observe that anything be wanting, they will request the Reverend Father Prefect of the settlement to supply it, and will then proceed to the said island altogether, without any of the boats either advancing or remaining behind, but implicitly obeying the commands of the Chiefs as to what they will have to execute.

2. If during the journey they should meet with any boats with Indians in them, they will apprehend and take them along with them, questioning them meanwhile, as exactly as possible, about all matters in relation to the commission with which they are charged, and in order also that they may serve as guides, being careful that they do not escape, lest they should give news of the motive of the expedition in going to those parts.

3. They must use every endeavour to ascertain the following points: how the said Dutch are there established, and whether the houses are built on a height or low down; if they have cannon or swivel-guns, or both; with what force; if the Indians who accompany them are armed; by what roads, paths, or foot-ways they may enter the place without being heard, so as to take them by surprise; if they are within stakes, and if the points of these are poisoned; if there be any concealed pits under false floors in the approaches; if they have sentinels, and, if so, in what places, and how these may be surprised.

4. When all this is settled, the expedition will advance, at break of day, to the houses of the said Dutch, but not at night, on account of the risk of wounding each other in the attack, and of the danger that the delinquents, being protected by the darkness and knowing well the ground, might escape. But if the case requires that the attack be made at night, then it will be well that the men should wear a white mark on their heads, so that they may be known.

5. When the prisoners are apprehended, if it is ascertained (as it is reported) that any other Dutch settlement exists higher up or lower down in the said River Cuyuni, and with the certainty that they can be taken, they will be attacked with the same precautions as in the preceding case. And when all are secured, they will be conducted to this fortress, as well as any Caribs that may be found living with them. And the slaves will be treated with love and kindness, and placed at the disposition of the Reverend Father Fray Benito de la Garriga.

6. As it was from the said Reverend Father Prefect that the first reports concerning this affair were received, he being deeply grieved at the grave danger that threatened the holy object of his Ministry, he will be consulted in order that what is attempted may be the better carried out; but the military measures will be as described above and as the said Bonalde and Puente may command, in order to meet the necessities of the moment.

7. If the Indian Carib called Bumutu should be met with they will apprehend him, as I am informed he is persecuting the settled Indians of his nation, and that he captures those of other nations for the purpose of selling them to the Dutch. And all other Indians engaged in this traffic should be treated in like manner, the slaves being taken from them and placed at the disposition of the Reverend Father Prefect, as already indicated above, for the purpose of being instructed in the Christian religion, and settled.

8. If it should happen that while engaged in passing the falls of the river, or navigating that

part of it inclosed by forests, they should be attacked by any enemy, and hindered from continuing the expedition, or that from the position of the boats they could not well fire upon the party attacking, they will then leave their boats, advance upon the enemy, and fire upon them until they are all taken.

9. All which will be faithfully observed in its place by the said Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, from whose courage and zeal in the Royal Service I expect that the instructions given for their guidance will be successfully carried out, and that in all other matters not expressed in this instruction they will dispose and order according to the best of their judgment, in virtue of the commission with which they are intrusted.

(Signed)

FELIX FERRERAS.

Guiana, July 27, 1758.

And in like manner they will be careful to assure the merchandize, and all other articles they may seize, by taking an exact inventory of all effects, and they will also take care that none of the vessels engaged in the trade about that part may get lost.

(Signed)

FERRERAS.

[Date as above.]

(4.)

Edict.

In the City of Santo Thomé de la Guiana on the 27th day of October, 1758, I, Don Juan de Dios Valdes, Captain Warden for His Majesty and Chief Commandant, decree, for the purpose of drawing up the report called for by his Excellency the Governor and Captain-General of these provinces, concerning the secret expedition, and the results arising from the apprehension of the two Dutchmen, with their wives and a negro slave, in the River Cuyuni, and with regard to the fact that one of the Chiefs who commanded the said expedition is the Notary Public of this city, Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, who, consequently, is not a fit person to take part in the present proceedings, and that it is therefore necessary to appoint two safe and trustworthy persons to serve as witnesses, before whom all the necessary measures taken on the strength of these documents may be placed; and the necessary conditions for this appointment being found in Don Luis de Aleman, Ensign in His Majesty's service, and Don Francisco Xavier Filgueira, Cadet, I do hereby appoint them for such witnesses, and command that they be duly notified of the same, and sworn beforehand to observe the greatest fidelity as to all that may be laid before them.

And this being done, any other measures which may be necessary will be proceeded with.

And by these presents I thus decree, command, and sign.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDES.

(5.)

"Auto" respecting arrival of Dutch Officials from Colony of Essequibo.

"Auto": In the City of Guiana, on this 28th day of October, 1758, Señor Don Juan Valdes, Captain-Commandant, representing His Majesty, of the infantry, in the forts of this province, and Supreme Judge of the Court of contraband, said that whereas a canoe* manned by six men and a pilot of the Aruaca Indian tribe had just arrived at the principal port of this city, bringing two Dutch officials from Essequibo with a passport from their [word missing] in the Dutch language, and a document addressed to the Señor Commandant in French, his Excellency was obliged to command, and did command, that the two said Dutchmen should be placed in the principal [word wanting] of this city to be there lodged, and not permitted to leave it until the two passports and the document had been translated, and he had become acquainted with their contents and the object of their coming, &c., for which purpose he appointed Pedro Delos, a Frenchman, surgeon of the garrison, to translate the said document, and Juan Andres de la Rivera, a German, for the same purpose in respect of the two passports. And in the first instance, before all other matters, the said two translators should be bound on oath to make a good and faithful translation, according to their knowledge and understanding, of the several documents intrusted for that purpose to each respectively. And that being done, the necessary measures would be taken about the matter.

The present Notary Public will inform the translators of this resolution, and administer to them the necessary oaths in conformity with this "Auto" at the hour of 8 A.M. to-morrow morning.

And in regard to the canoe,* the Lieutenant of the Royal officials will, in his own presence, cause her to be examined and searched with the greatest care and exactitude in every part, and a complete inventory made of all her effects; and this will be carried out in the presence of, and by the assistance of, the said Notary Public.

And by these presents I thus provide, command, and confirm.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDES.

Before me:

(Signed) LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, *Notary Public.*

* Possibly "smack" would more accurately represent the boats called "piragua" in Guiana.

[Here follows the instructions to the translator and his certificate, under date 29th October, 1758, of translation of the letter of the Dutch Governor.]

[*Translation* of the Letter of the Dutch Governor.*]

Sir,

River Essequibo, September 30, 1758.

It was with profound surprise that I learned from some Indians a few days ago that our post in the River Cuyuni had been attacked by Spaniards, the chief of the said post, his second in command, a slave of the Company, and a half-breed woman with her children taken prisoners, and the house burned down.

This news I found difficult to credit, as it appeared fabulous, and as there was no cause for the action. On that account I did not wish to take the least step without first sending proper persons to make an ocular inspection.

These persons, on their return, confirm to me the truth of the fact, and from another report I learn that the persons mentioned are actually prisoners of war in Guayana.

What, Sir, am I to infer from an offence so directly opposed to the law of nations, and to the Treaties of Peace and Alliance subsisting so happily and for such a length of time between His Catholic Majesty and Their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces?

How is it possible that one dare act in a manner so violent without any cause, and without previously making a complaint?

I am thoroughly convinced that His Catholic Majesty, far from approving an offence of this nature, will not be remiss in rendering the fullest justice to my Sovereigns, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon those who thus dare to abuse their authority.

That great King has given such signal proofs of his affection and friendship for our Republic that, as far as that is concerned, I should be content to transmit a Report to my Sovereigns of the affair, leaving it to their prudence to obtain the satisfaction which the case demands; but the post I have the honour to hold obliges me to make the first advance, and, in their name, to address myself to you, Sir, for the purpose of demanding, not only the enlargement of the prisoners, but a proper satisfaction for an outrage so opposed to Treaties and the law of nations. So long as I have had the honour of being at the head of this Colony, I have always tried to cultivate the friendship of the Spanish nation, our nearest neighbours. I have always employed every means in my power to prevent the savage Caribs from doing them the least injury, and if those who have been employed in this irresponsible action have taken care to seize the papers which were at the post, you will see that one of the principal articles of the instructions contains an express order not to give the least cause of complaint to our neighbours the Spaniards.

It would be by no means difficult to me to make reprisals, having the necessary resources at hand to do so, but I see no reason to make use of them, considering such action would be contrary to the character of a Christian, and only permissible in extreme cases, when all other means are found unavailable.

By a vessel leaving here this week for Europe I have sent a full report of this outrage to my masters. I have not the least doubt, of the great surprise it will cause them, and that they will lose no time in presenting a complaint relative to it at the Court of His Catholic Majesty.

Now, Sir, I demand, in the name of Their High Mightinesses my Sovereigns and the Directors of the Company my masters, the enlargement and immediate return of the prisoners, together with an indemnity for the losses and damage which they have suffered.

I declare in the most formal manner my intention of holding you responsible, in case of refusal, for whatever may naturally result from an affair of such gravity, as there never has been any reason for reproaching me, and I have always been disposed to cultivate the friendship of and good relations with our neighbours; and I shall persist in the same feelings so long as I am not forced to act contrary thereto.

Awaiting with impatience your reply, I have, &c.

(Signed)

L. STORM VAN 'S GRAVESANDE.

Translation of Passport and Commission.

Translation which I, Constable Juan Andres de la Rivera, make and sign, in virtue of the appointment given me by the Señor Capitan Comandante Don Juan Valdes, of the passport and commission written in the Dutch language, which were delivered to me by the present Notary, and both of which are literally as follows:—

Passport.

We, Laurence Storm van Gravesande, Director-General of this Colony and of the dependencies and rivers of the district of Essequibo, Colonel of Militia, and Resident of the of the States-General of Holland in the commission of the Noble Lords of the Dutch West India Company and a Member of the "Camara de Dios," &c., grant this passport to the person of Andres Verviert, Special Courier of this Colony. The said

* The translation which follows is from the Spanish rendering of the French original. For a direct translation, see App. II, No. 136, p. 112.

person is employed in a very important commission, and is travelling to the River Orinoco by our order, and furnished with this special passport for the fort of San Francisco de Asis of Guiana, and we grant to the said courier a companion named Abraham Luis Matille to accompany him on his journey to and from the said place; and all officials and functionaries are commanded not to hinder or molest our said courier and his companion, but to allow them to pass freely and to afford them any assistance and protection they may stand in need.

(Signed) LORENZO STORM DE GRAVESANDE.

River Essequibo, in the Fortress of Zelandia,
October 13, 1758.

By order of his Excellency,
(Signed) ADRIAN SPORT [sic].

Commission.

Sergeant Andrew Verviert has been appointed from our garrison, and we specially command him and his companion, Abraham Luis Matille, to proceed without delay direct to Guiana in the River Orinoco, and when they arrive at the Royal port of the fort they will go without loss of time to the house of the Señor Comandante, or whoever be carrying on the Government of Guiana, whether provisionally or otherwise, and deliver to the said Commandant the letter and order sent by us for the said Señor Comandante.

We command the said two persons to observe, each respectively, the best conduct and respect in the said Orinoco, and in case the prisoners be delivered to them it is necessary that they be well guarded and conducted as quickly as possible to this River Essequibo.

(Signed) LORENZO STORM VAN GRAVESANDE.

River Essequibo, in the Fort of Zealand,
October 13, 1758.

By order of his Excellency.
(Signed) ADRIAN SPOR [sic].

This translation is conformable to the text of the passport and commission in the Dutch language, and is truly and legally translated into Spanish according to my knowledge and understanding, in testimony whereof I hereunto affix my signature, in the city of Guiana, the 29th day of October, 1758.

(Signed) JUAN ANDRES DE LA RIVERA.

(8.)

"Auto" of Remission.

The translations of the document and two passports that were brought by the two Government officers who came in the vessel from the Colony of Essequibo having been seen by the Señor Comandante, Don Juan Valdes, and his Excellency having studied their contents, and taken note of the demand made by the Governor of the said Colony with regard to giving satisfaction for certain injuries done, and the remission of the two Dutch subjects seized in the River Cuyuni by the secret expedition, together with the various other events resulting therefrom, it appeared from the said letter that his Excellency should come to a decision about this affair, and he did resolve that the said passports and document, together with their respective translations, and the report of the inspection made by the Lieutenant of the Royal officials be united, and that as this was a matter which solely concerned the Captaincy-General of these provinces, the two Dutchmen should be sent to the Captaincy-General, together with a copy of the various reports of steps taken in connection with their visit and of all the remaining documents which have been drawn up so far in regard to the matter, leaving the proofs in the hands of his Excellency the Governor and Captain-General, for his superior judgment, so that he may come to any decision which he may consider best. For this purpose I hereby decree and command it to be done, and I sign the same.

Witness my hand,

(Signed) JUAN VALDES.

October 30, 1758.

Before me:

(Signed) LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE,
Notary Public.

(9.)

Edict to take the Declarations.

In the City of Guiana, on the 30th day of the month, in the same month and year, Señor Don Juan Valdes, Captain and Governor of this fortress, on behalf of His Majesty, and Commandant-in-chief of this province, stated that for the purpose of substantiating these "Autos" in accordance

with law, he should command, and did command, that the letter of the Very Rev. Father Prefect of these Missions, which gave rise to the fitting out and carrying into effect the afore-mentioned expedition, be placed at the head of these judicial proceedings, and immediately afterwards the instructions and appointments issued and made by Ensign Don Felix Ferreras, who, in my temporary absence, was commanding this place. That when this was done, the above-named witnesses should summon Don Santiago Bonaldes and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, the Chiefs of the secret expedition, to appear before his Excellency the said Señor Comandante, and to make their sworn declarations of all that happened, and of the resistance that was made on the part of the said Dutchmen, and of the papers, &c., that were found upon them, and to state which of them it was that killed one of the soldiers of the expedition, and wounded another severely in the arm. That the witnesses should then study the whole question, and ascertain what questions his Excellency should put relative to the occurrences which took place up to the return of the expedition to this city, and for which object they will examine any of the soldiers engaged in the secret expedition whom they may think fit.

That when these declarations were concluded, the declarations of the two Dutch criminals should be taken, they being brought under guard before his Excellency, so that they might declare for what purpose they were in these places, and by whose authority they were placed there, and for what object. And this being done, whatever other measures might be found necessary would be carried out. For all the above I thus decree, command, and sign, as hereby we certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDES.

LUIS DE ALEMAN.

FRANCISCO XAVIER FILGUEIRA
Y BARCIA.

(10.)

Summons of the Witnesses.

Thereupon, we, Don Luis de Aleman and Don Francisco Xavier Filgueira, the duly appointed witnesses to substantiate this affair, proceeded to the residences of Don Santiago Bonaldes and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, as commanded in the preceding Edict, and cited them to appear personally at 8 A.M. the following morning, as we hereby certify.

(Signed)

LUIS DE ALEMAN.

FRANCISCO XAVIER FILGUEIRA
Y BARCIA.

(11.)

Declaration of Don Santiago Bonaldes.

In this said City of Guiana, on the 31st day of October, 1758, Don Santiago Bonaldes appeared before his Excellency Señor Don Juan Valdes and witnesses, for the purpose of making the declaration decreed by the preceding Edict, as one of the appointed Chiefs of the secret expedition to the River Cuyuni, and having been duly sworn, he promised to declare the truth as far as he knew.

He was then interrogated according to the different points in the instructions issued to him. He declared as follows:—

1. That having left this city in conformity with the orders and instructions given to him, as herein shown, he set out for the settlement of Yuruary, where he met the soldiers, who were already prepared, and immediately reviewed them, and examined the arms, boats, provisions, &c., which he found all in good order, and sufficient for the expedition. He then appointed a certain number of men with a commander to each boat, and in good order proceeded on their journey, following in each other's wake.

2. That in regard to the second point of his instructions, he did not observe the order to apprehend and take with him the Indians whom he met with on the way; for it appeared to him more prudent and politic to treat them with kindness and friendship, so that they should not rise against them; and thus effectively gained his object, for they helped and assisted them in every way. Had he acted otherwise, treated them badly, or seized any of them, he was of opinion that they would have conspired and caused them trouble, as they were very numerous, and the district was by no means a suitable one for making a defence.

3. That, in regard to the third point, he observed with tact and skill all that was therein laid down, and he did not meet with any houses, posts, or stockades, nor any other kind of ambush.

4. That, in respect to the fourth point, in order to make the more progress, he made use of the Caribs who infest those parts, and they conducted them in a friendly manner, taking all care that they should neither be observed nor heard, to a certain place (which he does not remember), where they met a white Dutchman about noon; and that he, without any attempt at flight, or making any resistance, allowed himself to be taken; that from there they marched in company with the said Indians to the hut covered with palm branches, where the Dutchman lived, and which they reached after two days' navigation down stream; that, being then quite near the above-mentioned hut, he waited for night, as it appeared to him that darkness would be more favourable

to their advance. All being arranged in good order (in which disposition he took the opinion and judgment of the Caribs themselves), and it then being about 7 or 8 o'clock at night, he commanded the said hut to be attacked. A Dutchman who appeared to have been asleep in a hammock, having been awakened by the barking of a dog, heard them approaching, and arose, and all together seized him, under the impression he was armed and might attack them. At this moment he heard, it might be [here word omitted] or five gun-shots, without being able to ascertain nor distinguish, in the midst of so much confusion, by whom they were fired, but was only able to recognize the direction from which they came. He verified that a shot was fired by a soldier at a negro who was in company with the Dutchman, and was trying to escape from the house, but could not ascertain who fired the others. He is sure, however, he heard the voice of one of the soldiers, struggling with the said Dutchman when trying to bind him, crying out on the report of a pistol, "This rascal has killed me." He did not ascertain who it was at the time, as men were trying to secure the said Dutchman, and having succeeded in doing so, he then found, on calling his men together, that one of the soldiers was killed and another badly wounded in the arm. He thereupon demanded that the arms should be given up, and found two pistols that had been discharged, and a gun in the hands of one of the Caribs; and having charged the Dutchman with firing, the latter replied that it was not he, but that possibly it might have been the negro who accompanied him.

5. That, in regard to the fifth point of the instructions, he made the inquiries commanded therein, and that he was assured no other houses existed either above or below.

6. That the sixth point was observed as laid down.

7. That, in regard to the seventh point, he considered it better to allow the aforementioned Caribs to return freely of their own accord, as they promised him they would, and as they accordingly did. Had he done otherwise he certainly would not have succeeded, as their number had increased; and the proof of what he here states is to be found in the fact that to-day a great part of those Caribs are to be found in the Missions of the Reverend Capuchins; that as regards the Indian Famuto he heard nothing whatever about him.

8. That, in respect to the eighth point, he met with no impediment whatever to necessitate his carrying out the instruction.

9. That, in regard to the ninth point of the said instructions, all was observed as therein laid down.

And that with regard to the merchandize, he only found twelve dozen knives, seven hatchets, and some pieces of linen, which he distributed among the Caribs who accompanied him, for the purpose of making them more grateful and friendly; that he handed over to the Reverend Father Fray Thomas de San Pedro ten dozen of the said knives and the seven hatchets, as he was unable to bring them to this city, owing to the length of the journey and their great fatigue, as well as five guns and a pistol that belonged to the said Dutch; that the declarant asked by whose authority they were in those parts, and for what purpose, and they replied that they were placed there by the Governor of Essequibo, without giving any other reply to the questions he was asked; that inclosed in a small box he found certain papers which appeared to be instructions, which, on his return to this city, he immediately placed in the hands of Ensign Don Felix Ferreras; that from the said place where they had their huts in the River Cuyuni to the Mission from which the expedition set out, they spent twenty-two days rowing up stream, the remainder by land; that this is all he knows of the events concerning the secret expedition, which is true in every respect in accordance with his oath, and that he ratifies and affirms the same, and is disposed, if necessary, to repeat the same; that he is 34 years of age, and signs this, his declaration, together with his Excellency, as we hereby certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDES.

FRANCISCO SANTIAGO BONALDE.

LUIS DE ALEMAN.

FRANCISCO XAVIER FILGUEIRA

Y. BARCIA

(12.)

Another Declaration by Don Luis de la Puente.

On the same day, month, and year there appeared before his Excellency the Señor Comandante Don Juan Valdes, and us the said witnesses, with whom he is drawing up these judicial proceedings, Don Luis Lopez de la Puente, an appointed Chief of the secret expedition, and being duly sworn he promised to state faithfully and truly all he knew of the said affair; and being interrogated according to the different points of the instructions issued to him, he declared as follows:—

1. That having left this city under the orders and instructions herein mentioned, he set out for the settlement of Yuruary, where he met the soldiers ready for the expedition; that he then at once examined the arms, and that they embarked in the boats provided, and proceeded on their journey in good order.

2. With regard to the second point of the said instructions, he stated that his companion had informed him that it did not appear to him well to seize or cause any injury to be done to the Caribs whom they should meet on the way, but rather to treat them with kindness, so that being inspired with confidence they would favour them, as they accordingly did, and that for this reason the second point he failed to carry out,

3. That, in regard to the third point, the greatest care was taken to get information as he was commanded on the points therein mentioned, and that he could not obtain any, nor was he able to find any ambushes about those parts.

4. That, in respect to the fourth point, after eight days' navigation, they arrived at an Indian Carib settlement, and there acquired the news of a Dutchman named Juan Baptista, who was accustomed to visit occasionally another settlement of Caribs; that the pilot of the boat was dispatched thence with instructions that in case he should find this Dutchman in the said settlement, he should send back word, which he did, as he found the Dutchman there. On the following day he was apprehended, without making any resistance, and taken under strict guard with the party, until they met the hut, covered with palm-branches, in which he lived. Here they remained awaiting the night, and between 7 and 8 o'clock attacked it; that being heard, through the barking of a dog, they all rushed suddenly into the house for the purpose of securing a Dutchman who appeared to be sleeping in a hammock, and they found him arisen; that when one of the soldiers named Francisco Robles was in the act of seizing him, he fired a pistol, which caused the said soldier to cry out, "This dog has killed me," and, at the same time, he heard three more shots, of which he knows that one was fired by a man called Pedro at a negro who was trying to escape; another he believes by Don Santiago Bonaldes, though on this point he is not quite sure, as he only heard so from the others; and he never knew who fired the third; that he learned from the interpreter that the said Dutchman believed they were Caribs, and fired on that account; and that of the flight of the negro he can give no information.

5. That, in regard to this point, they made every inquiry as to whether they had any slaves, or whether any more huts existed, but that they did not come across any, either higher up or lower down the stream, and did not hear that any existed.

6. That this point was carried out as ordered in every respect.

7. That, with regard to the seventh point, the Indian Carib, named Famuto, was not found, nor did they meet any other Caribs engaged in kidnapping other Indians for the purposes of slavery.

8. That with respect to this point there was no occasion of trying to protect themselves against any enemy, as they met no one in the journey.

9. That, to the last point, he declared that all was carried out as therein commanded, the greatest zeal being displayed in the service of both Majesties.

That with regard to the merchandize, they only found twelve dozen of knives, seven hatchets, three short Turkish-like swords ("chafarotes"), one boiler, five guns, three pistols—one of them large—and some pieces of linen, which were divided among the Indian Caribs who accompanied them, and that he left the distribution to his companion, who was acting as first Chief, as well as some papers, which he knows were delivered to Ensign Don Felix Ferreras; that they employed twenty-two days in returning to the Mission from where they set out; and having nothing more to add in reference to this affair, he concluded his declaration; all of which he ratifies and affirms, and, if necessary, will repeat, in accordance with his oath; that he is 33 years of age; and he signs this his declaration, together with his Excellency and the said witnesses, as we hereby certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDES.
LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE.
LUIS DE ALEMAN.
FRANCISCO XAVIER FILGUEIRA
Y BARCIA.

(13.)

Another by Juan José Fragas.

On the said day, month, and year, in accordance with the preceding Edict, there appeared before his Excellency the Commandant, and us, the witnesses, with whom he is drawing up these proceedings, Juan José Fragas, a soldier belonging to these forts, who on being duly sworn by his Excellency, and promising to declare truthfully all he knew concerning this secret expedition, was interrogated by his Excellency. He was asked from whence the said expedition departed, what place they reached, and what events took place whilst he was engaged therein, to which he replied that he departed from the village of Yuruary under the command of Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente with the other men, whom he followed to a certain place (the name of which he is ignorant of), where a white Dutchman was found, who made no attempt at resistance nor flight, but allowed himself to be apprehended; that from thence they departed, in company with some Carib Indians, and continued their journey until they reached the hut which the Dutch had in the River Cuyuni; and before they arrived there the Chiefs who commanded the expedition reconnoitred the place, and made a halt in a place close by the said hut, and there remained until about 7 or 8 o'clock at night, when they then attacked the hut, in which a white Dutchman and a negro were found, the former being asleep in a hammock; that the Dutchman, being awakened from sleep by the barking of a dog that heard them approaching, they all suddenly rushed forward with the object of securing him, at which moment he heard four shots, without, however, being able to say by whom they were fired; that he could say (as he had seen it), that one shot was fired by a soldier, named Pedro de Rojas, outside the hut, at a negro who was trying to escape; that when all was quiet, after the first onset, he heard Don Santiago Bonalde say that when in the act of jumping on land from the boat he had cocked both triggers of his gun, which was a double-barrelled one, and that one of them went off while in the act of

seizing the said Dutchman; that he could not say whether it was that shot that caused the death of the soldier or not; that he did not know whether any other huts existed; that they returned from the River Cuyuni to the Mission whence they set out, and took twenty-two days in doing so; that this is all he knows in reference to the affair, and is true, in accordance with his oath; and that he is ready whenever it may be necessary to state the same again; that he is 24 years of age, and signs this, his declaration, together with his Excellency and the said witnesses, as we hereby certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDES.
JUAN JOSEPH DE FRAGAS.
LUIS DE ALEMAN.
FRANCISCO XAVIER FILGUEIRA
Y BARCIA.

(14.)

Another by Segundo de la Cruz.

In the City of Guiana, on the 2nd day of the month of November, 1758, in conformity with what is expressed in the foregoing Edict, there appeared personally before his Excellency the Señor Comandante Don Juan Valdes, and before the said witnesses, the soldier, Segundo de la Cruz, who was duly sworn by his Excellency to declare truthfully all that he knew of the said secret expedition. He was asked from whence the said expedition departed, what place they reached, whom they met, whether any one was imprisoned, and what events took place during the said journey; to which he made answer that he departed from the village of Yuruary in company with the other troops, commanded by Don Santiago Bonalde, as chief, and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente as second in command, and these he accompanied to a certain place (the name of which he does not know), where a white Dutchman was apprehended without the least resistance, and he was taken in their company until they reached the hut where another one dwelt, and whom they found therein, having attacked the place suddenly and with great confusion, as their approach was made known by the barking of a dog therein; while so engaged three shots were fired, one of which the said declarant stated killed a companion, and another wounded himself badly in the arm, which limb was now in a useless condition; that he did not know who fired the shots on account of the darkness; that whilst suffering acutely he heard Don Santiago Bonalde say that one of the barrels of his double-barrelled gun had gone off, but that he did not know whether it had caused any injury; that he could affirm that the said Dutchman did not fire, and had no weapons, as he, the declarant, was the first man who seized him; that he was unable to give any information about the other shots, nor about the return journey, on account of the wound he received; that he knows nothing more of the affair; that what he has declared is the truth, in accordance with his oath, and if necessary he is ready to repeat his declaration; that he is 25 years of age, but as he does not know how to write he is unable to sign his declaration. And his Excellency hereby signs it, together with the witnesses.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDES.
LUIS DE ALEMAN.
FRANCISCO XAVIER FILGUEIRA
Y BARCIA.

(15.)

Another by Pedro Arocha.

In the said City of Guiana, on the same day, same month, and year, Don Juan Valdes, Captain and Governor of this fortress, on behalf of His Majesty, for the purposes of the judicial declarations he is drawing up, caused to appear before him, and the said witnesses, the soldier, Pedro Arocha, who, on being duly sworn, promised to state all he knew faithfully and truly concerning the before-mentioned secret expedition, and to answer all questions in regard to the same as far as he could. And being asked what was the point of departure, what people composed the expedition, in virtue of what orders, for what purposes, which way the said expedition went, whom they met, what houses they came across, and what incidents occurred, he replied that he left the settlement of Yuruary in company with other soldiers (the number of which he does not know), under orders from Ensign Don Felix Ferreras; that Don Santiago Bonalde was in command, and Don Luis Lopez de la Puente second; that he learned the expedition was to apprehend some Dutch; that he descended by the River Cuyuni with the company, and that a Dutchman was seized without any resistance, being taken with them until they reached a place near the small hut, where they halted until night time: that under the orders of the Chiefs they attacked the hut between 7 and 8 o'clock at night, from which resulted that some shots were fired owing to the great disorder with which they rushed upon the place; that he was ignorant who fired them, nor did he know who it was who killed the soldier, and still less who wounded the other: but that he heard Don S. Bonalde say that his gun had gone off accidentally and might have done some damage; and he also heard that another soldier had discharged his blunderbuss in the air outside the hut; that he knows well that the said Dutchman had no arms,

and consequently did not fire; and that he did not hear there were any other huts either above or below that place; that he returned to the Mission whence he set out, having employed twenty-two days in reaching it after much sufferings and great fatigue; that he has nothing more to say concerning the affair, and that this declaration is true in accordance with his oath; and that if necessary he is ready to repeat the same before any other Tribunal; that he is 28 years of age, and not knowing how to write he cannot sign this his declaration. And his Excellency signs it, together with the two witnesses, as we hereby certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDES.

LUIS DE ALEMAN.

FRANCISCO XAVIER FILGUEIRA
Y BARCIA.

* * * * *

[Here various formal instructions intervene leading up to the examination of the Dutch prisoners.]

* * * * *

(16.)

Declaration of Stephen Hiz, Dutchman.

In this City of Guiana, on the 3rd day of November, 1758, Señor Don Juan de Dios Valdes, Captain and Governor of this fortress on behalf of His Majesty, caused to appear before him, and witnesses, one of the two Dutchmen at present confined in the Fort of San Francisco d'Assis, and being duly sworn according to the rites of his religion (which he declared to be Lutheran), by raising two fingers of the right hand, he was examined as follows:—

1. On being asked of what nationality he was, his name, and profession, he replied that he was a native of the States of Holland, his name Stephen Hiz, and his profession that of a miner.

2. Asked what he was doing in these places, he answered that he was placed by the Governor of Essequibo in command of the guard, which was permanently maintained there.

3. Asked how many men formed that guard, and what the object was of occupying that post, he answered that the guard was composed of a Chief and four men, two white Dutchmen and two Indians; and that they were stationed there to apprehend negro slaves who escaped from Essequibo; and to obstruct and restrain the Carib tribe, so that they might not do any injury, by way of that river, either to those of the said Colony or to the neighbouring Spaniards and domesticated Indians. That this was proved by a paragraph of his instructions which the officer of the Spaniards seized when he apprehended him.

4. Asked why and on what motive he took up arms against the Spaniards, and fired upon them, he answered that he did neither the one nor the other, nor could he do so, being all alone, and the Spaniards being very numerous; that when they attacked the hut, he was then actually sleeping in a hammock, and was awakened by the noise and rush they made in the hut; that he wished to rise in order to escape, being under the impression they were Caribs, but being overcome with fear he did not do so; nor did they, the Spaniards, give him time, for they at once fell upon him and bound him.

5. Asked how it was that, if he did not fire, one Spaniard was shot and another badly wounded, he answered that he was persuaded the Spaniards shot their own comrade, and in like manner wounded the other; for, in the act of entering and binding him, they began firing inside the hut itself.

6. Asked what arms of defence he had in that place, and how the place was named, and in what river basin it lay, he answered that the arms he had were five guns, three sabres, three pistols, a flask of powder, and a piece of lead for ammunition; that only two of those guns belonged to himself, and the other arms were the Company's; that the Post was called Cuiba, and was situated on the banks of the Cuyuni River.

7. Asked what effects or articles of barter the Spaniards took when they apprehended him, and whether he had them for purposes of commerce or for purchases, he answered that they took fourteen dozen of knives, eighteen pieces of hardware, consisting of hatchets and cutlasses, two pieces of coarse striped linen, nine bundles of beads, one dozen of middle-sized looking-glasses, twenty-four yards of shirting, and twenty yards of blue nankeen, all which were intended for the purchase of provisions and necessaries of life.

8. Asked how long he had been in that place, and if he had made any plantations, or had exercised his profession as a miner, he answered that it was eight months since he was appointed to the command, and that he began to make a small clearing with the object of planting some yucas, and that he had not exercised his profession in any way.

9. Asked if he had received any merchandize for the purpose of buying slaves, and how many of these he had forwarded to the Colony of Essequibo, he answered that during the short time he had been in that quarter he had nothing whatever to do with such purchases, nor was any merchandize given to him for such purposes; that his sole charge in that respect was to collect some articles that remained due to his predecessor, as might be seen from the said papers.

10. Asked what the distance was from that place to the Colony of Essequibo, he answered that it was very short, although three whole days were necessary for the journey, as the rivers could only be navigated when they were high, and then only in the channels.

11. Asked if he was aware whether those places where he was posted belonged to the jurisdiction of Essequibo, and what length of time this post had been maintained, he answered that he did not know whether it be or not in the jurisdiction of Essequibo, but that the post had been maintained in that place for many years.

12. Asked whether the said place was good for planting sugar-cane or other cultivation, he answered that the lands were not very good, being liable to inundation, but higher up than the post there was land fit for agriculture; but that he had express orders from his Governor not to allow any one to pass higher up under any circumstances.

13. Asked whether the negro who was found with him, now in prison, was a slave or not, he answered that he was not, but was bound to perform certain work for the Company, by whose authority he was there.

14. Asked what other orders he had, what other duties he performed, and generally to furnish all other information he might have, he answered that he had no other information to give; that all his statements were true in accordance with his oath; that he affirms and ratifies them, and, if necessary, will repeat them; that he is 48 years of age; and signs this his declaration, together with his Excellency, as we hereby certify.

(Signed)

JUÁN VALDES.

ESTEBAN HIZ.

LUIS DE ALEMAN.

FRANCISCO XAVIER FILGUEIRA
Y BARCIA.

(17.)

Declaration of Juan Bautista Brunn.

On the said day, in the same month and year, in the above-mentioned City of Santo Thomé de la Guiana, his Excellency the Señor Comandante caused to appear before him, and us the witnesses, Juan Bautista Brunn, under a proper guard; and being duly sworn by his Excellency according to the rites of his religion, by raising two fingers of his right hand, and having promised to declare truthfully all he knew, he was interrogated by the said Señor Comandante, through the medium of the interpreter, and answered as follows to the questions put to him:—

1. Asked what his name was, of what country, his present residence, and his occupation, he answered that his name was Juan Bautista Brunn, a native of Flanders, resident in the Colony of Essequibo, and by profession a tailor.

2. Asked what he was doing in these parts, he answered that he was a soldier of the Post, placed there by the Governor of Essequibo, under the orders of Esteban Hiz, the Chief of the said Post.

3. Asked with what object the said Governor of Essequibo maintained the guard there, he answered that it was maintained for the purpose of apprehending fugitive negro slaves from the said Colony, and to prevent the Caribs from injuring the Indians already domesticated.

4. Asked how it was that he came to be so far distant as two days' journey from the Post, as the Spaniards who apprehended him declared, he answered that, by orders of his superior, he had gone to that place to help some Indians in making a clearing they had begun, and that soon after his arrival there the Spaniards came and seized him and bound him, without any resistance or defence on his part, and he was then taken by the said Spaniards to a place quite close to the hut in which he lived.

5. Asked if he knew or had any information concerning the party who wounded one of the soldiers and shot another, he answered that he knew nothing whatever about it; nor could he know, for he was left at a distance of a gun-shot from the hut, bound, when the Spaniards attacked the place, and from there he was taken to the city by the said Spaniards.

6. Asked what arms he had, he answered only five guns, belonging to the Company of Essequibo.

7. Asked the name of the place where they had the Post and hut, and on what river it is situated, he answered that the name of the place was Cuiba, situated on the River Cuyuni.

8. Asked how long he had been in that place, and whether he had made any purchases of slaves, he answered that he had been there eighteen months, and that he never had anything to do with slave buying.

9. Asked what the distance was from Cuiba to the Colony of Essequibo, he answered that the distance was three days, more or less, as the navigation could only be carried on when the rivers were high, and the channels full of water.

10. Asked if he knew that place to be in the jurisdiction of Essequibo, and what length of time his Governor had maintained a guard there, he answered that he did not know, but that the guard had been maintained for very many years.

11. Asked if the lands about there were adapted for cultivation, he answered that they were not, as they were subject to inundations; higher up than the Post there were good lands, but the Governor would not allow them to be occupied, nor permit any one to trespass upon them.

12. Asked if the negro was a slave, he answered that he was not, but that he was under obligation to work for the Company, from whom he had received payment.

13. Asked in what other affairs he was occupied, and what orders, verbal or written, he had, and generally for all other information he might possess, he answered that he knew no more, and

has no other information than the above. That the above declaration is true, and that he affirms and ratifies the same, and, if necessary, will repeat it; that he is 48 years of age, and, not knowing how to write, is unable to sign his declaration. And his Excellency signs it with the witnesses, as we certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDES.
LUIS DE ALEMAN.
FRANCISCO XAVIER FILGUEIRA
Y BARCIA.

(18.)

Translation of the Instructions for the Dutch Postholder in Cuyuni.

Translation which I, Constable Juan Andres de la Rivera, made, in virtue of the office of interpreter and translator, conferred on me by the Señor Comandante *ad interim* of this place, of a document containing instructions for the Post or guard in the River Cuyuni, under the jurisdiction of the States-General, written in the Dutch language, which was delivered to me by the afore-mentioned Notary. The contents of this paper, literally translated, are as follows:—

Article 1. That the Chief of the said Post or guard, by our express and positive orders, will treat the neighbouring Indians with the greatest consideration and friendship, without distinction or favour of any kind, and be careful not to injure them in any way; and if, perchance, the said Indians should request his help against any of the savage nations, he is bound to assist them with the guard as far as possible.

Art. 2. That the Chief of the said Post will be very careful not to cause any injury to be done to the Spaniards, who are our good neighbours, and in all he will maintain good friendship and correspondence with them. But at the same time, he will be most careful not to permit the said Spaniards to pass to the River Cuyuni, if by any chance they are desirous of so doing, or in any part of the territory of our Colony; and in case they attempt to molest the official of the said Post or guard, he will immediately dispatch a man to the Governor's Castle to advise him promptly of the same.

Art. 3. That the Chief of the said Post or guard will on no account allow any one to carry on trade except in the river or in his district, or unless the party be provided with a proper passport, when he will grant the necessary permit to do so. But should any Indians pass, coming to the post from the Essequibo, down the river, or going in the opposite direction, bringing with them Chinese slaves, or any other merchandize, for the purpose of making purchases, and that the Chinese slaves or merchandize be intended for the inhabitants of the River Essequibo, we then command absolutely by this our order that the above-mentioned tribes be permitted to pass freely without let or hindrance in any way.

Art. 4. That the Chief of the post will take the greatest care in apprehending all fugitive slaves from the Colony, whoever they may be; that, if necessary, he will pursue the same until he apprehends them, and when caught he will deliver them to their respective owners, in conformity with the orders of the States-General; and that for every slave so captured he will receive a gratification of 10 fl. for the trouble thereby imposed upon him.

Art. 5. That, in case any slaves belonging to the residents of the said River Essequibo should attempt to escape, and should be pursued by their owners—who, owing to the necessity of the case had no time to provide themselves with necessary passports—he will permit them to pass the said post; and we likewise command him expressly that whenever he be informed of a case of this nature by any inhabitant of this Colony, he will lend them every assistance in his power in order to re-take them, always provided they be slaves.

Art. 6. That the Chief of the said post is granted liberty to trade by the noble Company on his own account, on condition that whatever fruits or produce or other articles he may so acquire, the Company shall have the refusal of the goods at the same price as others, in good merchandize and for good prices.

Art. 7. That the Chief of the post is obliged to collect all outstanding debts remaining due to his predecessor, the former Chief of that post, for which duty 10 fl. will be paid for every fugitive slave, and 1 fl. for every hammock, the Governor being informed of all the sales and purchases.

Art. 8. That in like manner the official of the post is bound to make a report twice a-year of all matters of interest relating to his district, and, as a good and loyal officer, he should always reside at his post.

(Signed)

LAURENS STORM DE GRAVESANDE.

River Essequibo, November 29, 1757.

(19.)

Copy of Letter from Don Nicholas Castro, Provisional Governor of Cumana, to Governor of Essequibo.

Sir,

Cumana, November 9, 1758.

The Commandant of Guiana has forwarded to me, among other documents, a letter which you sent him claiming the two Dutch prisoners, a negro slave, and a half-breed woman with her

children, whom the guard dispatched from that fort seized in an island of the River Cuyuni, established there in a house, and carrying on the unjust traffic of slavery among the Indians, in the dominions of the King my Sovereign. As this same River Cuyuni and all its territory is included in those dominions, it is incredible that their High Mightinesses the States-General should have authorized you to penetrate into those dominions, and still less to carry on a traffic in the persons of the Indians belonging to the settlements and territories of the Spaniards. I therefore consider myself justified in approving the conduct of this expedition.

For these reasons I do not consider myself at liberty to condescend to return the prisoners which you demand until the question is decided by my Sovereign, to whom I shall render full account of all that has happened, supported by all the necessary documents.

I have the honour to assure you, with high consideration, that I shall always be ready to obey your just commands.

May God preserve you many years.

I kiss your hand.

Your Servant,
(Signed) DON NICHOLAS DE CASTRO.

M. Gravesande.

(20.)

Report of Counsellor on the above Documents.

The Counsellor has seen these documents, and says that whereas the foreigners to which the above documents refer were apprehended, whilst acting as a guard, by order of the Governor of the Colony of Essequibo, within the limits of the jurisdiction of that Government for the purpose of apprehending fugitive negro slaves deserting from their masters who may pass by those places, committing the impious act of purchasing many Indians to work on their farms, and subjecting them to perpetual slavery, as is shown by the account which the aforementioned foreigners presented for the recovery of certain slaves, and also by the instructions issued by the Governor of that Colony, by which the said guard is charged to procure the Indians; and whereas by the said account it is further shown that the soldiers of the guard did carry on that traffic, thereby depriving the natives of their natural liberty, which they should be allowed to enjoy, without instructing them in our holy Catholic faith; in opposition to His Majesty's commands, as ordered and decreed in various Royal Decrees, in which His Majesty (whom God preserve) expressly recommends that the Indians be well treated, not deprived of their liberty, and receive proper instruction in our holy faith; therefore, as this is an affair of the greatest importance, and worthy of the Royal consideration, and in order that His Majesty may determine and make known his Royal pleasure in regard to it, so as to stop this traffic, and hinder, as effectually as possible, the said foreigners from enslaving Indians and condemning them to perpetual labour and exile, it is my opinion that the said documents be forwarded to His Majesty in original, and accompanied with a legalized copy of the same for the King in his Supreme Council of the Indies, in order that His Majesty may issue His Royal commands as to the matter.

(Signed) Licenciado JULIAN PADILLA Y MORON. 

Cumaná, December 28, 1758.

No. 21.

Judicial Report of the attack made by the Spaniards upon the Dutch settled in Barima (1760).

(Translation.)

(1.)

"Autos" formed upon the seizure of a Schooner, two Launches and two Canoes, of Essequibo, by Infantry Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores.

DON JUAN DE DIOS VALDES, Captain Warden of this fort on behalf of His Majesty, Judge General of Confiscations in this Province of Guiana, and Commandant of the forces therein, &c.

Having received from the Very Reverend Father Prefect of the Missions in this Province the information communicated to him by four Indian "Poitos," fugitives from the tyrannical power of the Dutch Settlers in the adjoining Colonies of Essequibo and Surinam, that at the mouth of the Creek Barima, which runs from the great mouth of that river, five Dutchmen from the said colonies are established in huts and carrying on their usual inhuman and lucrative traffic with the nations of wild Indians who dwell and trade on the Orinoco, purchasing from them the infidels captured in their wars and raids, in exchange for ironware, clothing and munitions of war; and that the said Dutch are waiting for a batch of Indians, whom they have ordered to be purchased through their allies, the Caribs, who can go more freely up this river; after which they are going back at once to their colony with the product of this illicit transaction and the human beings they have up till now obtained, to which number belonged the four Indians who escaped from their tyranny and came to claim the protection of the said Missions. And since it conduces

"Archivo General de Indias," Seville.
Audiencia de Carácas.
Documents and
"Expediente," 1778.
131—7—17.

to the service of God our Lord and of His Catholic Majesty, to prevent such a cruel and unlawful traffic, to keep the Dutch of the said colonies by chastisement within their own possessions (if so be that they hold them lawfully), and to deter them from pressing into these dominions of the King through the intersecting rivers; by these presents, in virtue of the powers of my offices and those which have been conferred upon me for such emergencies, I order and command Don Juan de Dios Gonzales de Flores, Lieutenant of Infantry and second officer of this fortress, that forthwith, and without the slightest delay, he is to go on board the King's vessel which is lying in the Puerto Real, manned with ten soldiers of the line, and armed in the usual manner, with two swivel guns, and supplied with provisions for 20 days, and Spanish pilots for the river and some of the fugitive Indians for the place or hut where the said Dutch are to be found. That the said Lieutenant is to proceed direct thither, sailing day and night, in order to gain every moment of time, and upon arriving he shall attack the said hut, first of all surrounding it, and shall hold prisoners therein all the Dutch, French, or Spaniards he may find, calling upon them in the King's name to surrender, and if they will not do so, or have recourse to arms, using his forces until he has chastised them and made them prisoners, and shall do the same in respect to any Carib Indians who may be aiding and assisting in this inhuman traffic. And he shall likewise seize all and any vessels he may meet going up or coming down the river, whether foreign or Spanish, which are sailing without proper papers, and the said Lieutenant shall bring their captains and crews well secured to this fortress, and also their entire cargoes, without allowing the least fraud or irregularity on the part of the Soldiers under his charge, for which, and all else appertaining to the exact fulfilment of this Order, he is to be answerable as an honourable officer, and as such it is expected that he will proceed with the greatest possible zeal and disinterestedness in the Royal Service. That for everything expressed herein, and for whatsoever else his events and circumstances may dictate, I give him all such power as I can and ought, and as required in such cases for Their Majesties' service.

Done in Guiana on the 7th day of September, 1760.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDÉS.

(2.)

Resolution.

In the City of Santo Thomé de Guayana, on the 27th day of September, 1760, Señores Don Juan de Dios Valdés, Captain Warden of this fort on behalf of His Majesty, and Don Lorenzo Coronado, Lieutenant of Royal Officers, declared that, inasmuch as Lieutenant of Infantry Don Juan de Dios de Flores had just arrived at the principal port of this city with the armed schooner which left this port for the purpose of hindering the inhuman traffic of the Dutch with the Carib Indians, which the latter carry on by the sale of infidels of other tribes, whom they capture in wars or by raids, and sell as slaves to the said Dutch for small prices; whereof notice was given to the said Commandant by the Very Reverend Father Prefect of these Missions, who heard it from four Indian "Poitos," fugitives from the Dutch who were engaged in this traffic at the mouth of the Creek Barima, as appears more clearly from the foregoing order; the result of which expedition has been that the said Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores has brought as prizes a schooner and two launches, which have likewise cast anchor under the cannon of the Castle of Saint Francis of Assisi, which is the chief harbour of this city; and inasmuch as it is necessary to duly inspect them all, their Honours had to order, and did order, that these duties should be carried out, in the presence of the undersigned Notary, the vessels and the cases or trunks they might have on board, and any other goods that might be found in them, being surveyed, and all being set down in a formal inventory, which will be made at the same time; in order that when this duty has been performed a summary report may be drawn up showing the exact particulars of the seizure of the said vessels, and for this purpose their Honours thus decreed, ordered, and signed, whereunto I certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDÉS.

LORENZO CORONADO.

Before me:

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury.

(3.)

Report of Survey.

On the same day, month and year, as ordered in the foregoing Resolution, their Honours, together with me, the Notary, went on board the vessels which are lying at anchor in the harbour of the Castle of Saint Francis of Assisi, in order to carry out the proposed inspection of the vessels which had been seized; and, upon arriving on board, they inspected them and made an inventory in the following form and manner:—

Firstly, a schooner with its mainmast, foremast, and shrouds, but without sails. Item, a kedge anchor with its hempen cable; Item, five barrels of salt fish; Item, a launch with its mast and hempen shrouds, and its round sail of coarse canvas; Item, four barrels of ground salt; Item, a curved canoe, serving as boat to the said launch, six axes, ten canvas guayucos, eight

knives, six bunches of beads in an old case; Item, another launch with its mast and hempen cable, and its round sail; Item, a small anchor with its hemp cable; Item, a canoe which serves as ship's boat; with which, there being nothing else, this inventory was concluded, and their Honours directed that everything should be landed and secured in the Royal "Contaduria"; and that in respect to the fish, it should at once be put up for sale under charge of the Lieutenant of the Royal Officers, who should deal with it and keep account of its sale, for which he should be paid according to his trouble, delivering it for legal money, and selling it according to the practice of the country, and for this their Honours provided, ordered and signed, whereunto I certify.

(Signed) JUAN VALDÉS.
LORENZO CORONADO.

Before me :

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury.

(4.)

Declaration of Don Juan de Flores.

In the City of Santo Thomé of Guayana, on the 29th day of the said month and year, in order to carry out the report in hand respecting the seizure of the vessels, their Honours being in the Royal "Contaduria," by order and command of the Commandant, there appeared therein the Lieutenant of Infantry Don Juan de Dios de Flores, to whom their Honours administered an oath, which he made by God our Lord and a sign of the Cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned respecting the seizure of the said vessels, as to where and how he took them, whether they made resistance with fire-arms, and as to the whereabouts of the crews, he declared; That having gone from this port, by order of the Commandant, bound for the Creek Barima, when he was tacking round its mouth on the 11th day, at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, he saw a ship coming from the Point of Guani and trying to find the mouth of the Orinoco; that he went in pursuit of her, and having overtaken her and fired one shot, she surrendered immediately; and going on board he only found ten Aruac Indians who came from the Colony of Essequibo to fish in this river, three of whom escaped by jumping into the river; and on the day following he continued his course, and entering the mouth of the Barima, and going about 3 leagues up the Creek, they saw a vessel which, owing to low water, was lying aground at a considerable distance; and they could not board her until the rise of the tide allowed them to approach, during which time the crew of the said schooner, having seen and recognised them, took to flight and carried off the sails with them and cut to pieces the greater portion of the tackle, and although the Declarant tried various expedients to capture them he could not do so, but ascertained from the Aruac Indians, whom they had previously captured, that the schooner came from the Colony of Essequibo for the same purpose of fishing; and that finding himself with these two vessels and without sufficient men to pursue his course to the end, for he had put from his own vessel two men on board the first and two more on the second and had only six soldiers left; and being informed that it took five days to go up to the place in which the traffickers in "Poitos" were; for this reason, and also because the said Dutch would be already informed by those who escaped from the schooner, that the Declarant was coming up, and considering that his orders only extended to the mouth itself, he resolved to turn back, which he did, going up the river, and finding the other launch, in consequence of information he had received as to its whereabouts; and he ordered Pedro de Salas to go on board in a canoe and seize it, without allowing any of the crew to escape; and having done so and seized it he brought it back, saying that they had all fled into the woods, for they were on shore safely in a hut from which they saw them; and that from there he pursued his voyage to the chief port of this city, where he cast anchor with the three vessels that were seized. That this is the truth under obligation of the oath which he made, which is affirmed and ratified therein, and that if necessary he will repeat it; and that he is thirty-nine years of age, and has signed it together with their Honours, whereunto I certify.

(Signed) JUAN VALDÉS.
LORENZO CORONADO.
JUAN DE DIOS.
GONZALES DE FLORES.

Before me :

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury.

(5.)

Declaration of Pedro de Salas.

On the said day, month and year, in order to draw up the report which is in hand, their Honours caused to appear before themselves and before me, Pedro de Salas, a soldier from these forts, to whom their Honours administered an oath which he made by God our Lord, and a sign of the Cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned by their Honours, he declared: That having

sailed from this port in the armed schooner they reached the front of the mouth of Barima, and while tacking therein, they saw a vessel which they approached and fired a shot at, whereupon she surrendered at once, and having boarded her they only found a few Aruac Indians, who said that they came from the Dutch Colony of Essequibo to fish; that on the following day they entered the mouth of the Barima, and going about three leagues up the creek they saw a schooner, which, owing to low water, was aground at a very long distance, and so they could not go on board until the tide came up, when they approached it and did not find a single person, for during the time that they could not go on board, the crew succeeded in escaping into the woods, carrying off the sails and some of the tackle and cutting up some of that which remained on board; that they were informed by the pilot that it took five days to go up to the place where the traders were, for which reason, and because a large portion of the crew was engaged in the captured vessels, and likewise because they were informed that in going up to the place where the said Dutch were, the creek narrowed considerably, and no ship of any size could pass, his Lieutenant resolved to turn back up the river, which he did, and hearing that there was a launch at anchor in a Creek with a hut on shore, his Lieutenant despatched him with four men in a canoe to seize it and arrest its crew; that having gone on board and found nobody, he proceeded to examine the hut, and not finding anyone there either, he concluded that they had fled to the woods, and came back and delivered up the said launch to his Lieutenant; and from there they continued to go up stream until they reached the chief port of this city, where they cast anchor.

That this is the truth under obligation of the oath which he made, which is affirmed and ratified therein, and that if necessary he will repeat it; and that he is 44 years of age, and has signed it jointly with their Honours, whereunto I certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDÉS.
LORENZO CORONADO.
PEDRO DE SALAS.

Before me :

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury.

(6.)

Declaration of Joseph de Sosa, a Soldier.

In this fortress of Guiana, on the said day, month and year, in execution of the report which is being drawn up, their Honours caused to appear in this Royal "Contaduria" before themselves and before me, the Notary, Joseph de Sosa, a soldier from these forts, whom they admitted upon oath which he made by God our Lord and a sign of the cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth concerning what he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned by their Honours, declared: That he went from this port in the armed launch under Infantry Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores, and arrived at the mouth of the Barima, where in order to make it they began to tack, and, while doing so, saw a vessel come into the river, and followed it at once and made it heave to by firing a shot, and upon going on board they only found 10 Aruac Indians, of whom 3 escaped; who, being examined by his Lieutenant, said that they came from the Dutch Colony of Essequibo to fish in the River Orinoco; and directly they had secured the vessel by putting two soldiers on board, they continued their course, and on the following day entered the said mouth of Barima, and went up the Creek for about 3 leagues, where they saw a schooner which the ebb had left stranded at a very considerable distance from the stream, for which reason they could not board it until the tide rose, when they approached and went on board but found nobody, because while they were waiting for the tide to come up the crew of the said schooner took the opportunity to escape, carrying off the sails and a portion of the tackle and cutting up some of the remainder; and that notwithstanding all the efforts which his said Lieutenant made to capture the crew he was unable to do so, and that the Aruacs (whom they had previously captured) at once said that the schooner had come from the Colony of Essequibo with the same object of fishing, and that upon asking the pilot whereabouts the Dutch traders in "Poitos" were camping, he said they were at five days' distance from that spot, and that the vessel they were navigating could not enter the Creek where the traders were, because it was extremely narrow and only navigable by canoes; that for this reason, and because some of the soldiers they brought were divided among the vessels captured, and likewise because the said Dutch would be warned of their approach by the crew which had escaped from the schooner, his Lieutenant determined to withdraw, which they did, and in going up the river they received information that a launch was lying at anchor in a Creek, and his Lieutenant forthwith despatched Pedro de Salas in a canoe, to seize it, ordering him to let none of its crew escape, and accordingly he seized it and brought it back, saying that he had found no one therein, nor in the hut on the shore, and that he thought they had fled directly they perceived them; and that they continued their voyage thence to the chief port of this city where they cast anchor. That this is the truth, under obligation of the oath which he made, which is affirmed and ratified therein, and that if necessary he will repeat it; and that he is 27 years of age and has signed it together with his Honour, whereunto I certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDÉS.
LORENZO CORONADO.
JOSEPH MIGUEL DE SOSA.

Before me :

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury.

(7.)

Declaration of Antonio Ravelo.

On the said day, month, and year, for the purpose of the report which is being drawn up respecting the seizure of three vessels, their Honours caused to appear before themselves and before me, the present Notary, Antonio Ravelo, a soldier from these forts, whom their Honours admitted upon oath by God our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned by their Honours he declared: That having gone from this port in the armed launch under the Orders of his Lieutenant, Don Juan de Flores, they descended to the front of the mouth of the Barima, where, in order to make it they began to tack, and then perceived a vessel coming into the River Orinoco, which they followed, and, having come up with it and fired a shot, she surrendered at once; that they boarded her and only found ten Aruac Indians, whom his Lieutenant examined, and who said that they came to fish in the said river; That from there they went again in search of the mouth of Barima, and on the following day they entered it, and went about three leagues up the Creek, where they saw a vessel which the ebb had left stranded at a considerable distance from the stream, for which reason they could not board it until the tide came up, when they approached it and went on board, but found no one, because while they were waiting for the tide to rise, the people of the schooner took the opportunity to escape and to carry off its sails and part of the tackle; and that while there his Lieutenant enquired from the pilot who was with them whether the Dutch traders in "Poitos" were very far off, and he replied that it would require five days' sailing to reach them, but that with the vessels they were navigating they could not enter the Creek because it was very narrow and only canoes could pass; for which reason, and for want of men, because the greater part of the crew had been distributed in the captured vessels, and likewise seeing that the said Dutch would be told by those who escaped from the schooner; his Lieutenant determined to withdraw, and going up the river they were informed that a launch was lying at anchor in a Creek along which they were passing, whereupon his Lieutenant despatched Pedro de Salas in a canoe with four men, under orders to seize and bring it together with all its crew, without letting one escape; and having succeeded in capturing it he returned saying that he had found no one therein, nor in the hut which was on the shore, and that he concluded they had gone into the woods as soon as they saw them; That they continued their voyage from there until they arrived and cast anchor in the chief harbour of this city; That this is the truth under obligation of the oath which he has made which is affirmed and ratified therein, and that if necessary he will repeat it, that he is 42 years of age and has signed it together with His Honour, whereunto I certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDÉS
LORENZO CORONADO.
ANTONIO RAVELO.

Before me:

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury.

(8.)

Auto.

Having seen the foregoing declarations Their Honours said that, in order to draw up these reports more adequately, they would summon the half-breed whom Infantry Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores captured with the Aruac Indians, in order that he and the other Aruac Indians should give evidence respecting the particulars about which Their Honours should consider it desirable to question them, and hereby Their Honours, have thus provided, ordered and signed on the 30 September of the said year, whereunto I certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDÉS.
LORENZO CORONADO.

Before me:

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury.

(9.)

Confession of the Half-breed.

In this City of Santo Thomé de Guayana, on the said day, month and year, their Honours, in order to draw up more adequately the report called for, caused to appear before them and before me, the Notary, one of the prisoners brought by Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores, who was asked by their Honours if he was a half-breed, what religion he professed, where he was born, what was his name, for what purposes he came to the River Orinoco, and by whom he was sent; and he replied that he was an Aruac Indian and that his father and mother were the same, that they neither had nor knew any religion, that he was born in Guacapòo, near the Post of Essequibo, that his name was Yana, that the object with which he came to the River Orinoco was to fish, and that he was sent by a Dutchman named Fordüll; being asked what cargo the captured schooner and launch carried, and whether he knew to whom they belonged, and for what purpose they came to that river, he said that their cargo only consisted of a small quantity of "barbasco" and a barrel of salt, and that the schooner also was from the Colony of Essequibo and belonged to a Dutchman named Monk, and that likewise the launch was from the same colony and sent

by a Dutchman named Bobre, and that both came for the same object of fishing; and being asked if he knew that there were Dutchmen in the Creek Barima buying "Poitos," and if they were very far away from the place where the schooner was seized, he replied, that he knew that there were four Dutchmen in the said Creek Barima buying "Poitos," and that they had many Carib Indians with them, that from the spot where the schooner was seized to where they were was five or six days' sail, that the Creek where the said Dutchmen are was very narrow, as he had been informed by Indians of his own nation, and that large vessels could not enter it, and that the Dutch buyers of Poitos were not from the Colony of Essequibo, but from that of Surinam, because the Governor of Essequibo did not allow any Dutchman to go and conduct this traffic. Herewith this declaration was concluded, and he could not tell his age nor sign the declaration because, he said, he did not know how to do so; so their Honours signed it, whereunto I certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDÉS.

LORENZO CORONADO.

Before me :

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury.

(10.)

Declaration of an Aruac Indian.

In the said City of Santo Thomé de Guayana, on the said day, month and year, for the purpose of the report which is being drawn up, Their Honours caused to appear before them, and before me the present Notary, one of the Indians, sufficiently conversant with Spanish, from among those seized by Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores, and he was asked by their Honours where he was born, what was his name, for what purpose he came to the River Orinoco, and by whom he was sent; and he replied that he was a native of Muruca, a place where the Post of Essequibo is situated, that his name was Simaracuri, an Indian of the Aruac nation, that the purpose for which he came to the River Orinoco was to fish, that he was sent by a Dutchman called Fardull, and that the cargo consisted of a small quantity of salt; being asked if he knew to whom the other vessels which were seized belonged, he replied that the schooner belonged to a Dutchman called Monk, and the launch to another called Bobre, and that they also came for the purpose of fishing. Being asked if he knew whether there were any Dutchmen buying "Poitos," and in what places they were to be found, he replied that he knew there were four Dutchmen in the Creek of Barima with a number of Carib Indians, carrying on this traffic, that they were from the Colony of Surinam, and that it was impossible for a large vessel to enter the part of the said Creek where these traders were, as it was much higher up and very narrow; and that this is what he knows in reply to the questions, that he does not know how to give any account of his age or to sign; so their Honours signed it, whereunto I certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDÉS.

LORENZO CORONADO.

Before me :

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury.

(11.)

Auto.

In the City of Santo Thomé de Guayana on the 1st October, 1760, Don Juan Valdés, Captain Warden of this fortress on behalf of His Majesty, and Don Lorenzo Coronado, Lieutenant of Royal Officers, declared: That considering the declarations made to be adequate for the report which is being drawn up respecting the seizure of the Dutch schooner and two launches from the Colony of Essequibo which had entered this River Orinoco under pretext of fishing, but came for other objects of illicit traffic, and for purchases of Poitos from the Caribs, it was their duty to order, and did order, that the present Notary should draw up a copy of these documents, to be deposited in this Royal "Contaduria," and that the originals should be sent to the Superior Tribunal of Government and Finance; and in regard to the half-breed, Yan Batista, who was well known, although in his confession he refused to give his name, and denied that he was a half-breed, saying that he was an Indian of the Aruac nation, and having maliciously stained himself with annotto, in order not to be recognised, his Honour the Commandant ordered that he should be put in irons in the fortress, to await the decision of his Lordship the Governor and Captain-General, and that he should be allowed one real daily for his maintenance, seeing that the Reverend Father Prefect is unwilling to admit him because of the serious mischief done by other half-breeds in the villages to which they have been sent, by taking to flight and carrying away others already settled and civilised. And in respect to the Indians, he arranged to send them to the said Reverend Father Prefect, to be distributed among the villages under his charge, agreeably to orders. And in respect to the cargo of fish, his Honour the Lieutenant of Royal Officers has been charged with its disposal for the benefit of the Royal Treasury, seeing that it is a class of goods which becomes stale and loses weight, and consequently decreases in value; and hereby Their Honours have thus provided, ordered, and signed, whereunto I certify.

(Signed)

JUAN VALDÉS.

LORENZO CORONADO.

Before me :

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury.

This copy agrees in its contents with the originals to which I refer, and which remain in this Royal "Contaduria" to be sent to the Governor and Captain-General and officers of the Royal Treasury of the City of Cumaná; it is accurately, truly and legally written in one and the same handwriting, on 23 leaves, including this one, of ordinary paper, because stamp paper is not current; This I sign and seal on the 3rd October, 1760.

In testimony of the truth. (Seal.)

LUIS LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE, Notary Public, and of the Royal Treasury. (Rubric.)

No. 22.

Report of Don Joseph Solano to the King on Guiana, with special reference to the Correspondence of the Chief Commissioner of the Boundary Commission, Don José Iturriaga (1761).

Sire.

THE Commodore, Don Joseph Iturriaga, makes known in his letter written in Cabruta of Orinoco, 17th of June, '57, that he sees no advantage in maintaining the Castle of Araya, there having been found other undefended salt-works. I am of the same opinion, as for many years it has been useless; because having conceded to the English,* by the IIIrd Article of the Treaty of Münster, concluded in 1648, permission to provide themselves with salt in the Isla de la Tortuga,† this fort does not cover any essential part, nor will it prevent foreign vessels having access to Cumaná and the coast of that Province; nor can it defend it if the enemy should attack it, tempted by its strong position and the important commerce which they would (without hindrance) carry on from it with that Province, that of Barcelona, the Island of Margarita, and the east part of Carácas, by their being so near to its coasts.

"Archivo de Indias," Seville.
Audience of Carácas.
Letters and Reports,
121—7—17.

The description of the course of the River Apure made by the Lieutenants Don Vizente Doz y Don Nicolas Guerrero, and the report of the state of the villages of the Indians in the jurisdiction of Barinas, who were brought together and instructed by the Mission of the Rev. Dominicans, closely agrees with my information.

Besides what is explained by the report which Don Joseph Iturriaga encloses in his letter dated in Cabruta the 12th June, '57, I find that the Barines having learnt by experience that the value of their tobaccos in the neighbouring maritime Provinces of Carácas and Maracaybo declined in proportion as the crops increased, and that the price of the same in the sea-ports was scarcely equivalent to the expenses of the long and difficult transport, they opened to foreigners the navigation of their River Apure, which flows into the Orinoco, in order to divide the cost with them; but the introduction of these into the Province caused loss to the landed proprietors and others concerned. The abandonment of the estates and depopulation would have followed had not the surplus population of the new Kingdom of Granada filled the place which the natives left; but a similar immigration was wanting in the villages of Indians, and in them the decadence continued, the conversion of the infidels being hindered at the instigation of those who needed them in the woods to carry on their illicit trade.

The third and fourth letter of Don Joseph Iturriaga, dated from Cabruta, the 15th December, '57, and the 19th of April, '58, treat of the pretensions on the Orinoco openly put forward by the Governors of the Dutch Colony of the River Esquivo, on the ground that the titles which they have from the States-General give them this jurisdiction: notwithstanding that they have not reclaimed the vessels which the Trinitarios and Guayanos took from them in the course of this River . . . ‡ Cuyuni in order to protect the districts where they were penetrating by the centre of Guayana to buy Indian slaves of the Carib nation; nor do I know on what they could found their claims; for though by the Vth Article of the Treaty of Münster the dominion of the countries, fortified places, factories, &c., was conceded to them which they at that time possessed in America, on the Orinoco neither they nor any others but the Spaniards alone ever held, or have since held, castles or forts; nor customs duties, fishing, hunting, or use of the soil; nor can they found their right on the tacit or even express consent which the Commandants of Guayana and Orinoco have sometimes given them, to fish in the Boca de Navios and the Rivers Barina and Aguirre which run into it; nor on the huts which they have built to sun and dry their fish, nor on the navigation which has been furtively allowed them as far as Guayana, or still further; nor can they prove the legality of the armed post they hold in the Rio Moruca, of which in like manner Don Joseph Iturriaga treats; it being prohibited them by the said Treaty to erect new fortifications under any pretext, and they can only allege the indifference with which this usurpation has been viewed by the Commandants of Guayana.

While, Sire, the Dutch are advancing their dominion to the great mouth of the Orinoco, and with easy navigation introduce themselves by it and by the Rivers Apure, Meta, and others, into the Provinces of Barcelona, Carácas, and Barinas, to the prejudice of the Royal Exchequer and the progress of the Spanish settlement, the Indian population which had too largely increased in the neighbourhood of the chief towns and of the sea penetrated further and further [inland], and made their way as far as the Orinoco, guided by, and sometimes united with, the missionaries; protected by this great river and the assistance which the Dutch profit rendered to the Carib savages, the latter shut their ears to peace, disputed the navigation with the Spaniards, and the road with the missionaries; they caused the death of some holy men, of many faithful Indians, and burnt many

* (?) The Dutch.

† There is evidently an error here. The [IIIrd Article of the] Treaty of Munster makes no such reference as mentioned in the text of this document.

‡ Clearly something has dropped out here, though it is clear that the passage intends to refer to the raid on the Dutch post in the Cuyuni in 1758.

of their new villages, suspended the progress of the propagation of our Holy Faith, and the effective dominion of Your Majesty, and the Religious would not have been able to remain if the glorious predecessors of Your Majesty had not supported their constancy with an escort of troops, and the shelter, such as it was, of the garrison and Castle of Guayana.

The situation of this fort, named San Francisco de Assis, and that of the smaller forts, San Diego and Limones, though the only fortifications of Guayana and Orinoco, is advantageous for the protection of that Province, defended in rear by the desert; and by being the key to that great river and defending the rear of Cumaná, Caracas, and Barinas, outflanked as they are by its well-known and easy navigation; but the gathering of these forces into one place seems to me, Sire, to waste the best part of their value in their own and mutual defence; on which account I lay what occurs to me at the feet of Your Majesty, as Your Majesty has had the goodness to command me.

Guayana is the most eastern Province of the Dominions of Your Majesty in the northern part of South America; its boundaries are the western ocean on the east, on the coast of which to the mouth of the Amazon and to [? the river of] the Dutch of Surinam, and to Esquivo contiguous to the Orinoco;* on the south, the Portuguese established on that famous river† and the Rio Negro; and on the west and north the Casiquari, branches to the Rio Negro from the Orinoco, and this great river, which are the eastern and northern boundaries of the unknown Ayrico,‡ and the extensive plains of San Juan Barinas, Caracas, Barcelona, and Cumaná.

In the northern part of the said Province, and at 40 leagues from the sea and four above, where Orinoco divides itself into several branches, which inundate all the land they embrace, and fall into the sea to the east, west, and opposite the south coast of the Island of Trinidad of the Windward, on the south bank of that river a Castle is raised on a rock at the eastern foot of a high and sloping hill; its form is a quadrilateral trapezium of 120 feet long, and 70 broad; on its western corners it has two bastions and the door above the Cordon; in the north-east corner stand out two fronts which flank that of the south-west bastion, and the flank of a demi-bastion, which projects on the shorter side, so as to take in a rocky hill, which is six feet higher than the place d'armes of the Castle; and although they piled up the earth so as to cover it, and correspondingly raised the wall, the deficiency is still prominent over the Cordon, and facilitates attack; the structure offers small resistance, and is neither defended by ditch nor stockade; a captain of the castle and Commandant of the Province, a lieutenant, two ensigns, and 100 men form its garrison; it is armed with 18 cannons of from 16 to 24, and the eastern bastion or cavalier surmounted with pedreros; it has a powder magazine, with a light roof [?], and very scantily supplied; sufficient shot for the mounted cannon, plain and cramped quarters for 40 men, a storehouse for a month's provisions, and river water from the conduit on the north front.

The small fort, named S. Diego, which is on that hill or elevation, is a square of 37 feet on a side, in the interior, with four bastions, armed with four small cannons of the calibre of three, which point from the angles of the flanks. On the southern curtain, which faces towards the city, are two of four, other two on the eastern, which flank the rear of the castle; four pedreros on the northern, which faces towards the river; on the western one of six, with two of three, mounted on pedestals and en barbette. Its fire extends to the defences of the castle, of whose garrison there is a detachment for this fort. This company is lodged in a small tower in the middle, and in the storehouse for provisions; it has neither ditch nor stockade, and its wall is of no strength, and nine feet high towards the Cordon.

In the rear of these forts and within musket shot are two lagoons which the overflow of the river enlarges by a channel which enters the west or that of the Baratillo by the west foot of the hill, connects them by the passage which they leave on the declivity, and disembogue into the Orinoco itself on the east side, two musket shots from the Castle. The whole of this islet is covered with very thick wood, and in the vicinity of the fort there are several rocks, each of which can shelter 20 or 25 men; half a musket shot from the western fort of the Castle there is a break in the land, which serves as a harbour for the small boats, when the river is high, and when it is low 50 men can lie hid there, covered from the fire of either force. Between this cleft and the passage of communication between the lagoons there is a spur running from the hill of the Padrasto, which without declivity runs to the base of the Castle; behind this, and a musket shot from this fort, 200 men can be posted at the foot of the hill covered from the fire of either force, without other inconvenience than that which the small garrison of the Padrasto can sally forth and inflict on them. On this side and the south the small fort is inaccessible; on the north it is not so much so, but it is flanked by the western fire of the Castle; on the western slope or that of the Baratillo, the enemy can approach under cover to within pistol shot of its wall; and if it were necessary, bring there artillery sufficient to destroy it.

The city is to the south of the lagoon of the Baratillo, with no other defence than that which reaches it from the artillery of both forts; it is built on an open plain bounded by rocky and wooded hills a quarter of a league distant on the east, and at two and four leagues on the south and west; its climate is very hot, and extremely unhealthy for Spaniards and Indians, not so much so for negroes. Its population, including the garrison of the forts, is 450 persons of both sexes, notwithstanding the antiquity of its foundation, the support which it receives by the payment for the troops which come to it annually, the many poor and unfortunate people who try to benefit by it, notwithstanding families from the Canary Isles who have come in to people it at different times, and notwithstanding that it has changed its position, without however going farther from the fort; its houses are of wood and clay, covered with palms, and the church is of

* *Sic.* The Spanish is corrupt, but the meaning seems to be "on the coast of which the Dutch stretch to the mouth of the Amazon on one side, and on the other in Essequibo close to the Orinoco."

† *i.e.*, the Amazon.

‡ (?) Guarico.

the same materials. On the south are scattered eighteen villages of Indians, converted by the venerable Catalan Capuchin Mission; and though in those near the city there is sickness, in the more distant they enjoy good health; these Missions are guarded by eighteen men detached from the garrison of the Castle.

The small fortress which is being built on the eastern point of the mouth of the Limones branch is on the north bank of the Orinoco, opposite to the Castle, on low and wooded land, which is flooded at the rise of the waters; it is oval, and its largest diameter of 70 feet is parallel to the river; its fire with that of the Castle will close the passage for ships, but they will not mutually defend each other.

The Castle is inaccessible to the attack of ships, from the necessity of engaging it at anchor, and principally because those ships that can [?] in 15 feet of water, which the great mouth of the Orinoco has, cannot resist the heavy fire of its artillery; but the situation of the fortifications and the disposition of their forces favour an attack by land, as also the fact that the enemy from their ships can cover a landing in the wood of the Island of the Castle; in it they could form their attack on the cavalier bastion, but it would be easier and of more advantageous consequences for them to take possession of the city, which they will find already deserted by the few and feeble militia, who will retire, those who may remain being taken for the defence of the forts, and posting themselves in the passage of the lagoons, under shelter of the hill and at the foot of the Padrasto, joining with those who may attack the small fort by the Baratillo; and with the people of the ships who without quitting them can harass the garrison of the Castle, threatening assault by the hill of the cavalier bastion, and preventing the succour to the Padrasto, can carry it by a *coup de main*, since a soldier can reach the foot of the wall without further difficulty, and the shoulder of his comrade will be sufficient assistance to mount upon the terre-plein.

The Padrasto being lost, the Castle cannot defend itself, nor the small Fort of Limones, nor even that Province; they would open the Orinoco and would uncover the rear of Cumaná, Barinas, and even Santa Fé, nor would there be forces left in that part to delay the advance of the enemy; nor could those from the neighbouring provinces on the banks of that river assemble for the recovery of so important a post, or find ships and provisions to pass to it; but if the city was situated 34 leagues higher than the Castle in the Narrows (Angostura), where the Orinoco is narrowed to 800 yards, the troops would have a second post where they could recover themselves, and the advance of the enemy would be delayed; and larger forces being assembled there, they would soon find what was necessary to enable them to descend and dislodge the enemy without giving them time to fortify themselves. The Militia would be sufficient to protect the population, and they would be increased and could support the troops of the Castles, and these latter would fulfil the duty of soldiers without being embarrassed by that of citizens, husbands and fathers, to which they attended in the year '40, abandoning the Castle to an English trader, who in a small merchant-ship with 70 men came to recover some sums of money from the Guayanos by pillaging the city. The number of the troops could there be kept complete, owing to the ease of recruiting from the people of the Provinces of Barcelona and Caracas, who already begin to come to the river in that part from experience of its healthy climate. The foreigner doing illicit trade would encounter this second and difficult obstacle in the way of his entering the country, and injury caused by his coming in would be avoided; the guards of the Missions would be carefully provided, and, with this advantage, detachments of disciplined troops could be joined to the hundred men of Guayana, the guards of the Jesuits of the Orinoco and the Dominicans of Barinas; and the Chief who has charge of the key, and maintenance of Your Majesty's dominions, would have these troops better prepared for their work, and in case of need could collect their detachments and increase their forces with those of the Indians, which each could bring from their respective districts.

The seventy-three men of those escorts being added to the hundred of the garrison of Guayana, and twenty-five of the small Fort of Limones, I do not see that for the present a more numerous troop is necessary in order to hold that post, and protect the Missions; but it is necessary to have an honourable official, zealous and diligent, in the service of Your Majesty, and of some skill in fortification, so that without delay he may fortify the two flat spaces which would add forts east and west of the small fort of the Padrasto, with a stockaded fort, and parapet of fascines and earth, and flank the Castle, on the eastern space, with four great guns, the north front of the small fort and the passage between the lagoons and with smaller guns; defend the ascent of the Baratillo to the small fort; cover this western front with a second stockade, raising the parapet of its curtain, and place on it three guns of six; and in order that there should be sufficient space to retreat into, pull down the tower which is in the middle of the fort and on its parapet raise pillars four feet in height, and on them a roof which will cover the *place d'armes* in order that it may protect the troops. These defences of the Padrasto also defend the Castle, and the passage of the river with the fire of the Fort of Limones, and I am of opinion that they are sufficient, so long as the principal fort is built of lasting materials, leaving in the old Castle some cannon as a *batterie rasante*. Your Majesty will strengthen these measures by raising the Commandantship of the Orinoco into a Government; it is also important that the town should be removed to Angostura, and the Indian villages near its present site to a better climate; that those and the inhabitants of Guayana should remove all their flocks, so that the hunger of the enemy should help our forces, and that the provision of fresh meat to the Dutch colony of Esquivo may be made impossible or very difficult, and especially the provision of mules for its sugar mills; positively forbidding also that the heads of the Capuchin Mission of Guayana should approach the river, which is between them and that colony; nor should there be among them any breeding of asses, nor breeding of horses, except what is necessary for taking the flocks to pasture. La Guayana being at Angostura, the illicit trade would cease, because of the obstacle of the fire of the Castle and the Fort of Limones, and its introduction would be rendered impossible if the

garrison had two armed launches, which would relieve each other in reconnoitring and would mutually assist each other; but in order to carry it on where the town is now, it is not necessary to come in sight of the forts, and without risk the smuggler can obtain the assistance of some one who will give it without witnesses. This obstacle will benefit Spanish commerce, which would be assisted by the pay of the troops of Guayana, the guards and missionaries, which would cease to support the foreign colonies. They would collect skins on the banks of Orinoco, which their masters do not carry to the sea-ports, as the profit of the barter does not equal the costs of the carriage, and also the tobaccos and cacaos of Barinas, and not a little from the Province of Carácas. The loss of many persons caused by the unhealthy climate of the present site of the City of Guayana would be avoided by removing it to the Narrows [Angostura]; from that post the Governor can at any time promptly visit any part of his Province, that of Carácas and Cumaná, and with his foresight protect the provinces of those Governors. With six small cannons he can defend the city, close that narrow pass, and hinder the Dutch from coming up to the Caura to buy slaves from the Caribs and to furnish them with arms and cultivate the hatred of the Spaniards, which they have introduced among the Indians, in order that there should be no failure of this harvest, which so much benefits their own neighbouring colonies; and as they derive no little advantage from the attitude of conquerors which the guards of the Missions adopt, and from their independence of the Governor-Commandant of Guayana, these should be united to the troops forming the garrison of the forts, and the Missions should be provided with detachments from this corps; the conduct of these disciplined troops would be pleasing to the settled Indian, and feared by the savages; and one and the other would respect it as belonging to a respectable corps governed by a Chief; the obedience to him of the troops that have charge of the converted Indians would teach them to recognize him as a superior, and to obey him. The Commandant would have knowledge of those dominions of Your Majesty owing to the [constant] movement of the Mission guards and the custom of visiting them; the journey of the detachment to the Missions of Barinas and the withdrawal of the relieved party would be another obstacle in the way of the illicit trade in the River Apure, and would move the savages to settle themselves; the escort of the officer in charge of silver, which could relieve the detachment at the Missions of Meta, would produce the same effect; the villages of the Lower Orinoco of the Jesuit and Franciscan Mission that do not need one permanently, because they have the troops in Angostura close to them, would be encouraged by being protected from the Carib invaders, and an officer with thirty men would keep the fortified towns of San Fernando de Alabaquí,* safe-guard of the Casiquari and San Carlos on the Rio Negro; and with these can be maintained the Guypunavis, Manetibitannas, Thosannas, Manceas, and others, that I had the good fortune to reduce to peaceful subjection to Your Majesty, and I do not doubt that the Indians of the frontier who of themselves have managed to restrain the progress of the Portuguese rule, and who have asked for the protection of Your Majesty, will be kept faithful by the protection of those few Spaniards, and will all embrace our holy Law.

For this end the Capuchin monks of the Province of Carácas are suitable, for they have converted, settled, and civilized those Indians, and they have no infidels on whom to employ themselves; for, though the Jesuits are contiguous to the Guypunavis, they have the numerous Guahiva nation in the western part of Orinoco between the Rivers Meta and Apure, and in the eastern part between Cuchivero and Zasiariapu la Quagua, Mapoye, and Piaroa, on whom they can worthily employ their fervent preaching.

The Padrasto of the Castle of San Francisco de Asii de la Guayana being fortified and the Fort of Limones being armed, the city being moved to Angostura, and the villages near its present site being done away with, the troops that are in Orinoco, Apure, and Meta being brought together, a Governor for the Province of Guayana being appointed, the injurious introduction of foreigners will be made impossible, and the pious objects of Your Majesty will be made easier of accomplishment.

This, Sire, is all that occurs to me to lay at the feet of Your Majesty.

(Signed) DN. JOSEPH SOLANO. (Rubric.)

December 15, 1761.

No. 23.

Table of the Capuchin Missions in Guayana in 1761.

Notes relating to the Map of the Viceroyalty of Santa Fé by Don Francisco Antonio Moreno Escandon.

(Extract.)

THE statistical particulars that are on the margin of the map of the Government of Cumaná, drawn by Juan Aparicio in 1762. The said statistics show the actual position of the cities, towns, posts, and other places of the Spaniards, learned foundations, Missions of the Indians, number of men capable of bearing arms, families, individuals, houses, farms, churches, contributions of the Indians.

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* Atabapo.

[The said map is to accompany "the Reports of the visit made by the present Governor, Colonel Don Joseph [Diguja] Villagomez."]
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Missions in the Charge of the Reverend Fathers the Catalonian Capuchins of Guayana.					Men capable of bearing Arms.	Families.	Souls.	Houses	Planta- tions.	Churches.
Missions sixteen.	Of Capapui	..	..	..	159	159	634	97	..	1
	„ Alta Gracia	..	..	..	122	122	499	86	..	1
	„ Suay	..	..	..	72	72	224	51	..	1
	„ Amaruca	..	..	..	65	65	230	..	..	..
	„ Caroni	..	..	..	60	60	225	34	..	..
	„ Aripuco	..	..	..	..	..	42	2	..	..
	„ Aguacaua	..	..	..	21	19	87	12	..	..
	„ Murucuri	..	..	..	70	70	329	..	..	..
	„ S. Jph. de Leonisa	..	..	..	103	66	271	20	..	..
	„ Guarimna	..	..	..	60	60	219	..	..	..
	„ Carapu	..	..	..	71	62	291	..	..	..
	„ Miamo	..	..	..	147	146	517	64	..	..
	„ Guaseipati	..	..	..	..	..	210	24	..	..
	„ Palmar	..	..	..	99	98	350	..	..	..
	„ Ave-Chica	..	..	..	..	..	191	18	..	..
	„ Piacoa	..	..	..	32	32	73	..	..	..

[NOTE.—Column of reference to folios omitted.]

The foregoing Tables are taken from the respective part of the folios and Reports that are mentioned, and are transmitted to His Majesty the King in Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies.

No. 24.

“Expediente” relating to the Removal of [the City of Santo Thomé de] la Guayana to Angostura on the Orinoco (1763-4).

Introductory Minutes.

(1.)

Cumaná, 15th December, 1763.—The Governor, Don Joseph Diguja, “sends a collection of papers explaining and justifying the accompanying Map and ‘Consulta,’ in consequence of the order communicated to him of Your Majesty’s intention of removing the City of Guiana to Angostura on the Orinoco. He gives a long description of its advantageous situation and the irreparable injury which will result to religion, the service of Your Majesty, and your subjects in those dominions if the project of removal be carried out.”

“Archivo General de Indias,” Seville. Audience of Carácas concerning the removal of Guiana to Angostura of the Orinoco, 1761 to 1766. 133—3—16.

Note.—“By the report of Don Joseph Solano of the 15th of December, 1761, it is known that the former population consisted of 450 persons, the garrison included, and that the ramparts of Fort Asis offered little resistance. The climate bad, the houses of wood and clay, thatched with palm branches; the church built in the same way; the troops exposed to insult and to the risk of losing their defences at one stroke, when there would be no further protection for the province, and Cumaná, Carácas, Barinas, and even Santa Fé would be left exposed and in want of provisions, entrance being very easy, and the navigation of the Orinoco well known. He proposed the removal to Angostura; and Your Majesty having agreed thereto, instructions and orders were accordingly sent to Don Joachim Moreno de Mendoza, and Solano was desired to clear up all doubts and difficulties which might arise.”

“In his report of 15th August, 1764, the aforesaid Don Joachim Moreno advises that the removal has been carried out, with a statement of the inhabitants, and of expenses incurred, showing their inability to defray the cost of transport, building, &c., and a request that these may be borne by the Royal Exchequer, which had been granted by an Order of the 26th of the preceding March.”

No Order is found.

(2.)

Cumaná, December 15, 1763.

The Governor, Don Joseph Diguja, &c.

[Repetition of first paragraph.]

Note.—This was received in September 1763, when news had already arrived that the removal was accomplished, for which reason no further order was made.

(There is a fly-leaf as follows): The map was not remitted with this from San Ildefonso in September, 1765.

Yes, it did come, but being rather large and mounted on a gilt roller it was hung in the Office of the Secretary of State as an ornament.

File of Papers.

"Papers drawn up by Colonel Don Joseph Diguja Villagomez, in justification of the Map and 'Consulta' accompanying, in which he represents to His Majesty the irreparable injury which will result to our holy religion, the service of their Majesties, the Royal Exchequer, and the common welfare of his subjects in these dominions if the proposed removal of the City of Guayana is carried out, as well as the other points contained in the Royal Order, 27th May, 1762, that his royal consideration being informed of what is set forth in the said 'Consulta,' he may resolve thereon according to his Sovereign good-pleasure."

(Marginal note.) Royal Order that the City of Guayana be situated thirty-four leagues higher up from the Fort at Angostura where the Orinoco narrows to eight hundred yards, and further resolutions for carrying it out.

(Margin.) Decree commanding evidence to be taken on the Royal Order, to be filed with the papers which are to be completed, to inform His Majesty of the patent difficulties which impede the accomplishment of the said Royal Order.

(Margin.) Decree commanding copies of various Royal Orders, "Cedulas," papers, decisions, calculations, and other measures taken for the construction of the new Fort San Fernando on the bank of the Orinoco.

(Margin.) Royal "Cedula" approving what the Governor, Don Joseph Canoño, did for the chastisement of the Carib and Asaimas Indians.

(Margin.) The Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Cumaná, Don Juan de la Tornera, represents to Your Majesty the advisability of building a fortified settlement at Angostura on the great River Orinoco, by which the Dutch and other foreigners make their way inland with many ships. They penetrate a hundred leagues up the river into the mainland, and carry on commerce with the Caribs and other nations, and procure Indian slaves for their heretical colonies. But if this passage were closed, the Kingdom of Santa Fé would be secured from hostility and other grave dangers which now threaten it from the Orinoco. This settlement would also serve as a protection for the Franciscan and Capuchin Missionaries and also for those of Carácas, as is more clearly represented to Your Majesty by this "Consulta."

Copy annexed..

Sire,

As soon as I arrived in this Government I endeavoured to encourage the Missions at Piritu of the Franciscan Fathers, giving them an escort with which they might penetrate among the infidel Indians to the Rivers Cari and Orinoco, to preach to them the law of the Gospel, with the result that the Mission of Saint Bonaventure is firmly established and those of Saint Joachim and Saint Rose very much increased, many Indians being drawn from the forest. News was frequently sent me that many foreigners, the Dutch from Surinam, came to these places trading, in vessels, and penetrated more than 100 leagues up the Orinoco, and more than 30 above Angostura, the Fathers lamenting the trade carried on with the Caribs, the sale of tools, stuffs, wine, spirits, guns, and other arms, which they exchanged for a large number of Indian slaves. On account of which it was resolved that they should explore the rivers and banks of the Caroni and Orinoco and the whole country, which they did in two expeditions, for which I gave them a sufficient force for their protection, and the accomplishment of their design. They sent me a description and journals of their preaching and explorations on these two occasions, which I forwarded to Your Majesty by Father Victoriano de Castejon, a Capuchin of the Missions in this province, who went to Court to throw himself at the feet of Your Majesty in November of last year, 1723, that Your Majesty might be made aware of these things, and of the great evils which spring from the toleration of the aforesaid commerce, which might be remedied and prevented by the missionaries making a settlement at the aforesaid Narrows (Angostura) of the Orinoco, which is situated at the limit of their villages at five days' journey distant, through prairie lands, with no large rivers to prevent passage at any time, being the nearest to it, for, from the Fort of Guayana it is a six days' journey up the Orinoco to the said Angostura, which cannot be accomplished by land on account of the River Caroni, which flows into the Orinoco and is of equal magnitude. The Island of Trinidad is distant 15 days' navigation, of which the greatest part lies through this Government and the villages of the said missionaries. With respect to Your Majesty having granted, by an Order of the 21st August, 1683, 30 soldiers above the seven allowed from Fort Clarines and having ordered Don Francisco de Viveros Salinda, who was then Governor in these provinces that he should establish them in an entrenchment (?) in the most convenient place for the security and protection of the said missionaries of Piritu, having no other duty than that of their guard. When he failed to carry out this order Your Majesty ordered Don Gaspar de Acorta, who succeeded him in the government, to carry out the aforesaid instructions, by a "Cedula" of the 11th of November, 1687. And lastly, by an Order of the 25th December, 1790 [1690], Your Majesty ordered Don Gaspar de Acorta to construct this fort of protection for the missionaries, and assigned the payment of its allowance to the Treasury of Panamá, to be paid at

the same time as that of the Fort of Araya; which order was never carried out, with the result that these Missions of Piritu are often harassed, notwithstanding that the Militia guard, and Indians granted them, have formed three villages and spread over all the land, and discovered Angostura on the Orinoco. If Your Majesty is pleased to order that the 37 soldiers, with four or six more, with a captain, lieutenant, ensign, sergeant, and corporal, with eight gunners for the management of the cannon, be established at the said Angostura, and that the missionaries of Piritu found a new Indian Mission there, as the territory is vast and very fertile, the allowance of the infantry to be charged on the Treasury of Mexico, as is that of the Fort of Araya, or on that of Sante Fé, as it defends the entrance to the Orinoco, or that of Carácas as being nearer, by means of this fort, Your Majesty will prevent the trade and commerce of foreigners with the Caribs, making sure of this nation, who have no escape, and securing the kingdom of Santa Fé from attack by way of the Orinoco. It will also serve as a protection to the missionary Capuchins of this province, as also to those of Carácas, the Franciscans being in the middle of the territory to the east, the Capuchins of Carácas to the left in the same direction, so that a fort will protect the three Missions on the side towards the Orinoco, and the subjection of the Caribs will be brought about without arms or bloodshed, and the Indians whom the foreigners remove to their heretical colonies will remain in these provinces subjects of Your Majesty, and enjoying the light of the Catholic Faith in a well-ordered and Christian life. Sire, it seemed to me that I was obliged in conscience to render this account to Your Majesty, that you might consider, determine, and command thereon according to your good pleasure for the extension of these Dominions.

God preserve the Catholic person of Your Royal Majesty for the needs of Christendom.

Cumaná, January 8, 1724.

(Margin.) Royal Order sent to Don Juan de la Tornera, in which it is resolved to build a fort at Angostura on the Orinoco for the advantage it will be to the Royal Service.

(Margin.) Royal Order to the said Governor, acquainting him that his information has been received with pleasure, especially as to his success in fighting against the Indian savages, and expressing a hope that he will be watchful to prevent the encroachments of the said Indians and of the foreign nations who encourage them, and will continue to give information of all that may occur.

Copy annexed.

In a letter of the 14th November of the year 1727, Your Excellency gives an account of the number of Indians, converted and settled during your term of government, with the assistance you have furnished for that end, and of the pagan Caribs and other savage nations having made war in order to terrify the villages of converts, kill the missionaries and Spaniards, and make slaves of the Indians not of their own nation, when Your Excellency says you took proper measures of defence in the combats, which took place on the banks of the River Ilitere [*sic*], several of the Indian savages being killed, and a celebrated Chief called Taberoa and others taken prisoner, and placed in the fort at Guayana. There were eleven houses in the vicinity of the place of combat, arranged as arsenals, with quarters, and a supply of arms, such as arrows, guns, cutlasses, lances, "macanas,"* and other arms, as is related at length in the declarations which Your Excellency forwarded, stating that the Indians were assisted by English officers and soldiers, with intent to establish themselves in the old villages. Having made the King acquainted with the contents of Your Excellency's letter and the declarations enclosed, His Majesty commands me to inform Your Excellency that he has received the news with pleasure, especially that of the happy issue of the fight with the Indians, and that he hopes from your zeal and vigilance that Your Excellency will be on the alert to prevent the encroachments of the aforesaid Indians and of the foreigners who encourage them, and that you will continue to send news, so that everything that occurs may be brought to His Royal notice.

God keep Your Excellency many years according to my desire.

(Signed)

DON JOSEPH PATINO.

Señor Don Juan de la Tornera Sota.

Madrid, September 7, 1728.

(Margin.) Royal "Cedula" granted to Colonel Don Carlos Sucre the charge of making settlements in Guayana, exploring the Orinoco, and constructing the fort and redoubts for the suppression of illicit commerce.

(Margin.) Royal "Cedula" that the Governor of Cumaná report on the settlement which the Swedes are attempting to found in a creek of the Orinoco.†

(Margin.) Royal "Cedula" sent to the Governor, Don Carlos Sucre, to take measures to prevent the Swedes from settling at the River Barima.‡

(Margin.) Royal "Cedula" sent to the Marques de San Felipe, Acting Governor, acknowledging the receipt of a letter in which he makes known the orders given for the protection of the Missions of those Provinces, and ordering him to report upon the expedition of Colonel Don Carlos Sucre to Angostura on the Orinoco with intent to drive the Caribs from that part.

* Macána is a wooden weapon in the form of a scimitar in use among the Indians.

† See No. 10.

‡ See No. 11.

Copy annexed.

THE KING,

To the Marques de San Phelipe and Santiago, my Acting Governor of Cumaná.—In a letter of 23rd December, 1735, you acknowledged receipt of the “Cedula” of 22nd May, of the same year in which you were commanded to give a particular account of the progress of the Missions by all ships bound for this kingdom; and though you had already done so in a letter of the 2nd of November, of the said year, you repeated your information, which was further borne out by the two copies and original letter of the magistrates of New Barcelona, making known that the Missions of Pampatar and Anauco were threatened by the Caribs, whereupon the small number of Infantry was despatched to their assistance, allowed by the scarcity of soldiers, caused by several detachments having gone out, especially one which accompanied Don Carlos Sucre in the expedition against the Caribs, adding that he had marched to Angostura on the Orinoco with the intention of driving the Caribs from that part, and building and maintaining a fortification of logs, until further orders were received from me, this being the best means to cut off their communications, of which you proposed to send an account. Having considered the matter in my Council of the Indies, and heard the advice of my Attorney-General, it was resolved to acknowledge receipt of your said letter, and order and command you (as I do hereby) to give an account of all that has resulted therefrom, for such is my pleasure.

I, THE KING.

By order of our lord the King.

DON MIGUEL DE VILLANUEVA.

(Three Rubrics at the foot of the Royal “Cedula,” seemingly those of the members of the Royal Supreme Council of the Indies.)

Given at Aranjuez, April 28, 1737.

(Margin.) Copy of the report made to His Majesty in his Royal Supreme Council of the Indies, by Father Joseph Gumilla, of the Company of Jesus, missionary of the Missions of Cassanare, Meta, and Orinoco, Superior of the said Missions, Procurator General of the Province of the New Kingdom at this Court, on the means of preventing the hostilities suffered by the colonies of the great River Orinoco from the Caribs and the Dutch, and the best means of attaining this end.

Copy annexed.

Sire,

1. Introduction.

The deplorable state of the Missions which the Province of the Society of Jesus for the New Kingdom began to restore on the Orinoco in the month of December 1731 has obliged my Province to send me to this Court (having regard to my twenty-two years’ experience in missionary life) to throw myself at the feet of Your Majesty, and as an eye-witness to represent these grave evils, and beg their remedy from Your Royal Benevolence, to the greater glory of God, the service of Your Majesty, and increase of your Royal dominions, which not only the Jesuit missionaries, but many apostolic men, Franciscans and Capuchins, will endeavour to promote on the said Orinoco.

2. Causes of the union of the Dutch and Caribs.

Sire, the harvest is great, the soil of many pagan nations well-disposed and fertile for the reception of the Holy Gospel, and the labourers (though few) would produce much fruit if the enemy of souls did not avail himself of the avarice of the Dutch, and the bloodthirsty and inhuman character of the Caribs, to destroy in a day the apostolic labour of a whole year. They come up from the sea (both these nations) to rob and burn the villages of the Missions and carry off as many captives as they can, and sell them at Essequibo, Berbice, and Surinam, colonies of the aforesaid Republic established (not on the Orinoco), but a good distance to the east of its mouths. Besides the profit from slaves the Dutch are moved to keep up their strong alliance with the Caribs, by the value of the balsam of Tolu (Aceite de Maria), and of a species of bixwort found on the Orinoco. To procure these some Dutch introduce themselves among the fleets of these Indians, painted according to the custom of the said savages, by which they encourage them, and add boldness to the lamentable destruction which they work. Added to which, many Caribs receive a great supply of arms, ammunition, glass beads, and other trifles, with the understanding that they are to be paid for within a certain time with Indians, which they must take prisoners on the Orinoco. And when the time has elapsed, the Dutch creditors encourage and even oblige the Caribs to their bloody raids against the defenceless Indians of the Orinoco.

3. Destruction of the former Missions.

From this root sprang the first and second ruin of the Missions which the Jesuits established with great labour and trouble in the years 1684 and 1693, when the Reverend Fathers Ignacio Fiñol, Ignacio Teobas, Gaspar Bek, and Vicente Lovero gloriously shed their blood in defence of their sheep, as did also Tiburcio de Medina, the Captain of the guard, leaving the settlements once and again sacked and burnt.

4. Evils recently experienced.

But coming to our own times, from the same Dutch root springs the pride of the Chief Taricura and of the Caribs, his successors, and the incessant evil which it has wrought us from the year 1733 to the year 1738 (and, as I hold for certain, even to the present day) in the colonies on the Orinoco, with the death of many Indian catechumens, and the captivity of many more. On the 31st of March, 1733, they burnt our Colony of Our Lady of the Angels, and on the following day they came down on that of San Joseph de Otomacos with twenty-seven war

canoes, and if the soldiers of the guard and the friendly Indians had not defended themselves valiantly, they would have burnt and sacked the place and taken my companions and myself prisoners, or killed us for their banquets, for this was the principal end of this and the following attacks, which I will briefly touch upon.

In the year 1735 the said Caribs burnt the settlement of San Miguel de Bichado, and took a great number of Indians prisoners, leaving many others dead. On the 29th of September, 1735, they stormed the colony of Mamo, which was under the care of the Franciscan Fathers. They killed nearly all the Indians and two soldiers, and after having shot the Venerable Father Andrés Lopez through the body, and struck him on the mouth with one of their wooden weapons, they hung him when half dead, and returned with many captives to take the settlement of San Antonio de Caroni, which belongs to the Capuchin Fathers, unawares; but God willed that the aggressors should be discovered, and they were obliged to retire, and content themselves with having killed one of the principal Indians of that Mission. Shortly afterwards they burnt the colony of Concepcion of Uyapi, from whence the Franciscan Fathers had recalled their missionaries of Piritu that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. A few days afterwards they burnt the colony of San Joseph de Otomacos, and we were obliged to fly with a few Indians to a more secure and distant spot, where we were exposed to hunger and the total want of all necessaries. Though here set forth in a few words, these are bitter afflictions which have caused, and still cause, the missionary Fathers many tears; but their grief is no sooner grown more calm than we seek places of more security, gather together the dispersed Indians, and form new Colonies, with the grievous obstacle of fierce and repeated assaults from the Caribs on the small guard which assists us; but with the evident protection of God and the firm hope that Your Majesty's pious zeal will put an end to these evils, the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Capuchins still stand firm in Orinoco; and though they know the boldness of the Caribs will be daily increased by the encouragement they receive from the Dutch, the knowledge is so far from inspiring them with terror that many others at the sight of their glorious labours desire to bear them company.

Besides the aforesaid, I would also bring to the high understanding of Your Majesty that this great River Orinoco is like an open door, giving free access to the most interior provinces of Cumaná, Carácas, Maracaybo, and to all the New Kingdom of Granada. All these provinces have their fronts (so to speak) protected by fortresses, redoubts, &c., but their backs are unprotected on account of the free access given by the Orinoco, a point worthy of all consideration, and of notable consequence.

From whence it follows that we must look not only to the pacification of the Orinoco and the forwarding of its missions, but also that this great river shall have a door whose key is in the possession of Your Majesty, that thus the three bodies of missionaries may continue to instruct these uncivilized nations in peace, and that the back of the adjacent provinces, which form such a considerable part of South America, may be guarded and secured.

This was the aim of our province of the New Kingdom when in the year 1719 they sent Fathers Juan Capuel and Juan Romeo to explore the three hundred leagues of the Orinoco which flow from the River Meta to Guayana, which they did with all exactitude, taking with them persons well acquainted with the territory; and on the chief point, *i.e.*, the choice of the most suitable spot to fortify and close the access to the Orinoco, the Fathers deferred to the judgment of the Lieutenant and other military chiefs of Guayana, in whose company they searched a long time (the river being swollen) for the Island of Faxardo fronting the mouth of the River Caroni, and it was declared by unanimous vote to be the most appropriate spot for the desired end.

The result of this information sent by the hands of the Provincial of the Society of Jesus in the New Kingdom to Your Majesty was a Royal "Cedula" of the 31st of October, 1726, and a second sent from Seville the 22nd of December, 1729, with two more of the same date commanding the construction of a royal fort on the said Island of Faxardo and two redoubts on either side of the river. These Royal "Cedulas" were entrusted to Don Carlos Sucre, who took upon himself the charge of building the aforesaid fortifications, and thereupon received the dignity of Governor of Cumaná and Guayana, with many other privileges, as shown by the said Royal "Cedulas," and proving the pious Catholic zeal of Your Majesty for the security of the great River Orinoco.

But when the Governor de Sucre took possession of the said government he reported to Your Majesty (saying that it was for the freeing of his conscience) that the said Island of Faxardo was submerged during the heavy winter swells, and that therefore the best place for the desired fortification was Angostura, where he had personally examined the ground, corroborating his report with the opinion of the Rev. Father Castillo, a Franciscan of the Missions of Piritu. Passing over the mystery with which the Governor Don Carlos Sucre thought fit to conceal this very novel opinion from the Jesuit missionaries of the Orinoco, I pass on to answer his two proposals with all possible brevity.

I must first inform Your Majesty that my Provincial, Father Francisco Antonio Gonzales, anxious to restore the old Missions on the Orinoco, so soon as he had news of the said Royal "Cedulas" from Your Majesty, thought fit to withdraw me from the Missions of Casanare and Meta, and send me down the Orinoco to await the coming of the said Governor de Sucre, in whose company and that of his predecessor, the Lieutenant of the marine-guard, Arredondo, a thorough inspection and examination of the said Island of Faxardo was made, at which the principal officers of the Royal Infantry of Guayana also assisted. We formed a semicircle round the lowest part to facilitate the ascent to the summit of the Island, which is formed of rocks and crags more than high enough to command a view of both sides of the Orinoco. This lower part of the Island, even in the highest swell of winter, affords sufficient ground for a large fortress, arsenals, and soldiers' quarters. The highest part of the Island is divided from the lowest by a small creek of the Orinoco. In the winter swells the greater part of the Island is submerged, as will be seen by the enclosed plan. This verifies the report of the Governor de Sucre, that the Island of Faxardo

5. Other evils more recent and considerable.

6. Not only the good of the Missions is considered, but that of all the provinces of the interior.

7.

8. Exact endeavours of the Jesuits to find the most suitable spot for fortifying the Orinoco.

9. Four Royal Orders from His Majesty for the fortification of Faxardo Island.

10. Answer to the first part of the report.

The island is composed of two parts, very close together.

The most of the highest part of the island is submerged.

Most of the lowest part is not submerged.

11. Another difficulty is touched upon, but easily disposed of.

Easy answer to another difficulty.

12. The Marques de San Phelipe y Santiago has a good answer to the second part.

13. New means of pacifying the Orinoco, two war boats.

Impossible in the present state of things on the Orinoco.

14. Two armed vessels would be useful but not sufficient.

15. He confirms his words by a strong corroboration.

is occasionally submerged (that is the highest * part which looks up the current of the Orinoco), but the former report of the exploring Fathers which called forth Your Majesty's Royal "Cedulas" is also confirmed, that the Island of Faxardo is the best place for the fortification, and for preventing access by the Orinoco, that is the lowest part of the Island which looks down the river, so that this Island consists of two parts, close together, one part mostly submerged and the other part more elevated.

This ground presents only one difficulty, which is, that a small creek called Mucura detaches itself from the Orinoco above the Island of Faxardo and flows back to the river below it, as is shown by the enclosed plan, by which means it would seem the enemy might take refuge in the season of the swells. But this inconvenience is easily overcome (according to the opinion of the experienced) by fixing and cutting trees in the creek on either side of the mouth of the creek in the summer when there is little or no water, so that by means of these palisades and the sand and débris brought by the first winter swells the creek will be completely blocked, a method much practised in these provinces. It is said that if the artillery is fixed at Faxardo (though the calibre be even six) it will not reach the opposite ravines. One might as well deny the light of day, for everyone knows by experience that a musket ball will reach them, if not at a fixed point, at least as far as distance is concerned.

The second proposition of the said Governor de Sucre, that Angostura is the best place to fortify the Orinoco, has been already attacked with many solid and forcible reasons by the Colonel Sergeant Major of the Fort of Cumaná, the Marques de San Phelipe y Santiago, in his report recently presented to Your Majesty in your Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies Nos. 5, 6, and 7. For if the fort be really placed at Angostura, 23 leagues of river would be left exposed to the will of the Dutch and other foreigners; the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers would be left an open road for the destruction of the settlements of the Franciscans of Piritu; a large field left to strangers for the establishment of their colonies to the greatest prejudice of all that considerable part of South America, which would be in continual fear and dread of invasions. Besides all this, the said Angostura (which I have travelled over and examined step by step many times) is formed of ground so arid, stony, and sterile, and is so full of plagues of mosquitos and other insects, that it is really uninhabitable, especially because in the whole extent there is no soil in which to sow even a little maize, for which reason not even Indian savages live in the vicinity. How, then, could poor strangers live there? Therefore Angostura is not the proper place for the proposed fortress.

It only remains to investigate the best means of remedying the evils before-mentioned, and ensuring the security so much desired, both for the missionaries and the Provinces of the interior. The aforesaid Lieutenant-Colonel Marques de San Phelipe y Santiago, in his report No. 4, says, that to close the navigation and commerce of the whole Orinoco, not only to the Dutch and French, but also to the Caribs, which is the essential point, it would be sufficient to have two small vessels of war, of medium tonnage, manned by 25 or 30 men apiece, and armed with a couple of swivel guns or falconets, muskets, &c., to cruise in the Orinoco. To explain more clearly, I will say that to the great consolation of all the missionaries of the Orinoco, the Governor de Arredondo attempted to establish these two war-vessels in the year 1733, and in the following year, 1734, at the instance of the said missionaries, it was again attempted by the Governor de Sucre, but on both occasions without lasting effect (I speak as an eye-witness), and the first two attempts were very arduous from want of provisions, soldiers, and rowers, three things which will always be wanting until a different system is adopted on the Orinoco. The plan was put an end to by the desertion of the starving soldiers, the want of provisions, and flight of the rowers. The longest expedition lasted 60 days, because the Governor Arredondo accompanied it in person; but this short attempt so quickly relinquished only proved the means of aggravating the haughty and cruel character of the Caribs. The repeated expeditions of the Governor de Sucre, undertaken with so much anxiety to the Province and cost to the Royal Exchequer, were also of short duration and of little effect except as an escort for the money sent every year from Santa Fée to Guiana for the payment of the garrison, for which the Carib Indians invariably lie in ambush. This short trial of the said war-ships has proved by experiment that the plan is not practicable and would continue so, even if there were sufficient provisions and soldiers (which there is not), from want of rowers, for the Missions of the Franciscans are very distant from Guayana, and those of the Jesuits four times further, so that the rowers must be Indians from the Capuchin Missions, who, when they have yielded to the entreaties of the missionaries and agreed to row the ships for their pay, when it comes to the point either conceal themselves or return to their villages, in a few days, feigning illness, and other pretexts, and this is irremediable.

The two aforesaid armed vessels (would to God that they could be established!) would be very useful if peace were established on the Orinoco and the Island of Faxardo fortified, but they are not sufficient to pacify it now and defend it afterwards; any more than were the nine vessels of considerable tonnage, well armed with guns and manned by 90 soldiers (rowers not included), placed in the Orinoco by the Governor Arredondo. Nor were those repeatedly placed there by the Governor de Sucre, not only on account of the three wants aforesaid, but also on account of the great strength of the Caribs, assisted by the Dutch, which is such that not only 30, but 60, and sometimes 80, armed vessels of war have been seen in the Orinoco proceeding 500 leagues up the river in spite of the rapids, against which ships a large force and strong resistance is required, for which two small vessels of medium tonnage cannot suffice.

I therefore agree with the Marques de San Phelipe y Santiago that, besides the fortifications and garrisons which are on the coasts of Cumaná, that a frigate and a bilander should continually

* i.e., highest up stream.

cruise (for which there is good reason) in the manner described in his report No. 8 to put down the bold advance and commerce of foreigners. I would also say that after the construction of the Royal fort at Faxardo and the side redoubts, as Your Majesty has deigned to command, the two vessels would be very useful in suppressing the bold attempts and commerce of foreigners, and still more, if it were possible to establish them on a firm footing at once, their presence in the Orinoco would be a great relief and security to the artisans and labourers in the Island of Faxardo; and the evangelical missionaries and loyal subjects of Your Majesty, who dwell in this humble corner of the New World in continual misfortune and risks, for the service of the Divine Majesty, and yours, will breathe again.

Notwithstanding what has been said respecting the two armed vessels (as I have suffered many attacks from the Caribs' vessels during my missionary experiences), I must add that these vessels, even if well armed, will have to suffer many violent and sudden attacks, until the Caribs are forced to keep the peace, for which purpose the two vessels, as I have said, cannot suffice. My opinion is confirmed by the Lieutenant Colonel Marques de San Phelipe y Santiago in his Report No. 6, in which he further proves that Angostura, on the Orinoco, is not the proper place for the fortification, adding that "in that case the vessels, with provisions, would be obliged to travel fifty or sixty leagues up river from Guayana, so that unless a powerful convoy were provided it would be easy for the Indians to intercept them; therefore," &c. So that supposing the fort to be at Angostura, a larger force is needed solely for carrying provisions; or in case the fort is not built there, nor at Faxardo, a larger convoy is necessary for ordinary transport, and two vessels of medium tonnage will not suffice, without being often in manifest danger; much less can they suffice to pacify and defend the great Orinoco, and keep it subject to Your Royal Crown, as is so anxiously desired.

In short, Sire, the said fortification and two redoubts on the Island of Faxardo, as was granted and commanded by Your Majesty, is what is needed for the greater spreading of the Gospel, extension of your Royal kingdom, and security of the provinces of the interior, which always live in dread of attack through their rear not being guarded. This is the greatest desire of your loyal subjects, and would have been carried out by the Governor de Sucre if he had not been prevented by his great age, and this is what is represented to Your Majesty by the Royal Court of Santa Fé in the accompanying report of Council, which is placed for consideration in the Royal Supreme Council of the Indies, in Your Majesty's hands, ever open in favour of conversion of the heathens of North and South America to our holy faith, the largest field at present, and that in greatest peril, being the famous River Orinoco, which God has placed under the shelter of Your Royal clemency.

It is not my duty to represent to Your Majesty the best means of constructing the Royal fort at Faxardo, and ensuring its stability, but the practical knowledge which I have of the unhappy state of the said country and my desire of seeing Christianity flourish among these nations, and of making them subjects of Your Royal Crown, compels me to make the following representations to Your Majesty:—

First, that the key of the Orinoco (even when the Island of Faxardo is fortified) will always be the Island of Trinidad of the Windward Islands, which adjoins all the mouths of the Orinoco; wherefore the possession of that Island will dominate all the mouths of the Orinoco at pleasure. This Island, although reputed the most fertile of all the Windward Islands, is almost entirely unpopulated for want of settlers; but if Your Majesty would command families from the Canaries to be placed on all the registers of Cumaná and Caracas to settle at Trinidad and Guayana, on the same terms as they go to Havana and Caracas (with some further assistance because of the great poverty of the country), the Island of Trinidad, once populated, would be a rampart of security to the Orinoco, and by continuing to bring families to Guayana this vast unpopulated territory would increase in strength.

Secondly, if Your Majesty were pleased to give the person to whom you commit the government of Cumaná and Guayana two or more blank Royal "Cedulas," with titles of founders of settlements and power to divide the land, &c., among the Spaniards of the neighbouring provinces, it would encourage the founding of Spanish settlements on the banks of the Orinoco from Guayana to Meta, a distance of nearly 300 leagues. It is probable that many would be encouraged to settle, to the considerable increase of commerce with Spain, the land being very fertile, with valleys well suited to the cultivation of cacao.

Thirdly and lastly, I must mention, though Your Majesty has doubtless been already informed by one or other of your loyal subjects in Cumaná, from whose reports I have heard it (I am not an eye witness in this as in the other things related), that a violent north wind drove the sea over the salt works of Araya to the depth of six fathoms or more. The fort having been constructed solely for the purpose of guarding the works (which no longer exist), the garrison of 211 soldiers, 36 cannons, arms, &c., are left idle, and available, if it please Your Majesty, for 100 soldiers to defend the Orinoco, and the pay of the remaining 111 (while the construction is on hand) to be applied to the building of the Royal fort and redoubts of the Island of Faxardo, vessels, boats, and other works relating to it.

Supposing, but not granting, the existence of the salt works of Araya at present, it is certain that the object for which the fort was built no longer exists: this was to prevent the number of foreign vessels which came to fetch cargoes of salt from the said works; but so many places for getting salt are now discovered (free, being in unpopulated districts) in the Windward Islands, that even if the works of Araya were available and unguarded, the foreigners would not supply themselves from it, having others much nearer. The means, therefore, lies at your Royal pleasure to fortify and pacify the Orinoco, without further cost to the Royal Treasury, thus ensuring the extension of Your Majesty's Royal dominions, the security of the provinces of the interior, and the

16. The facts are further proved.

17. The importance of fortifying Faxardo Island.

The age of the Governor de Sucre prevented him from building the fort. The Royal Court of Santa Fé advises Your Majesty of the importance of this fort.

Field for conversions in Orinoco.

18. Reflection of the informant.

19. Bringing of settlers to Trinidad and Guiana.

20. The founding of colonies at Orinoco would be quickened by grants of privileges.

21. Should the sea submerge the salt mine of Araya the garrison would be left idle and at hand for the fortification of the Orinoco.

22. Though the salt mine were still in existence the end for which the fort was constructed is so no longer.

promotion by your Royal benevolence of the three bodies of Apostolic missionaries on the River Orinoco and among its most heathen nations (occupying more than 1,000 leagues of country), who toil incessantly for the service of the Divine Majesty, and yours, the only motives which have moved me to place this report with all submission in your Royal hands, which I humbly kiss.

This is a copy of the report which remains in the Office of the Secretary of State, of the Council and "Camara" of the Indies, for the affairs of the Provinces of New Spain, under my charge.

(Signed) DON FERNANDO TRIVINO.

Madrid, December 9, 1745.

(Margin.) Report which the Marques de San Phelipe made to His Majesty for impeding the traffic of Caribs and foreigners in the Orinoco.

Copy annexed.

Sire,

The Marques de San Phelipe y Santiago, placing himself at the feet of Your Majesty with the most entire submission, says that having seen the report made to Your Majesty by the Rev. Father Joseph Gumilla, of the Society of Jesus, Procurator of the Province of the New Kingdom of Santa Fée de Bogota, with regard to preventing the traffic of the Caribs and foreigners in the Orinoco and for its fortification, and having made a report on these and other points according to Your Majesty's commands, he has thought it due to the Royal Service and to the truth and disinterestedness of the aforesaid informant, and the regular proceedings of Don Carlos Sucre, that Your Majesty should be made aware of the objections he can offer to the testimony of the former, though it must necessarily be done briefly and without the due formality, as he is forced to set out in order to embark in the fleet, yet the report will be sufficient, in the hands of Your Majesty, to verify the chief points of the informant's report, but with the regret that where the end is one the various informants should so disagree among themselves as to make it necessary to suspend judgment or to render it doubtful. Nevertheless moved by love and zeal for the Royal Service he will say what offers under the different headings of Father Joseph Gumilla's report.

No. 2. On looking at the Royal "Cedulas" it will be seen that Sucre has obeyed them on his side; he sent his opinion and that of the engineer, as Your Majesty desired him, and till the present time no decision on the subject of the fort has been sent to him, and without this he can neither build nor make settlements. Any other person would have acted in the same way as Sucre.

No. 11. The means suggested by Father Gumilla for blocking the Creek of Macura would be easy enough if the creeks and branches of the Orinoco were like those of other rivers; but the great strength of its currents could not be stopped by palisades from side to side; and, moreover, it might also be that the power of the Caribs would help the river by removing the trees cut down in order to dry up the Creek of Macura, so that it would be navigable, as it is at present, and the fortress and two redoubts would be useless to close the passage.

No. 13. The armed vessels hitherto placed in the Orinoco have been lent by private persons, and manned by persons who have gone at the request of the Governor, most of them without pay, leaving their families in want at home, so that they withdraw themselves in a few days, and the Caribs gather together again and renew their bold attempts. But the informant is not speaking of such vessels as these, but of two armed vessels provided by Your Majesty with regular pay, and the proper men, such as can be found in Cumaná and Guayana to serve as gunners and rowers, well provided with provisions and, always on the river, having their headquarters in Guayana, at the Port of San Francisco de Assis, which is the fortress. The informant says that this is the only means of freeing the Orinoco from Caribs and foreigners; but while a superior force to that which has been already tried is not provided, not even the Royal fort of Araya, the best stronghold in the Indies, is secure; but as he is not speaking of the aforesaid temporary vessels, they cannot be cited in the matter.

No. 14. The expedition of Arredondo not only drove the Caribs from the Orinoco, but he also remained in the ships with Father Gumilla and a small force, and sent them inland, and they explored the ground for several leagues. It is certain that this detachment, falling short of ammunition, and being attacked by Caribs under cover of the forest, found themselves hard pressed; but Arredondo having sent them a reinforcement of twelve men, commanded by Don Felix de Lei, they returned to the vessels, in which were Arredondo and the informant, with the loss of only one man. In all the years that the informant spent in Cumaná and Guayana there has not been a single instance, even to the date of this report, of the Caribs having dared to attack or come near any vessels well-armed with swivel-guns and ammunition, properly manned by from 25 to 30 men, and free to move quickly and give chase. The most they have ever done is to disembark and defend themselves under cover of the woods on the banks, and though many of their vessels pass in the river, they never attack on the water. The informant says that the two vessels of greater strength would not only prevent the Caribs from occupying the river and communicating with strangers, but finding themselves molested, they would evacuate the land as they did fifteen or twenty years ago in the Province of Cumaná, and would leave the other Indian nations free to form settlements as they did before.

No. 16. The informant does not deny that the vessels may have encounters, but he affirms that so long as they are on the river they can scoff at the Caribs, however numerous; and when there is a wind, as there usually is on this river, they can, without using fire-arms, sail over the canoes of the Caribs, and easily swamp them because of their frail construction.

No. 17. Lastly, he says, that on measuring on the map presented by Father Gumilla, which is a faithful copy of that drawn by Don Pablo Diaz Faxardo, the engineer designated by Your Majesty for that purpose, it will be found that the river is narrower before the Fort of San

Francisco de Assis of Guayana, at the small island of the Creek de las Limones, than at the two branches or mouths which the fort in the Island of Faxardo is proposed to defend and close the passage. This is proved by the map, and doubtless this was the reason that our predecessors built the Fort of San Francisco de Assis in its present position rather than on the Island of Faxardo. Granting this, which cannot possibly be contradicted, to what purpose is a new fort in a less suitable position, or a new settlement, or to abandon the present fort and settlement with its farms, herds of cattle and horses, houses, churches, cultivated lands, and twenty-five families which were sent there last year by Your Majesty's order to augment the settlement, bound up as it is with the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia? One settlement is upset by another, or at least they divide our strength with new and increased expenses, and require an augmentation of troops, as 100 soldiers divided leaves only 50 apiece; therefore, should Your Majesty decide to increase the fortifications (as is most fitting and necessary), the best place to do so is Guayana, which is not only this informant's opinion, but also that of the engineer, Don Pablo Diaz Faxardo, who had so planned it, placing a redoubt on the small island in the Creek de las Limones, and repairing the Fort of Guayana, the natural situation of which, upon a rock, enhances its strength; but to secure the fort it would be necessary to build a small redoubt on a mountain summit, which is the only point dominating the fort, and in proof hereof You are referred to these original plans and outline sketches made by the engineer of the two redoubts, and a plan of the situation of the fort in case the copies sent by Don Carlos Sucre and the engineer should not have come to the hands of Your Majesty, by which it will appear by comparison with the plan presented by Father Gumilla that the most convenient and least costly project would be to build fortifications in Guayana and not in the Island of Faxardo.

The advanced age of Don Carlos de Sucre has not been the cause of the fortification not being built, nor has it depended on his will, for in the Royal "Cedula" of 22nd December, 1729, Your Majesty commanded him as follows: "It being advisable to make sure of the stability of this fortress, both in its planning and construction, I have commanded Don Carlos de Briones that so soon as he arrives at the Island of Faxardo he shall make a plan of the said Island, and of the Orinoco in that place, pointing out the depth and width of the water in the whole circuit of the Island, with a plan and outline sketch of the fort which it would be fitting to construct, explaining separately the materials and other things needed for its construction, according to the nature of the country, and the cost of buying and preparing the materials and the necessary labour, indicating and explaining in his plan and account the store-houses and habitations necessary for provisions and ammunition, and quarters for the garrison; charging him also that having signed the said plans, and explanations, with his own hand, he deliver them to you, for which reason I command you that so soon as they are in your possession, you write your opinion at the foot of the said plans and explanations, saying whatever their contents require, or on a separate paper, which, also signed by your hands, you shall remit to my Council for the Indies on the first occasion that offers."

(Margin.) Letter from Father Joseph Gumilla to the Brigadier Don Diego Tabares when he took possession of this Government, telling him, among other things, that he wrote the Memorial which he carried to the King in obedience to his Father Provincial, who bade him write in favour of the Island of Faxardo, but in God and his own conscience he thought it better and less expensive to fortify the Island of Limones.

Copy annexed.

My Lord Governor and Captain-General Don Diego de Tabares, my obedient salutations and congratulations for your prosperous journey come late because the news travelled slowly from Carácas to Santa Fé and from Santa Fé here.

I bid you welcome for the glory of God, the service of our lord the King, and the conversion of all the savages of the Orinoco, which I expect from your zeal and piety.

Sir, not to find fault with your predecessors, but in order that you may grant as they have been used to do (it being the will of our lord the King) I beseech you for the seven or eight soldiers which Señor Espinosa commanded to return to their quarters in Guayana, from the Missions of Orinoco, when (when!) these were sacked and burnt, for the love of God command a detachment of the like number to be sent from Guayana to succour the said Missions imprisoned by savages on every side, and with a guard less competent for their defence.

Father Ferrer has made known to me your efficacious desires, for which I render thanks to God, and also that you bring with you the Memorial which I presented to His Majesty; but with the candour to which my profession binds me I am obliged to inform Your Excellency (whose best information I greatly desire) that in obedience to my Father Provincial who then was, I wrote in favour of the Island of Faxardo, but knowing in God and my conscience that it is much better to fortify the Island of Limones situated on the opposite side of the Royal fort of Guayana, and that this would also be less expensive, I gave the Attorney-General of the Council of the Indies, Don Joseph Borrull, a manuscript with my signature containing many reasons in favour of fortifying the Orinoco at the said place:—

Firstly, less expense; secondly, that by fortifying Faxardo twelve leagues are left exposed to foreigners to enter the Missions of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, or set out for all the Missions of Piritu, Barcelona, or Caracas, and this reason is sufficient to warrant my omitting the others, though they are not to be despised. Your Excellency's judgment will perceive the truth of this, and I am so certain of it that I gave 50 pesos ready money, which was the estimate for making a palisade in the said Creek of Limones, but it was never effected.

Lastly, Sir, you might do much by encouraging the Reverend Fathers of Piritu to establish themselves at Puruey, the place destined by His Majesty (whom God keep) for their apostolic

labours, because this is at present the only means of preventing the Caribs from disturbing the peace of the Missions of the Society of Jesus under my charge. I promise myself this co-operation and much more from all the Christians in your neighbourhood, and I also hope that the most noble commission, which the extreme piety of our unconquered Monarch has confided to your care, may be an occasion of noble merit and the last step on the ladder of highest dignities which Your Excellency has already deserved, to which end all this my Province for the New Kingdom will anxiously co-operate.

May the Divine Majesty grant you many years of health and life to accomplish all, for which I beseech Him. Your Excellency's to command with all affectionate esteem.

I kiss Your Excellency's hands.

Your most obedient chaplain,
(Signed) JOSEPH GUMILLA, S.J.

Missions of Casanare, October 4, 1746.

(Margin.) Royal Instructions on the fortification of the Orinoco given to Gregorio Espinosa de los Monteros, and orders for observing them ultimately sent to Señor Don Diego Tabares.

(Margin.) Royal "Cedula" commanding the Governor Don Diego Tabares to follow the instructions given to Don Gregorio de Espinosa for the fortification of the Orinoco.

(Margin.) Committee to decide on the site of the fort for closing access to the Orinoco, in which it was decided to choose the Creek of Limones opposite the Fort of San Francisco de Assis of Guayana, well known through Don Augustin de Arredondo, late Governor and Captain-General of the Island of Trinidad of the Windward Islands, and Don Pablo Diaz Faxardo.

(Margin.) Decree for proceeding to reconnoitre the site chosen and approved for the building of the Fort of San Fernando on the point of the Island in the Creek of Limones on the eastern part and that nearest to the mainland as the most useful and advantageous.

(Margin.) Committee in which it was determined to construct the battery of San Fernando on the part of the mainland of the Creek of Limones opposite the Fort of San Francisco de Assis, the Orinoco having encroached on that part of the Island in the creek where it was to be constructed.

(Margin.) Letter from Don Phelipe Ricardos, in which he declares that the illicit commerce of foreigners in the Orinoco threatens irreparable ruin and that they will penetrate to the provinces washed by that river.

(Margin.) Letter from the engineer, Don Juan Baptista Maceavan, to His Excellency the Viceroy of the New Kingdom of Granada certifying the map and outline which he sent for the information of His Excellency the Governor Don Diego Tabares.

(Margin.) Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy Don Sebastian Eslaba, approving the site chosen for the Fort of San Fernando and the plan for its construction.

(Margin.) Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy of Santa Fée remitting to the Governor Don Diego Tabares the 16,000 pesos for the construction of the new fort.

(Margin.) Royal Order sent to the Governor Don Mateo Gual by the Knight of Malta, Don Julian de Arriaga, that in the favourable season the construction of the new Fort of San Fernando be undertaken without delay, and zealously continued until absolute completion, making use of the surplus in this treasury, and in its default of those most available, both for its construction and artillery, so that the first news received be of its completion, or near completion, setting the engineer, Don Gaspar de Lara, free from prison to direct the works, and calculate what is wanted, that the Viceroy may have notice thereof and order the prompt remittance of all that is necessary.

(Margin.) Decree ordering the execution of the former Royal Order.
Decree commanding evidence to be taken concerning the former Royal Order for the information of the Viceroy.

(Margin.) Decree commanding Sergeant-Major Don Gaspar de Salaverria to give an account of the balance over from the 16,000 pesos destined for the construction of the Fort San Fernando, and of what is wanted for finishing the work and for its armament.

(Margin.) Decree commanding the document named therein to be filed.

Copy annexed.

Having seen the testimonies concerning the Royal "Cedulas," Orders, and other documents ordered on the first of the current month, with respect to the carrying out of the Orders of His Majesty (whom God preserve), His Excellency says that it would be suitable to the occasion to

have a copy of the letter written by his predecessor, Don Nicolas de Castro, to Monsieur Gravesande, which is in the Archives of the Government, advising him that he was not at liberty to restore the two Dutch prisoners, a negro slave, and a negress with her children who were found by the guard sent by the Commander of Guayana on an island in the Rio Cuyuni, carrying on the illegal Indian slave trade, until he receives His Majesty's decision; the depositions which the Commander remitted to this tribunal concerning the taking of the aforesaid Dutch prisoners; the account of the state of the Missions of the Capuchins of Guayana with the previous accounts of their foundation and establishment, given by the Rev. Prefect of that Community, Father Fidel de Santo, which documents are to be filed in due form, that on their perusal it may be decided what is most fitting to be done for the Royal service. They were therefore furnished by Señor Don Joseph Diguja Villagomez, Colonel of the Royal Forces and Captain-General and Governor of these Provinces, for our Lord the King, who signed it in this City of Cumaná the 27th July, 1763, to which I testify.

(Signed) DIGUJA.

Before me :

LUIS DE FIGUEROA VALLEJOS,
Royal Notary to the Government.

(Margin.) Copy of a letter from the Governor Don Nicolas de Castro to Monsieur Gravesande, advising him that he is not at liberty to restore the two Dutch prisoners, a negro slave, and a negress and her children, found by the guard despatched by the Commander of Guiana on an Island of the River Cuyuni, carrying on the unjust Indian slave trade, until he receives His Majesty's decision.

(Margin.) Letter written by the Rev. Father Benito de la Garriga to the Ensign Don Felix Ferreras, advising him that the chief movers of the rebellion of the Village of Tupuquen were found inland, by the River Cuyuni and at the mouth of the River Corumo, living with two of the Dutch from the Colony of Essequibo, carrying on the Indian slave trade.

(Margin.) Provision and order from Don Felix Ferreras for the apprehension of the said Dutch people.

(Margin.) Instructions which he gave to Don Santiago Bonalde and Don Luis Santos, whom he commissioned to go on the said expedition.

Decree naming witnesses to support the apprehension of the two Dutch people.

(Margin.) Instructions and acceptance.

Decree commanding the aforesaid instruments to be filed and the Dutch to be apprehended.

Examination—Declaration of the First Chief—Various Declarations follow—Order—Declarations of the Dutch—Translation—Plea—Bill of the Dutch—Debts of the Caribs to said Dutch people—Decree of Remission and Order.

(Margin.) State of the Missions of the Reverend Capuchins of Guayana, with previous accounts of their foundation and establishment given by their Reverend Prefect Father Fidel de Santo.

Copy annexed.

Actual state of the Capuchin Missions of Guayana with previous accounts of their foundation and establishment.

It is true that ever since the year 1724 the Indians of the Province of Guayana began to show some perseverance in the Catholic Faith preached to them by the Capuchin Missionaries of Catalonia, and it may therefore be said that their true foundation dates from that time. Although the preaching of the Gospel in that Province was not begun in that year, it may be inferred from the old register of Baptisms that from the year 1664 various priests at different times attempted their pacification and conversion: such were Father Joseph Sampayo, a Dominican, Father Manuel de la Purificacion, barefooted Friar of the Order of Saint Augustine, the priests, Don Francisco de Roxas, Don Miguel Buenaventura de Angulo, Don Joseph de Figueroa, and the Prebendary Don Andres Fernandez; the Jesuits Juan de Vergara, Dionisio Mesland, Francisco de Mauri, and Ignacio Cano; the Capuchins of Catalonia, Father Angel de Mataró, and Father Pablo de Blanes.

The Jesuits solemnly renounced these Missions in favour of the two aforesaid Capuchins and others on the authority of the Governor of Trinidad, Don Tiburcio Arpe y Zuñiga, in the year 1681, and he intrusted them to the aforesaid Capuchins of Catalonia, being commissioned by the Royal Audiencia of Sante Fé to provide missionaries for the Province of Guayana, as appears from the Decrees which remain in the Government Office of Trinidad, as also the Royal "Cedulas" of the 7th of February, 1686, and 29th April, 1687, by which His Majesty grants the Missions of the Provinces of Guayana to the said Catalonian Capuchins, who took charge of them from thenceforth; but the poverty, misfortunes, and many deaths among the missionaries, it being impossible to succour them in their abandonment, or to send missionaries to replace those who were constantly

dying, were the cause of long intervals, in which the Apostolic ministry was at a standstill, and in which all the progress made in the conversions and pacification of the natives was lost.

It should first be noted that nearly all the 16 Missions aforesaid are still being increased by new Indians reclaimed from the woods, or who are taken in as fugitives. Secondly, that it is very difficult to gather together many Indians in the same place for two reasons; firstly, because they are dispersed in small hamlets, and it is necessary to bring them from a distance to establish them in one spot, and they do not wish to leave their own places; secondly, because where many are united it is necessary that there should be many chiefs among them who are friendly, by strange chance, and this causes each, with his adherents, to withdraw whenever they disagree among themselves, which frequently happens, so that it is extremely difficult to keep many Indians in subjection, especially those of the Carib nation.

Eight Missions lost since the year 1724:—

1. The first Mission which was lost was Santa Maria de Yacuaro in the year 1728, which had been founded two years previously, and was composed of 120 souls of the Pariagoto nation. The cause of its loss was an outbreak of small-pox.

2. The second Mission lost was San Miguel de Unata, composed of Guarauno Indians, founded in the year 1735; it consisted of 149 souls. It was destroyed by the Caribs, who burnt it.

3. In the year 1740 the Mission of Payarayma was lost by the invasion of the English. It was composed of Arhureas, Saliba, and Guarauno Indians, to the number of 298 souls.

4. In the year 1742 the Mission of Tipuria was lost by the rebellion of the Asayma Indians, 115 in number.

5. In the year 1750 the Mission of Cunuri, composed of Caribs, was lost; they rebelled and killed six Spaniards, the missionary barely escaping. The Mission was composed of 300 souls.

6. In the same year and day the Mission of Tupuquen, composed of 230 Caribs, was destroyed by the same cause as the two preceding—the rebellion of the Indians—with loss of several Spaniards; and the missionary escaped miraculously, though they had already bound him with the intention of killing him.

7. The same misfortune from the same cause was suffered by the Mission of Cummu [? Cumamo], also composed of Caribs, to the number of 180, in the same year 1750.

8. In the year 1758 the Mission of Terepi was also lost. The Caribs, of whom it was composed, 48 in number, had fled the preceding year, but were retaken, and showed signs of perseverance. They were established in the same place; but moved by their inconstant character, they again fled.

All this I certify to be true, in proof whereof I have signed it in this Mission of the Immaculate Conception of Suay, the 26th of February, 1761.

(Signed) FATHER FIDEL DE SANTO, Prefect.

(Margin.) Letter giving orders to observe His Majesty's commands to be ready with all care and precautions, as in time of war, on account of the distrust felt of the English, without however beginning hostilities unless it be known for certain that they have done so.

Copy annexed.

Sir,

In the course of these last days I have received a general Royal Order dated from Madrid the 3rd October of the year before last, communicated by His Excellency Don Julian de Arriaga, Lieutenant General of the Royal Navy, Secretary of State, and of the Council for the Navy and the Indies, Knight of Malta, in which His Majesty deigns to inform me that although he is desirous of the preservation of peace, to preserve his beloved subjects from the misfortunes which always attend on war, yet he has, and will still continue, to uphold his rights against the English by means of amicable negotiation; but not being sure of finding equal good faith from that Crown, he commands me and the other Governors of the ports, and the commanders of the ships and squadrons, to proceed with due distrust, taking all precautions as in time of a declared war, but without commencing hostilities, unless it be known for certain that they have done so.

It is now certain that the subjects of the King of England have commenced hostilities, for last week an English privateer captured, off Macanao, a bilander which sailed from thence on Ash Wednesday, the 24th of last month, with a cargo of merchandize for Porto Rico. Therefore I think it very necessary to communicate to you the contents of the said Royal Order, and the aforesaid act of hostility of the English privateer, commanding Your Excellency to take all precautions, and use all vigilance, in the country and jurisdiction under your command, with respect to the English Nation, and all individuals belonging to it, to resist and prevent insults and hostility, which they may attempt, and for the guidance of Your Excellency, in all cases and events foreseen or unexpected, which may happen in the territory under your care, the accompanying instructions shall be your guide, and Your Excellency shall comply with their contents in all things fully and exactly, advising me of their receipt along with the aforesaid Order.

God keep Your Excellency for many years.

(Signed) JOSEPH DIGUJA.

Señor Don Juan Valdes.

Cumaná, March 1, 1762.

A Copy of the text of the Instructions and the letter and Order on their contents sent to the Commander of the fortified Settlement of Guayana, the original of which remain in the Secretary's Office of that Government, from which the present copy was taken and to which I refer.

(Signed) JOSEPH DIGUJA,

Cumaná, August 1, 1763.

(Margin.) Instructions to be observed by the Lieutenant of Pao concerning the assistance required from him by the Commander of the Fort of Guayana for his defence in any invasion of the enemy.

(Margin.) Letter from the Governor, commanding the Lieutenant of Pao to carry out the preceding instruction, marching with 100 men as soon as called upon by the Commander of Guayana.

(Margin.) Letter ordering the fulfilment of what His Majesty has commanded—to take all precautions as in time of war on account of the distrust felt of the English, without commencing hostilities, unless assured that they have done so.

Copy annexed.

[Identical with last Annexes, but addressed to Don Juan de Salas.]

Note of Secretary's Office.—The same instructions and orders with the same date were sent to the Lieutenant of the town of Aragua.

JUAN JOSEPH PÍNTO.

Exact Copy of the text of the copies of the original documents sent to the Lieutenant of the Spanish village of Pao, which said copies remain in the Secretary's office of this Government, to which I refer myself.

JOSEPH DIGUJA.

(Margin.) Information in a letter from the Commander of Guayana, Don Juan de Dios Valdes, to the Governor, of the great scarcity, even of daily bread, generally experienced in that province and in some of Iturriaga's villages, and of the measures he has taken to remedy it.

(Margin.) Letter from the Governor to the Commander of Guayana, Don Juan de Dios Valdes, with regard to his report, bidding him look with prudence and moderation to the welfare of the few inhabitants of that part, that they may remain there in contentment, causing the instructions to be carried out on whatever terms are possible when the case presents itself. Approving his orders for providing bread in the scarcity prevailing there.

(Margin.) Information in a letter from the Commander, Don Juan Valdes, to the Governor advising the Governor of the report made by an Indian woman, a Christian, who came to Essequibo, that there are two privateers in the Port of Demarara and two more of their party are expected, intending to go to Guayana when the peace is broken, and that they would have done so before if they had not been prevented by the truce.

(Margin.) Letter from the Governor to the Commander of Guayana, commanding him, in view of the news sent in his letter, to use great vigilance, to the end that his garrison be ready and in a state of defence in case of any sudden invasion, and to be on the watch to succour him when called upon, with the necessary detachment.

(Margin.) Testimony of the letter of the Reverend Prefect of the Missions of Guayana, asking his Excellency for a Lieutenant for the village of San Antonio for the succour of the missionaries in case of a rebellion or disturbance among the Indians, and to explore the forest with the missionaries; to prevent the Caribs selling Indians to the Dutch for the slave trade, together with arms for the defence of the Missions, and advising him of the desertion of the two soldiers of the Mission of Supama, and of two Indians having been killed by them while making their way to Essequibo.

Copy annexed.

On this occasion Don Luis de Rivas is going to Cumaná to bring his parents, brothers, and all those who can come with your permission to the village of San Antonio. I therefore humbly beseech Your Excellency to deign to grant the said Don Luis the title of Lieutenant of the said village, he being competent for the post, and having the confidence of the Fathers of these Missions; and it seems to me fitting that it should be expressed in the grant of the title that the inhabitants of the said village are obliged to assist the Fathers when called upon, in case of a rebellion, or other disturbance among the Indians, as also to offer themselves to go with the Fathers on their expeditions into the forest, and also that when it is known that the Dutch are among the Caribs in the forests or rivers near the confines of our Missions buying Indian slaves, the said Lieutenant (supposing he has sufficient experience therein) be obliged to take the proper measures to apprehend them, for this is a very serious matter. I hope the result will be a great service to God and our lord the King.

In another letter I begged Your Excellency to assist us with fifty pounds of gun-powder and with two or three cases of shot, to provide the small forts of the Missions in case of necessity. And now considering that the inhabitants of San Antonio are very poor, and have no means of buying guns (which are so necessary), I have thought that Your Excellency might order (if such

be your pleasure) the Commander to assist us at present with ten good guns and two blunderbusses, so that should anything occur the inhabitants would have this resource, and we some grounds for confidence, by Your Excellency's favour. These arms should always be in the Lieutenant's house, so as to be always ready, and no one shall be allowed to remove them from the said house unless for the causes aforesaid or others of equal gravity. The Indians of Supama who were in the fort are at present domiciled in this of Suay.

On the occasion when the Father presiding over the Mission of Supama was obliged by illness to go to that of Hima [*sic*], but I heard from the Indians that the other day the two soldiers had deserted, taking the road to Essequibo, and that they killed two Indians of Supama because these latter did not wish them to take away eight boys whom they had embarked for that purpose; the boys, thinking to be killed, fled, and afterwards returned to the Mission with an older Indian, who related this matter, and it is thought that the report is true from other traces which they left, God guide them. The presiding Father of Caroni being dead, I have no Fathers left but the one aforesaid, of Supama. He will be in Caroni, and will also look after those of Avacava [*sic*], and so soon as those of Caroni are ready with their houses, the former will be placed with them, and the Father from Ayma will go there from Supama, as he has done from the time of its foundation.

I remain at the orders of your Excellency with all good will to serve you, and I pray God to keep you for many years.

I kiss your Excellency's hands.

Your most obedient Servant,
(Signed) FRIAR BENITO DE LA GARRIGA.

Suay, December 1, [17]62.

(Margin.) Letter from the Governor to the said Reverend Father Prefect in reply to his, granting him the twelve guns and ammunition, and thanking him for the cassava with which he assisted the Commander of Guayana.

(Margin.) Testimony of the letter of Colonel Don Joachim Moreno, acquainting the Governor that His Majesty's despatch named him Provisional Commander of the fortified settlement of Guayana, directly subordinate to the Viceroy of Santa Fé, because of the new footing on which His Majesty wishes to place these countries.

(Margin.) Letter from the Governor in reply to that of Colonel Don Joachim Moreno on his being named Provisional Commander of the fortified Settlement of Guayana.

(Margin.) Testimony of the letter of Colonel Don Joachim Moreno advising, the Governor that his poverty and personal business have prevented him from setting out to fulfil his commission in Guayana, and to intimate to Don Juan Valdes the importance of not losing the approaching winter season for extensive tillage of the ground in the place to which His Majesty has ordered the settlement to be transported 34 leagues higher up.

(Margin.) Letter from the Governor to Colonel Don Joachim Moreno, acknowledging the receipt of his, and offering to help him in his commission by all the means in his power, to inform him of all difficulties that arise, and to bring all the present ones to his notice.

(Margin.) Testimony of the letter of the Commander of Guayana, Don Juan Valdes, advising the Governor that the news of the removal of the settlement to Angostura has spread in the neighbourhood; that he has informed the sorrowful inhabitants of His Excellency's orders, that they may not abandon their houses before if they are roofed with straw or tiles, allowing no family to be excused [?], and enclosing copies of the letters sent to them on this occasion, with passport from the Provisional Governor, nothing being allowed to pass which is not destined for this Government.

(Margin.) Copy of a letter from Colonel Don Joachim Moreno to the Commander of Guayana, advising him of his commission as Provisional Governor of that fortified settlement, and desiring him to have lands cultivated at the narrows [Angostura] without loss of time, for the transference thither of the city that the winter season may not be wasted, availing himself for that purpose of the Indians of the Mission of Suay, drawing the necessary funds from His Majesty's coffers, who will approve thereof.

(Margin.) Another letter from the Commander Valdes, explaining to Colonel Don Joachim Moreno the impossibility of his command, this not being the proper season for cultivating the land, because the abundant waters and heavy swells of the Orinoco prevent the clearing of the land, and burning, which is usually done from January to the middle of April.

(Margin.) Another letter from Rear-Admiral Don Joseph de Iturriaga, advising Commander Valdes that the town of Guayana and that of Suay is to be removed to Angostura on the Orinoco, and that Don Joachim Moreno is appointed Provisional Governor of Guayana.

(Margin.) *Postscript.*—Permission and passport granted by Don Joachim Moreno as Commander of the Province of Guayana to Don Apolinar Di : : de la Puente to proceed thither.

(Margin.) Letter from the Governor to Commander Valdes, acknowledging the receipt of his, with the copies of letter and passport which he sent, and ordering him not to make any changes without an express order from this Government.

(Margin.) Decree commanding different documents to be filed, relating to those which His Excellency is preparing for the fulfilment of the Royal Orders received from His Majesty touching the Province of Guayana, and an account to be given from individual information.*

* * * * *

(Margin.) Decrees commanding true copies of testimonies of what has been done, in order to give an account to His Majesty and the Viceroy of the New Kingdom of Grenada.

All pieces of testimony being now prepared by His Excellency in order to give an account to His Majesty of the drawbacks and obstacles which prevent the execution of His Royal Order, sent by His Excellency the Knight of Malta, Don Julian de Arriaga, dated from Arranjuez, 26th of May, 1762, ordered to be prepared at the beginning of this Decree, His Excellency commanded a true duplicate copy to be made thereof for the information of His Majesty by his private despatches, together with the Royal Order, Decree for its fulfilment, and a copy of the Reports sent to His Majesty, through His Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, of the accounts of the state of the Missions of Piritu, and of those instructed by the Catalonian Capuchins and Jesuits in the Higher Orinoco, all dated 10th December, 1761, and of those under the care of the Capuchins of Arragon, dated 12th of the same month and year, to be extracted from the Government Secretary's Office by the Ensign of Infantry, Don Pablo Hamilton, for the same end, and to call upon the Viceroy of New Grenada, that whatever His Majesty may resolve, his sovereign mandate may be fully carried out, for which end Don Joseph Diguja Villagomez, Colonel of the Royal Forces, Governor and Captain-General of these Provinces for our lord the King, has provided and commanded, and signed in this city of Cumuná, 22nd August, 1763.

Witness his hand,

(Signed) DIGUJA.

Before me:

LUIS DE FIGUEROA VALLEJOS, Royal Notary for the Government.

Copies compared with the originals, taken before me, and remaining in the archives under my care to which I refer; and in fulfilment of the order of the Governor of these Provinces in the preceding decree I had the copies made on 246 pages with this first page and corresponding page with quarter seal, all written in the same hand, corrected and compared, in witness to the truth whereof I have signed and sealed in this city of Cumaná the 29th of August, 1763.

In witness whereof there is a seal and two Rubrics.

Official:

LUIS DE FIGUEROA VALLEJOS, Royal Notary to the Government, with his Rubric.

No. 25.

Despatch concerning the removal of Guayana to Angostura.

DESPATCH relating to the removal of the town of Guayana to Angostura: appointment of Don Joaquim Moreno de Mendoza as Provisional Commandant; measures to be taken for providing spiritual ministry; the number of the garrison, mode of fortification, and other incidents. 4th November, 1765.

General Archives of the Indies, Seville. Audiencia of Caracas, 133—3—15.

The Governor of Guayana, Don Joaquim Moreno, gives an account of the state of the new settlement.

Sir,

I would acquaint Your Excellency that in little less than a year of anxiety, God favouring my zeal, the Orinoco has been successfully closed and secured from this narrow [Angostura] downwards, by this fort of San Gabriel, which with the quarters, arsenals, and other dependencies are now finished, which, with a small fort on the opposite bank, also finished, called San Raphael (the plan of which is enclosed), with their guards, completely closes the passage of the Orinoco, even to the smallest boat, which might attempt on a dark night to pass, favoured by the current, without using oars or paddles; thus putting a stop to desertion, and the escape of criminals, assuring the communication with the neighbouring provinces, from which the enemy might otherwise carry off the cattle and flocks established there for the subsistence of this new, happy, and most healthy city, of whose advantageous circumstances, as well as of all other things under my charge, I have given an account to Don Joseph Solano, by whose hand I send Your Excellency this my humble representation, that you may judge of the worth of its contents.

The insuperable difficulties which I had to meet, in building the Fort San Gabriel, and

* Copy annexed to Expediente, but not added here as it is merely a long request for many apparently irrelevant documents.

removing the city, may be imagined, from the want of measures taken to assist me, the determination of the inhabitants to resist it, because of the facility they there enjoyed of trading with foreigners, of which they are here deprived, the natural love one has for one's soil and land, which must afterwards be re-established with new labour and cost. Everyone was against me, and not one in my favour, except the Auditor, Don Andres de Oleaga. There they lived in licentiousness, owing to the irregularity of the site, leading lives of ill-health, like one continued illness, yet no words sufficed to make them understand what was for their own advantage. All confess it, now that they find themselves established in much better houses, in a perfectly healthy place; every invalid is brought here from the old unhealthy spot, where I have at present 28 soldiers on the sick-list, and 9 [?] which they were able to bring here. Nothing speaks so well for the healthiness of the place as the fact that, during the whole of the first year of its clearance and settlement, there was not a single burial of an adult. The fields are most fertile, according to the report of the experienced persons who came to explore them from the Llanos, and are endeavouring to establish themselves here. In spite of the labour of getting the cattle across the river, three herds have been commenced, with a sufficient number of cattle, there being more than a hundred milch-cows in the town. The farms, which the short space of time has allowed the establishment of, have yielded three-fold the usual crops, all the provisions and vegetables of the country are abundant. Fish is easily caught, and affords pastime in the port of the fortress, and all along the bank occupied by the town.

Passing over the incessant exertions which overcame the want of funds, tools, military officers, and mechanics, I will acquaint your Excellency that I doubt whether the cost of the settlement and of the two forts aforesaid has amounted to 16,000 pesos, there being now collected in the Royal Treasury 20,000 from the seizure of goods for unpaid duty, the details of which I cannot give Your Excellency to-day, Don Andres de Oleaga being at present in Santa Fée, where I had occasion to send him as "Maestro de Plaza,"* but I will do so on his return.

Under these circumstances, all difficulties being overcome, it only remains for the complete defence of the province, and accomplishment of His Majesty's pious intentions, and my commission to fortify the highest point (Padraastro) which is principally entrusted to the engineer, who is at Carácas to carry my reports and agree thereon, with Don Joseph Solano, as to the method of its construction, and supposing funds to have been sent with the last Royal Orders, there is no doubt that by the end of next summer, the foundations, at least, will be laid, as I have not ceased to collect and prepare materials, as far as was in my power, which has incapacitated me still more by the constant fatigue of mind and body, all of which renders me unable to undertake the frequent and necessary journeys to the fortifications further down, and my ill-health and advanced age oblige me once more to represent to Your Excellency the impossibility in which I find myself of fulfilling the obligations of my office, humbly beseeching Your Excellency to lay the same before His Majesty that I may be relieved therefrom, and that his royal clemency may deign to confer upon me the Government of Puerto Rico, and the grade of Brigadier, if my thirty-five years of service, with this last rendered, may be sufficient to merit it, with the Royal offer made in the "Cedula" I enclosed to Your Excellency, which His Majesty made to Colonel Don Carlos de Sucre, of the grade of Major-General, for the construction of a fort at this place.

With this grade (the concession of which will be a great inducement to all officers of honour, and the person by whom I am relieved here) I could serve at Caracas, under the orders of the Governor, with pay corresponding to my present grade, and such a post would be more appreciated by me than any other, as obeying rather than obeyed, I should be freed from responsibility, to which end I trust in the well known goodness of Your Excellency to lay before His Majesty what I have here expressed, that he may deign to employ me in whatever is most fitting to His Royal pleasure and service.

God keep Your Excellency's valuable life for many years.

I kiss Your Excellency's hands.

Your most humble servant,
(Signed) JOACHIM MORENO DE MENDOZA (with his Rubric).

His Excellency Don Julian de Arriaga, Knight of Malta.

New City of Guayana at Angostura, November 4, 1765.

No. 26.

Testimony with the Decrees of the Attack made by order of the Commandant of Guayana, Don Manuel Centurion, on the Dutch settled in Barima (1768).

(Translation.)

(1.)

IN the year 1768. Copy of the "Autos" made on the seizure of the utensils and implements, taken from the Dutch foreigners in the Creek of Barima by the Captain of Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierito.

A list of the effects which Don Francisco Cierito has on this day delivered to this Royal warehouse under my charge, and which are as follows :

[Here follows list of articles taken—45 items or lots in all.]

So that the effects enumerated above are the same which are under my charge to await the disposal of the Commandant-General. And for its validity I have signed it in this city of Guayana on the 11th February, 1768.

(Signed) NICOLAS MARTINEZ.

(2.)

"Auto" ordering the sale of the effects.

In this City of Guayana on the 9th of April, 1768: We, Don Manuel Centurion Guerrero de Torres, Captain of the Royal Artillery Corps, Commandant General of this Province, and Don Andres de Oleaga, Royal Accountant therein; having seen the entries contained in the foregoing Inventory of articles which the coast guard vessels of this said Province under the Captain of the Company of Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierito, seized in the Creek of Barima from the Foreigners who had established themselves clandestinely in the said Creek, for trade and exportation of woods and other products. Wherefore we had to order and do order that, being for the greater part spoiled from exposure to damp, they be sold by public sale without delay, being first valued and cried, in order to place the amount produced in the Royal "Contaduria"; and therefore that the declarations of the said Captain of Pioneers and others of the crew be taken as required. For all which, and in order that they may not further decrease in value, we appoint as Third Valuers Estevan Arnaud, Master-Blacksmith, and Diego Marino, of the "Plateria," inhabitants of this city, to whom the present witnesses, with whom we are acting for want of a Notary, shall communicate this order, so that each one for himself may undertake to execute faithfully the office with which they are entrusted. And in like manner they shall summon the said Captain Cierito to be present at the act of valuation, and at whatsoever else may be required until the sale. And by this "Auto" which we have drawn up we thus command and sign, together with the aforesaid witnesses, on ordinary paper, stamped paper not being current, whereunto we certify.

(Signed) CENTURION.
DE OLEAGA.
JOSEPH DE ALOZEN.
FERNANDO LAREA.

(3.)

Inspection of the Goods.

In this City of Guayana on the 9th April, 1768: we, the undersigned witnesses, who acted in default of a Notary, went, together with the Third Valuers, to the Warehouse under the charge of the Constable of this fort, Nicolas Martines, who, having shown all that is contained in the inventory which is at the head of these "Autos," the said Valuers commenced as follows:

[The same articles as on pp. 1-3, lotted in 52 items, and valued in all at 370 dollars.]

Wherewith, and as there were no other goods, this valuation was concluded, and they declared that they had made it faithfully and legally under obligation of the oath which they had taken, and that they have estimated them at their intrinsic worth and value in this country, and in token thereof have signed it with us and the Captain of Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierito, who was present, on ordinary paper, because stamped paper is not current, whereunto we certify.

(Signed) CONSTABLE NICOLAS MARTINES.
ESTEVAN ARNAUD.
FRANCISCO CIERTO.
JOSEPH ALOZEN.
FERNANDO LAREA.

(4.)

First Notice [of Sale].

On the 11th day of the Month of April, 1768: I, Don Andres de Oleaga, Royal Accountant of this Province:

Being with the undersigned Witnesses in the chief door of this Royal Contaduria which opens into the street, about four o'clock in the afternoon, I ordered that by the voice of Francisco Moreno, a slave who acts as crier in default of a regular one, the first announcement should be given of the goods and utensils contained in the foregoing valuation, which are the same that were seized by the Captain of the Pioneer Corps, Don Francisco Cierito, by means of the revenue vessels and men under his command, from the foreigners clandestinely settled for commerce and

traffic in the Creek called the Creek of Barima, Jurisdiction of this province; and although the announcement was repeated several times in a loud voice by the same crier, no bidder appeared, and consequently it was ended until the morrow: and in token I have signed it with the said witnesses, whereunto I certify.

(Signed) DE OLEAGA.
JOSEPH DE ALOZEN.
FERNANDO LAREA.

(5.)

Second Notice.

On the 12th day of the same month and year: I, the said Accountant, with the undersigned witnesses, being at the principal door of this Royal Contaduria, caused a second announcement to be made by the same crier, similar to the preceding one; and although it was repeated three separate times in a clear and audible voice, according to the terms of the Valuation, no bidder appeared, wherefore it was suspended until the morrow, and in token thereof I have signed this, together with the said witnesses, whereunto I certify.

(Signed) DE OLEAGA.
JOSEPH DE ALOZEN.
FERNANDO LAREA.

(6.)

Third Notice.

On the 13th day of the Month of April, 1768: I, the said Accountant, being in the principal door of this Royal Contaduria, accompanied by the undersigned Witnesses, caused another announcement to be made similar to the two preceding ones and by the same crier, and although it was several times repeated, according to the items contained in the foregoing Valuation, no one made any bid; wherefore a sale was called, to be made to-morrow at this same hour. And in token thereof I have signed this, together with the said witnesses, whereunto I certify.

(Signed) DE OLEAGA.
JOSEPH DE ALOZEN.
FERNANDO LAREA.

(7.)

Sale.

In this City of Guayana on the 14th April, 1768. We, Don Manuel Centurion Guerrero de Torres, Captain of the Royal Artillery Corps, Commandant-General of this Province; and Don Andrés de Oleaga, Proprietor, Royal Accountant, constituting a tribunal therein, at the principal door of this Royal Contaduria which opens into the public Road, and accompanied by the witnesses with whom we act in default of a Notary, in order to make a sale and auction of the implements and other utensils and articles which are entered in these "Autos" and which have been valued by intelligent and conscientious persons, do command that by the voice of Francisco Moreno, a slave who fills the office of crier in default of a regular one, an announcement be made; stating the implements, utensils and other things which were seized from the foreigners who were clandestinely settled in the Creek of Barima, Jurisdiction of this Province, for the purpose of exporting woods and other products; and the articles valued are a clock at 35 dollars, a grindstone at 6 dollars

* * * * *

[The same articles enumerated again for sale, and again as sold or reserved; with names of purchasers and prices given.]

And the amount of the said items was paid at once and each [buyer paid] separately in current money, and I, the said accountant, received the said moneys into the Royal Contaduria from the said auctioneers, wherewith I am content; and the said moneys were given against deliveries of the articles specified; and in this same act we, the said Commandant General and Accountant, caused to appear before us Nicolas Martinez, Constable and Warehouse Keeper of this Fortress, whom we ordered to take under his charge, in his said warehouse, the articles ordered to be reserved for His Majesty's Service, which are a grindstone, two slates, &c. . . .

[Here follows the recapitulation of the articles unsold.]

And the said Warehouse Keeper took them into his charge and undertook to give due account of them whensoever it might be demanded, and has signed this, together with us the auctioneers and witnesses, who act in default of a Notary ; whereunto we certify.

(Signed)

DON MANUEL CENTURION.
ANDRES DE OLEAGA.
PEDRO DE LOS.
BERNARDO DE ROSA.
JOSEPH RODRIGUES.
ESTEBAN MIR.
JUAN FRANCISCO DE LOS REYES.
ESTEBAN ARNAUD.
CONSTABLE NICOLAS MARTINEZ.

Witnesses :—

JOSEPH DE ALOZEN.
FERNANDO LAREA.

(8.)

Declaration of First Witness.

On the 18th April, 1768 : We, Don Manuel Centurion Guerrero de Torres, Captain of the Royal Artillery Corps, Commandant-General of this city of Guayana and its province, and Don Andres de Oleaga, sole Royal Accountant therein ; in continuation of what we have ordered in the " Auto " made on the 9th of the current month, being in the tribunal of this command, have caused to appear before us Don Francisco Cierito, Captain of the Company of Pioneers, and consequently of the Coast Guard which protects the ports of this said Province, who was admitted upon oath which he made by God our Lord and a sign of the Cross, under obligation whereof he promised to God and the King to tell the truth so far as he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned according to the tenor of the foregoing and above mentioned " Auto," he declared : That the Commandant-General there present having received information that in the Creek called the Creek of Barima, which is close to the great mouth of the River Orinoco and falls into it, sundry Dutch families were established, despatched him with instructions to warn them once, twice and thrice to quit the whole of that territory because it belonged to the said Province, in virtue whereof the Declarant went in his vessel, with another accompanying him, in search of the said Creek, and having arrived at the mouth he saw several Indians of the Carib nation, and these, before the Declarant could reach the establishments and farms of the said foreigners, gave them intelligence, and thereupon they took to flight without giving an opportunity for the notification ; and they only found the deserted houses and the effects, implements and utensils contained in the inventory, which they put on board the two vessels and then set fire to the said houses, in order that they should not form settlements in future, and destroyed the farms as far as they possibly could. And this is all that happened, and that he can declare under obligation of the oath which he has made, wherein it is affirmed and ratified, and if necessary he will repeat it, and he is 47 years of age, more or less, and has signed this with us the Commandant-General and Accountant, and with the Witnesses, with whom we are acting in default of a Notary, on ordinary paper, because stamped paper is not current, whereunto we certify.

(Signed)

CENTURION.
DE OLEAGA.
FRANCISCO CIERTO.
JOSEPH DE ALOZEN.
FERNANDO LAREA.

(9.)

Declaration of Second Witness.

On the same day, month, and year : We, the Commandant-General and Accountant, caused to appear in this same tribunal Manuel Cubas, Mariner of the Coastguard Vessel of this Province, in order to take his declaration, whom we admitted upon oath which he made by God our Lord, and a sign of the Cross, under obligation whereof he promised to God and the King to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked ; and having been questioned according to the tenor of the foregoing " Auto," he declared : That having gone, as Mariner, down the river in the Coastguard Vessel, under orders of the Captain of the Company of Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierito, without any knowledge of whither they were going, upon arriving at the mouth of the Creek of Barima, which falls into the River Orinoco close to the great mouth, they made a stop, and the said Captain told them that on behalf of the Commandant-General present he was under orders

to give warning once, twice, and thrice to the foreigners settled in the said Creek to quit it, seeing that it is territory belonging to this said Province, and no stranger is permitted to settle there; and while this took place they saw a body of Carib Indians, who at once gave intelligence to the said foreigners, for when the Declarant and the others reached the place they did not find a single person but only deserted houses and the implements shown in the Inventory, which implements they took on board, and afterwards set fire to the said houses and likewise destroyed the farms as far as they could; and having performed these duties they returned immediately up the Orinoco and anchored at the Fortress of old Guayana. And this is all that occurred, and that he can declare under obligation of the oath which he has taken, wherein it is affirmed and ratified, and if necessary he will repeat it, and he is about 21 years of age, and has signed it with us, the Commandant-General and Accountant, and the Witnesses with whom we act in default of a Notary, on ordinary paper because stamped paper, is not current, whereunto we certify.

(Signed)

CENTURION.
DE OLEAGA.
MANUEL CUBAS.
JOSEPH DE ALOZEN
FERNANDO LAREA.

(10.)

Declaration of Third Witness.

On the same day, for the certification of that which we have commanded in the foregoing "Auto;" we, the Commandant-General and Accountant, caused to appear in this tribunal Juan Francisco Rodriguez, Seaman of the Coastguard Vessel, who was admitted upon oath which he made by God our Lord and a sign of the Cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth concerning what he might know and might be asked; and upon being questioned according to the tenor of the foregoing "Auto," he said: That as one of the crew of the Coastguard Vessel under the Captain of the Company of Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierito, he went therein down the Orinoco, without knowing whither they were bound, and as soon as they reached the Mouth of Barima, which falls into the said Orinoco close to its great mouth, the said Captain made them a long speech, saying that he was under special orders and instructions from the Commandant-General present to give warning once, twice, and thrice to the foreigners who were settled in the said Creek of Barima, that they should depart immediately, as it was not permitted to establish any Colony in this Province; and being ready to enter the said Creek they saw a canoe of Carib Indians going before them to give intelligence to the said foreigners, who in consequence of the intimation they received completely abandoned their houses and left the implements contained in the inventory; and when the Declarant and the others reached the dwellings they did not find anyone, and consequently they only remained a short time in order to take on board the said implements and to set fire to the houses, and directly they had done it they turned and went out of the said Barima into the Orinoco and came to the fortified settlement of old Guayana. And this is all that happened, and that he can declare under obligation of the oath which he has made, wherein it is affirmed and ratified, and if necessary he promises to repeat it, and he is about 25 years of age, and has not signed it because he said that he did not know how to do so; we, the said Commandant-General and Accountant, have signed this, together with the witnesses with whom we are acting in default of a Notary, whereunto we thus certify.

(Signed)

CENTURION.
DE OLEAGA.
JOSEPH DE ALOZEN.
FERNANDO LAREA.

(11.)

Fourth Witness.

And on the same day We, the said Commandant-General and Accountant, did, for the same purpose, cause to appear Joseph Gregorio Gomes, one of the crew of the Coastguard Vessel of this Province, who was admitted upon oath which he made by God our Lord and a sign of the Cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth in whatsoever he might know and might be asked, and having been questioned according to the foregoing "Auto," he said: That having gone in the cruiser of this Province under Captain Don Francisco Cierito without knowing whither they were bound, as soon as they approached the mouth of the Creek of Barima, which falls into the River Orinoco, the said Captain ordered them to stop, and making a long speech to the Declarant and the others, told them that, by special command of the Commandant-General present, he was to give warning once, twice, and thrice to the foreigners settled within the said Creek of Barima, to quit the whole of that territory; and during this speech they saw a canoe rowed by Carib Indians, which was going up at full speed to give them intelligence, and in consequence of this intimation they all took to flight without leaving a single person; for when they arrived at the dwellings they only found the cabins deserted and the implements left behind, which implements they brought back, as shown in their inventory inserted in these "Autos;" wherefore they only

stayed for the short time necessary to burn the said houses and to put the implements on board and having performed this duty they returned to the fortified settlement of Guayana. And this is all that occurred, and that he can declare under obligation of the oath which he made, wherein it is affirmed and ratified, and if necessary he promises to repeat it; and he is about 21 years of age, and has not signed it because he said he did not know how; we, the said Commandant-General and Accountant, have signed it, together with the witnesses with whom we are acting in default of a Notary, on ordinary paper, because stamped paper is not current, whereunto we certify.

(Signed)

CENTURION.

DE OLEAGA.

JOSEPH DE ALOZEN.

FERNANDO LAREA.

(12.)

“Auto.”

In this City of Guayana on the 19th April, 1768, We: Don Manuel Centurion Guerrero de Torres, Captain of the Royal Artillery Corps and Commandant-General of this Province, and Don Andres de Oleaga, sole Royal Officer therein, proprietor, having seen these “Autos” and the result of the four Declarations therein, and whereas the Dutch have unwarrantably sought to take possession of the Territory of Barima, Jurisdiction of this Province, where they had established farms and houses to carry on the exportation of woods and other products in a clandestine manner, for which purpose, according to information received, they had likewise gathered together certain runaway slaves, fugitives from the Provinces of Cumana and Caracas, to act as pilots, and point out the lawless Spanish subjects who only occupy themselves in carrying on clandestine exportation along the creeks and landing-places which are out of the way and unknown; Wherefore, and also seeing that by various laws, and the most recent “Cedulas” issued by His Majesty, it is forbidden under any pretext whatsoever to suffer or permit foreigners to exercise the freedom of establishing themselves in these dominions by establishing new colonies, considering the importance thereof, and the repeated pragmatic Cédulas which prohibit it, we have had to declare and do declare that the said Dutch by the crime they have committed, and the penalty they have incurred, must forfeit the implements and other things which they were found to possess, and which were brought by the Captain of the Coastguard Vessels, and that they be devoted to the Royal Treasury; therefore we order that their amount of 386 dollars, after deducting the costs, the assessment of which is entrusted to Don Diego Azero, a Resident of this city, be distributed according to Laws No. 11 of Book 8, Title 17, and in view of the Royal Cédula dated in Aranjuez on the 14th June of the year 1764, with the instructions (“demostracion practica”) issued out in the year [17]62; and by this “Auto” which we have drawn up, we thus declare and pronounce definitely, signing it together with the witnesses present, on ordinary paper, because stamped paper is not current, whereunto we certify.

(Signed)

DON MANUEL CENTURION.

ANDRES DE OLEAGA.

JOSEPH DE ALOZEN.

FERNANDO LAREA.

(13.)

Assessment of Costs, &c.

[Not translated.]

(14.)

“Auto” of Liquidation.

In this City of Guayana on the 22nd of April, 1768: We, Don Manuel Centurion Guerrero de Torres, Captain of the Royal Artillery Corps, Commandant General of this Province, and Don Andrés de Oleaga, sole Royal Officer and Accountant of the Royal Treasury therein, having seen the “Autos” drawn up on the expedition made by the Captain of Pioneers, Don Francisco Cierito, with the two coast-guard launches under his charge and their crew and the men of his company, against the Dutch foreigners who had unlawfully established themselves, for clandestine trade in woods and other products, in the Creek of Barima, Jurisdiction of this Province, which falls (under the same name) into the River Orinoco, and in view of the way in which they took to flight without endeavouring to defend themselves, leaving their implements and other furniture and goods which were found in the said settlements, and in view of the sale which has been made of the articles brought back, the amount thereof being paid into the Royal Treasury according to

the motives and reasons specified in the "Auto" drawn up thereon on the 19th inst.; Inasmuch as we had to command and do command that in conformity with Law 11 of Book 8, title 17 of the law of these Indies, and according to the Royal Cédulas of 11 July, 1758, 14 June, 1764, and the instructions ("demostracion practica"), the division and distribution of the total amount of this matter be carried out in the form and manner following:—

[Here follows the account and balance-sheet.]

There remains a balance of 184 dollars 3 reals $14\frac{1}{2}$ maravedis due to His Majesty, by reason of the three divisions which apply thereto, in conformity with the said Cédulas and with the tariff which has been observed in this Royal Contaduría from the beginning of the current year, a copy having been brought from the Tribunal and Royal Audiencia of Accounts of the city of Santa Fé, New Kingdom of Granada, in the preceding month of December [17]67. For all of which we had to command and do command that the said 184 dollars 3 reals and $14\frac{1}{2}$ maravedis be credited to His Majesty in the section of confiscations; in virtue whereof, I, the said Royal officer, duly take charge from this time in the said place; and it is declared in like terms that the 241 dollars 3 reals 17 maravedis is the value of the utensils and munitions of war which, as being requisite for the Royal service, have remained at their valuation price in the Warehouse under the charge of Constable Nicolas Martines; it is charged to His Majesty, deducting therefrom 20 dollars for which the boat was sold as shewn by the certificate of the said Constable which will be annexed to these "Autos;" and by this which we have drawn up we thus command and sign together with the undersigned witnesses, who act with us in default of a Notary, on ordinary paper as stamped paper is not current, whereunto we certify

(Signed) DON MANUEL CENTURION.
ANDRES DE OLEAGA.
JOSEPH DE ALOZEN.
FERNANDO LAREO.

This transcript agrees with the original "Autos," which, for the verification of the accounts of the year 1768, are forwarded to the Tribunal of Accounts of Santa Fé, from which I copied it in 26 folios, to remain in the archives of these Royal Offices as a certain, true, correct and verified copy; and in token thereof I thus certify and sign it with the witnesses here present, on ordinary paper, because stamped paper is not current, on this 18th July, 1769.

(Signed) ANDRES DE OLEAGA. (Rubric.)
FERNANDO LAREO. (Rubric.)
MIGUEL DE OLEAGA. (Rubric.)

No. 27.

Report of the Judicial Proceedings instituted and drawn up in reference to the Complaints made by the Dutch Minister concerning the proceedings of the Spaniards of the Orinoco against the Dutch Colonies in Guayana.

(Translation.)

YEAR 1770. Judicial proceedings instituted in the Tribunal of the Commandant of Guayana concerning the affairs in the matter of the complaint made by the Minister of the Republic of Holland to the King our Sovereign in regard to the proceedings of the Spaniards of Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo.

"Archivo General de Indias." Audience of Caracas. Letters and Reports, year 1778. 131—7—17.

(1.)

Copy taken from the Register of Resolutions of Their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, Wednesday, August 2, 1769.

[Here follows the Remonstrance of Their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands to the Court of Spain in reference to the proceedings of the Spaniards of the Orinoco against the Dutch Colonies in Guayana, 1769.]*

(2.)

Royal Order to Commandant of Guayana, September 23, 1769.

The Minister of Holland has presented a note complaining of the proceedings of the Spaniards established on the Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo, as stated in detail in the annexed paper. By order of the King I send you this document in order that, in view thereof,

* See Appendix II, p. 169: "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," p. 109.

you may, with all possible despatch, and with all the necessary proofs, report what may have occurred in reference to the acts mentioned therein, and what may suggest itself to you on the subject for the information of His Majesty.

May God preserve you many years!

(Signed) The Knight of Malta, FRIAR DON JULIAN DE ARRIAGA. (Rubric.)

The Commandant of Guayana.

San Ildefonso, September 23, 1769.

(3.)

Decree of Commandant Centurion in respect of Royal Order of September 23, 1769.

In the City of Guayana, on the 24th of March, 1770, I, Don Manuel Centurion, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry and Commandant-General of Orinoco and of the Province of Guayana, together with judicial witnesses in default of a notary; declare that for the more exact and punctual fulfilment of the Royal Order, which, under date of the 23rd of September last, His Excellency Friar Don Julian de Ariaga, Knight of Malta, communicated to me, together with a copy of another, extracted from the Book of Resolutions of their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces, presented by the Minister of Holland, complaining of the proceedings of the Spaniards established on the Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo, in respect whereof His Excellency directs me, by order of the King, to report with all possible despatch and with all the necessary proofs what may have occurred in reference to the acts mentioned therein, and what may suggest itself to me on the subject for the information of His Majesty; therefore I must order, and do order, that, placing at the head of these papers the said Royal Order and the document sent with it, there be drawn up and made in this tribunal a judicial report of the acts which the annexed note of the States General recites in detail: and that for this purpose the most creditable and truthful witnesses who may be found to have knowledge of the said acts in this city and its environs do make formal depositions upon oath. Thus I have decreed, ordered, and signed together with the undersigned witnesses, whereunto we certify.

(Signed) DON MANUEL CENTURION. (Rubric.)
DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Rubric.)
ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

(4.)

Declaration of the ex-Prefect of the Capuchin Missions.

On the said day, month, and year, in order to draw up the report ordered to be made in the foregoing "Auto," there appeared in this tribunal the Reverend Father, ex-Prefect of the Catalonian Capuchin Missions of Guayana, Friar Benito de la Garriga, whom the Señor Commandant-General admitted upon oath which his Reverence took according to law, by God our Lord, *tacto pectore in verbo sacerdotis*, and promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked, and being interrogated according to the tenor of the said note presented by the Minister of Holland, which runs from folios 1 to 6 of these papers, and, for his better understanding, it having been read to him word for word, he declared: that the Dutch are not, nor have ever been, in possession of the rivers or creeks which flow into the sea from the Essequibo exclusively, up to the mouth of the Orinoco: That they have only been permitted to have in that part a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians, in a barrack which they call the Post, on the eastern bank of the River Moruca, which the Dutch call Maroco; and that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because the whole of the Colony is not so, and we know that it began in the year [1]659.

That it is untrue that the Dutch have held, or do hold, possession of the River Cuyuni (called by them Cayoeny), for having established thereon a guard and barrack like that of Moruca, in the year [1]747, to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians, whom they enslave surreptitiously in the dominions of the King our Lord for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the Colony, directly it came to our notice, in the year [1]757, they were dislodged therefrom; and so neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, nor the other rivers which disemboque in Essequibo do the Dutch hold any possession, nor is it permissible that they should hold it, for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana, running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession that the Dutch were owners of all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity: That the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the River Essequibo, which runs from S.E. to N.W. almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern extremity of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors. That the declarant does not know, nor has he ever heard, that the Spaniards have built a fort in the Cuyuni or in its neighbourhood with many or few soldiers; but he is persuaded that Mr. de Gravesand has imagined as such the two Missions or villages of Indians that

the Catalonian Capuchins founded in the years [1]757 and [1]761 on the north bank of the River Yuruary, an affluent of the Cuyuni, and at a distance of 70 leagues from the destroyed post of the Dutch, and that the foundation which he has for thus believing is that we have no other establishments in that part, and that although in the said villages there are no more troops than one soldier in each, as escort for the missionary, the Caribs, to whom Monsieur de Gravesand gives easy credence, as shown in his report, must have deceived him with this tale, just as it appears from others with which he has filled his extravagant report: That it is a fact that in February of last year the declarant, as Prefect and Superior of the Missions, gave permission to the Reverend Fathers Friar Joseph Antonio de Zerbera and Friar Felix de Tarraga to go down to the mouths of the Orinoco and River Barima to fetch back the Aruaca and Guarauno runaways or deserters from the Missions under their charge; and that these Religious, with the boat and escort which conveyed them, finding their Indians scattered between Quayne [Wayni] and Moruca, took them and arrived at the post, where there was a Dutchman who had three Indian women with their children, whom he had enslaved and seized from the mouths of the Orinoco, as they declared to the Fathers, and the latter brought them to the Missions, but without violence or doing any damage to the Dutch. And that as regards the post and commercial establishment which Gravesand supposes the Dutch Company held between Guayne [Wayni] and Povaron, the declarant neither knows, nor has heard speak, of such establishment: That neither has he any knowledge of the murder of the Chief of the barrack Arinda, towards the upper part of Essequibo, nor even of its existence; and that it seems incredible to the declarant that the Spaniards of Orinoco, or the Indians of our obedience and acquaintance, should have committed this homicide; for besides the distance and country between Orinoco and that spot being considerable, and unknown to us, we have never heard speak of such murder, and this is the first time that we have heard the barrack Arinda mentioned, which being situated, as Gravesand states, towards the upper part of the River Essequibo is inaccessible to us and our Indians, because the Colony of Essequibo lies between the said upper parts and our villages so as to stop the way: That the declarant has never seen or heard say that the Dutch had conducted any fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, nor that the Spaniards have found it necessary to put a stop to it. Neither does he perceive that the Dutch have any necessity for such fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, seeing that they have places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo; and that the most Reverend Father is persuaded that at the present time, under pretext of fishing, they wish to establish themselves freely with their boats in the mouths of the Orinoco, to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guarupao, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their Colony considerably when the Orinoco with its channels was not so well guarded as now; which new measure, and want of commerce, is the real cause of the decay of Essequibo and of the resentment of Mr. de Gravesand, the chief trader and always the most interested in the illicit commerce of the Colony. That it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards from carrying on the said fishing in the territory which Gravesand calls territory of the State itself, which, he says, extends from the River Mareguine up to this side of the Gayne [Wayni] very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says, is an insufferable error. With respect to the slaves who have deserted from Essequibo, the declarant says that they are of two races, either negroes purchased from Africa, or Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be seized, by the Caribs, their friends, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne which run into the sea and communicate with the Orinoco, or along the Rivers Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, and others which run through the further interior of this Province and discharge themselves into the Essequibo: That if there is any question about our retention of these, our reason for it is clear; for being subjects of the King criminally enslaved by the Dutch, who maintain this inhuman traffic with the Caribs contrary to all law, we cannot and must not restore them to slavery when they have the good fortune to escape it by again availing themselves of the protection of the officers of their legitimate Lord and Sovereign: If the negroes are in question the declarant says that Señor Gravesand is wanting in truthfulness, for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, although their owners, Don Thomas Franquis and Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back, and have not obtained any satisfaction; several times when Gravesand has here claimed restitution of the deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana, and the money produced taken to Essequibo, excepting only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic Religion; for these have been declared free according to the King's command: And that the declarant does not know that either the Indians or negroes, fugitives from Essequibo, have been induced to escape by the Spaniards, nor does it seem to him likely that anyone has engaged in such actions.

That it is a fact that the Colony of Essequibo is going visibly to its ruin since the gate has been closed for the illicit traffic which it previously carried on in Orinoco, and the poitos or slaves have found that of their liberty open, so that they can escape thence: and, finally, he says that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs, except that of the Cuyuni in 1758, in which action only one man died, and he was a soldier of the Spaniards: And he adds that for twenty-three years he has been Apostolic Missionary in this Province, and that he has been three times Prefect of it, and that with this experience he can, and ought, to say that the manœuvres of the Dutch or Essequibo and [their] detestable traffic in poitos [Indian slaves] is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not [yet] been settled, and why they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them, as they did in 1750: at another time attacking them by main

force; at another raising rebellion by diabolic craft and policy: in suchwise that in the period alone in which the declarant has worked in these Missions, the Dutch, together with the Caribs, have destroyed, as may be seen in the papers on the matter, seven of our established villages, without counting those which they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit missionaries and to the Observants, likewise killing many Religious: and that what he has declared is the truth under obligation of the oath which he has taken; that he ratifies and affirms what is therein, and if necessary would repeat it. That he is 58 years of age; and this his declaration having been read to him, he said that it is the same which he made; that it is well and faithfully written, and that he has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has signed it with the said Commandant-General and us the judicial witnesses, whereof we certify.

(Signed)

DON MANUEL CENTURION. (Rubric.)

FRIAR BENITO DE LA GARRIGA, *ex-Prefect.* (Rubric.)

DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Rubric.)

ESTEVEAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

(5.)

Another of the Capuchin Father Thomas de San Pedro.

On the said day, month, and year, in order to continue the report ordered to be drawn up in the foregoing papers, there appeared in this tribunal the Reverend Father Friar Thomas de San Pedro, Capuchin monk, and missionary in this Province of Guayana, whom the Señor Commandant-General admitted upon oath which his Reverence took according to law, by God our Lord, *tacto pectore in verbo sacerdotis*, and promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked: And being interrogated according to the tenor of the said note presented by the Minister of Holland, which runs from leaves 1 to 6 of these papers, and, for his better understanding, it having been read to him word for word, he declared: That the Dutch are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers or creeks which drain into the sea from the Essequibo, exclusively, up to the mouth of the Orinoco: That they have only been permitted to have in that part, a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians in a barrack which they call the Post, on the eastern bank of the River Moruca, which the Dutch call Moroco; and that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because the whole of the Colony is not so, and we know that it began in the year [1]659: That it is untrue that the Dutch have held, or do hold, possession of the River Cuyuni (called by them Cayoeny), for, having established thereon a guard and barrack like that of Moruca in the year [1]747, to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians, whom they enslave surreptitiously in the dominions of the King our Lord, for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the Colony, directly it came to our notice in the year [1]757, they were dislodged therefrom, and so neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, nor the other rivers which disembogue in Essequibo do the Dutch hold any possession, nor is it permissible that they should hold it, for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession that the Dutch were owners of all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity: That the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the River Essequibo, which runs from S.E. to N.E. [? N.W.] almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern extremity of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors; That the declarant does not know, nor has ever heard, that the Spaniards have built a fort on the Cuyuni or in its vicinity, with many or few troops; but that he is persuaded that Mr. de Gravesand has taken for such the two Missions or villages of Indians, which the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers founded in the years [1]757 and [1]761 on the northern bank of the River Yuruari, a tributary of the Cuyuni, and at the distance of 70 leagues from the demolished Dutch barrack, and that his reason for believing this to be the case is that we have no other establishments in that part, and that although in the said villages there are no more troops than one soldier in each, as escort for the missionary, the Caribs, to whom Mr. de Gravesand gives easy credence, as shown in his report, must have deceived him with this tale just as it appears from others with which he has filled his extravagant report: That it is a fact that in February of last year the Reverend Father Prefect of the Missions gave permission to the Reverend Fathers Friar Joseph Antonio de Zervera and Friar Felix de Tarraga to go down to the mouths of the Orinoco and River Barima to fetch back the Arnaca and Guarauno runaways or deserters from the Missions under our charge, and these Religious, with the boat and escort which conveyed them, finding their Indians scattered between Guayne and Moruca, took them and arrived at the post, where there was a Dutchman who had three Indian women with their children, whom he had enslaved and seized from the mouths of the Orinoco, as they declared to the Fathers, and the latter brought them to the Missions, but without violence or doing any damage to the Dutch. And that as regards the post and commercial establishment which Gravesand supposes the Dutch Company held between Guayne and Povaron, the declarant neither knows, nor has heard speak, of such establishment: That neither has he any knowledge of the murder of the Chief of the barrack Arinda towards the upper part of Essequibo, nor even of its existence, and that it seems incredible to the declarant that the Spaniards of Orinoco, or the Indians of our obedience or acquaintance, should have committed this homicide; for besides the distance and country between Orinoco and that spot being considerable and unknown to us, we have never heard

speak of such murder, and this is the first time that we have heard the barrack Arinda mentioned, which being situated, as Gravesand states, towards the upper part of the River Essequibo, is inaccessible to us and our Indians, because the Colony of Essequibo lies between the said upper parts and our villages so as to stop the way; That the declarant has never seen, or heard say, that the Dutch have conducted a fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, nor that the Spaniards have found it necessary to put a stop to it: neither does he perceive that the Dutch have any necessity for such fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, seeing that they have places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo; and that the most Reverend Father is persuaded that at the present time, under pretext of fishing, they wish to establish themselves freely with their boats in the mouths of the Orinoco, to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guarupo, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their Colony considerably when the Orinoco, with its creeks, was not so well guarded as now; which new measure and want of commerce is the real cause of the decay of Essequibo and of the resentment of Mr. de Gravesand, the chief trader and always the most interested in the illicit commerce of the Colony: That it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards from carrying on the said fishing in the territory which Gravesand calls territory of the State itself, which, he says, extends from the River Mareguine up to this side of the River Guayne, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says, is an insufferable error: With respect to the slaves who have deserted from Essequibo, the declarant says that they are of two races, either negroes purchased from Africa or Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be seized, by the Caribs their allies, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne, which run into the sea and communicate with the Orinoco, or along the Rivers Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanony, and others which run through the further interior of this Province and discharge themselves into the Essequibo: That if there is any question about our retention of these, our reason for it is clear; for being subjects of the King criminally enslaved by the Dutch, who maintain this inhuman traffic with the Caribs contrary to all law, we cannot and must not restore them to slavery when they have the good fortune to escape it by again availing themselves of the protection of the officers of their legitimate Lord and Sovereign: If the negroes are in question, the declarant says that Señor Gravesand is wanting in truthfulness; for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, although their owners, Don Thomas Franquis and Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back and have not obtained any satisfaction; several times when Gravesand has here claimed deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana, and the money produced taken to Essequibo, excepting only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic Religion, for these have been declared free according to the King's command: and that the declarant does not know that either the Indians or negroes, fugitives from Essequibo, have been induced to escape by the Spaniards, nor does it seem to him likely that anyone has engaged in such actions: That it is a fact that the Colony of Essequibo is going visibly to its ruin since the gate has been closed for the illicit traffic which it previously carried on in Orinoco, and the poitos or slaves have found that of their liberty open, so that they can escape thence; and, finally, he says that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs except that of the Cuyuni in 1758, in which action only one man died, and he was a soldier of the Spaniards; and he adds that he has been for 23 years Apostolic Missionary in this Province, with which experience he can and ought to say that the manoeuvres of the Dutch of Essequibo, and their detestable traffic in poitos, is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not yet been settled, and why they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them as they did in 1650 [? 1750]: at another attacking them by main force, and at another raising rebellion by diabolic craft and policy. In suchwise that in the period alone in which the declarant has worked in these Missions, the Dutch, together with the Caribs, have destroyed, as may be seen in the "Autos" of the matter, seven of our established villages, without counting those which they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit Missionaries and to the Observants, likewise killing many Religious; and that what he has declared is the truth under obligation of the oath which he has taken. That he ratifies and affirms what is therein, and if necessary will repeat it; that he is 53 years of age: and having read this his Declaration he said that it is the same which he made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has signed it with the said Commandant-General and us the judicial witnesses whereof we certify.

(Signed)

MANUEL CENTURION. (Rubric.)

FRIAR THOMAS DE SAN PEDRO, *Apostolic Missionary*. (Rubric.)

DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Rubric.)

ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

(6.)

Another of the Capuchin Father Josef Antonio de Zervera.

On the 26th day of the said month and year, in order to continue the report ordered to be drawn up in the foregoing "Auto," there appeared in this tribunal the Reverend Father Friar Josef Antonio de Zervera, Capuchin Monk and Missionary in the Province of Guayana, whom the Señor Commandant-General admitted upon oath which his Reverend Paternity took according to

law, by God our Lord, *tacto pectore in verbo sacerdotis*, and promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked; and being interrogated according to the tenor of the said note presented by the Minister of Holland, which runs from folios 1 to 6 of these "Autos," and, for his better understanding, it having been read to him word for word, he declared: That the Dutch are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers or creeks which drain into the sea from the Essequibo exclusively up to the mouth of the Orinoco: That they have only been permitted to have in that part a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians in a barrack which they call the post on the eastern bank of the River Moruca, which the Dutch call Maroco; and that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because the whole of the Colony is not so, and we know that it began in the year [1]659: that it is untrue that the Dutch have held, or do hold, possession of the River Cuyuni (called by them Cayoeny), for, having established thereon a guard and barrack, like that of Moruco, in the year [1]747, to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians, whom they enslave surreptitiously in the dominions of the King our Lord, for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the Colony, directly it came to the notice of the Spaniards, in the year [1]757, they were dislodged therefrom, and so neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanony nor the other rivers which disembogue in Essequibo, do the Dutch hold any possession, nor is it permissible that they should hold it, for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana, running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession that the Dutch were owners of almost all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity: That the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the River Essequibo, which runs from S.E. to N.E. [? N.W.] almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern extremity of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors: That the declarant does not know, nor has he ever heard, that the Spaniards have built a fort in the Cuyuni nor in its neighbourhood, with many or few soldiers; but he is persuaded that Mr. de Gravesand has imagined as such the two Missions or villages of Indians that the Catalanian Capuchins founded, in [1]761, on the north bank of the River Yuruari, an affluent of the Cuyuni, and at a distance of 70 leagues from the destroyed Post of the Dutch and that the foundation which he has for thus believing is that we have no other establishments in that part, and that although in the said villages there are no more troops than one soldier in each as escort for the Missionary, the Caribs, to whom Mr. de Gravesand gives easy credence, as shown in his report, must have deceived him with this tale, just as it appears from others with which he has filled his extravagant report: That it is a fact that in February of last year the Reverend Father Prefect of the Missions gave permission to the Reverend Father Friar Felix de Tarraga and the declarant to go down to the mouths of the Orinoco and River Barima to fetch back the Aruaca and Guarauno runaways or deserters from the Missions under his charge, and that with the boat and escort which conveyed them, finding the said Indians scattered between Guayne and Moruca, they took them and arrived at the post, where there was a Dutchman who had three Indian women with their children whom he had enslaved and seized from the mouths of the Orinoco, as they stated, and they took them to the Missions without violence or doing any damage to the Dutch; but, on the other hand, to gratify the Dutchman, the Chief of the said post, who knelt down and, with tears, asked the declarant and the Monk his companion for love of God to give him a certificate for his exculpation, with which to satisfy the Governor of Essequibo: the declarant and his companion, without perceiving the craftiness of this pretension, took pity on him and gave him such a full certificate that they went too far in saying therein that they had a permit from the Señor Commandant-General of Orinoco and Guayana to enter as far as that spot, which was not the case; for the passport held by the master of the boat which conveyed them was expressly for the mouths of the Orinoco, and beyond it they had no further permission nor other orders beyond those of their Prelate: and that as regards the Post and commercial establishment which Gravesand supposes the Dutch Company held between Guayne and Povaron the declarant neither knows nor has heard speak of such establishment: that neither has he any knowledge of the murder of the Chief of the barrack Arinda, towards the upper part of Essequibo, nor even of its existence, and that it seems incredible to the declarant that the Spaniards of Orinoco, or the Indians of our obedience and acquaintance, should have committed this homicide, for besides the distance and country between Orinoco and that place being considerable and unknown to us, we have never heard speak of such murder, and this is the first time that we have heard the barrack Arinda mentioned, which being situated, as Gravesand states, towards the upper part of the River Essequibo is inaccessible to us and our Indians, because the Colony of Essequibo lies between the said upper parts and our villages so as to stop the way: that the declarant has never seen, or heard say, that the Dutch have conducted a fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, nor that the Spaniards have found it necessary to put a stop to it, neither does he perceive that the Dutch have any necessity for such fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, seeing that they have places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo; and that the most Reverend Father is persuaded that at the present time, under pretext of fishing, they wish to establish themselves freely, with their boats, in the mouths of the Orinoco to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guarupo, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their Colony considerably when the Orinoco, with its creeks, was not so well guarded as now; which new measure and want of commerce is the real cause of the decay of Essequibo and of the resentment of Mr. de Gravesand, the chief trader, and always the most interested in the illicit trade of the Colony: That it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards from carrying on the said fishing in the territory which Gravesand calls territory of the State itself, which,

he says, extends from the River Mareguine up to this side of the Guaine, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says is an insufferable error: With respect to the slaves who have deserted from Essequibo, the declarant says they are of two races, either negroes purchased from Africa or Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be seized, by the Caribs their allies, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne, which run into the sea and communicate with the Orinoco, and along the Rivers Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, and others which run through the further interior of this Province and disembogue in Essequibo: That if there is any question about our retention of these, our reason for it is clear; for being subjects of the King criminally enslaved by the Dutch, who maintain this inhuman traffic with the Caribs contrary to all law, we cannot and must not restore them to slavery when they have the good fortune to escape it by again availing themselves of the protection of the Ministers of their legitimate Lord and Sovereign: If the negroes are in question, the declarant says that Señor Gravesand is wanting in truthfulness, for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, although their owners, Don Thomas Franquis and Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back and have not obtained any satisfaction; several times when Gravesand has here claimed restitution of the deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana, and the money produced taken to Essequibo, excepting only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic Religion, for these have been declared free according to the King's command: and that the declarant does not know that either the Indians or negroes, fugitives from Essequibo, have been induced to escape by the Spaniards, nor does it seem to him likely that anyone has engaged in such actions: That it is a fact that the Colony of Essequibo is going visibly to its ruin since the door has been closed for the illicit traffic which it previously carried on in Orinoco, and the poitos or slaves have found that of their liberty open, so that they can escape thence: and, finally, he says that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs except that of the Cuyuni in 1758, in which action only one man died, and he was a soldier of the Spaniards: and he adds that he has been for nine years Apostolic Missionary in this Province, with which experience he can and ought to say that the manœuvres of the Dutch of Essequibo, and their detestable traffic in poitos, is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not yet been settled, and why they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them as they did in 1750: at another attacking them by main force, and at another carrying them off by diabolic craft and policy: in suchwise that in the period alone in which the Religious brethren of the declarant have worked in these Missions, the Dutch, together with the Caribs, have destroyed, as may be seen in the "Autos" of the matter, seven of our established villages, without counting those which they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit Missionaries and to the Observants, likewise killing many Religious. And what he has declared is from his own knowledge and from what he has heard from the Reverend Fathers and the senior Missionaries and other persons of the highest credit, and in this belief and assurance the declarant states it under obligation of the oath which he has taken: that he ratifies and affirms what is therein, and if necessary will repeat it; that he is 49 years of age, and this his declaration having been read to him, he said: That it is the same which he made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has signed it with the said Commandant-General and us the judicial witnesses whereof we certify.

(Signed)

DON MANUEL CENTURION. (Rubric.)

FRIAR FELIPE ANTONIO DE CERVERA. (Rubric.)

DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Rubric.)

ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

(7.)

Another of the Capuchin Father Felix de Tarraga.

On the said day, month, and year, in order to continue the report ordered to be drawn up in the foregoing "Auto," there appeared in this tribunal the Reverend Father Friar Felix de Tarraga, Capuchin Monk and Missionary in this Province of Guayana, whom the Señor Commandant-General admitted upon oath which his Reverence took according to law, by God our Lord, *tacto pectore in verbo sacerdotis*, and promised to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked: And being asked according to the tenor of the said note presented by the Minister of Holland, which runs from folios 1 to 6 of these "Autos," and, for his better understanding, it having been read to him word for word, he declared: That the Dutch are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers or rivulets which drain into the sea from the Essequibo, exclusively, up to the mouth of the Orinoco: That they have only been permitted to have in that part a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians, in a barrack which they call the Post, on the eastern bank of the River Moruca, which the Dutch call Maroco; and that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because the whole of the Colony is not so, and we know that it began in the year [1]659: That it is untrue that the Dutch have held, or do hold, possession of the River Cuyuni (called by them Cayoeny), for having established thereon a guard and barrack like that of Moruca in the year [1]747 to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians, whom they enslave surreptitiously in the dominions of

the King our Lord, for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the Colony, directly it came to the notice of the Spaniards, in the year [1]757, they were dislodged therefrom; and so, neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanony, nor the other rivers which disembogue in Essequibo, do the Dutch hold any possession, nor is it permissible that they should hold it, for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana, running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession that the Dutch were owners of almost all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity: That the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the River Essequibo, which runs from S.E. to N.W. almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern extremity of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors: That the declarant does not know, nor has he ever heard, that the Spaniards have built a fort in the Cuyuni nor in its neighbourhood with many or few troops; but he is persuaded that Mr. de Gravesand has imagined as such the two Missions or villages of Indians that the Catalonian Capuchins founded in [1]757 and [1]771, on the north bank of the River Yuruari, an affluent of the Cuyuni, and at a distance of 70 leagues from the destroyed post of the Dutch; and that the foundation he has for thus believing is that we have no other establishments in that part, and that although in the said villages there are no more troops than one soldier in each, as escort for the Missionary, the Caribs, to whom Mr. de Gravesand gives easy credence, as shown in his report, must have deceived him with this tale, just as it appears from others with which he has filled his absurd report: That it is a fact that in February of last year the Reverend Father Prefect of the Missions gave permission to the Reverend Father Friar Josef Antonio de Zervera and the declarant to go down to the mouths of the Orinoco and River Barima to fetch back the Aruaca and Guarauno, runaways or deserters from the Missions under his charge, and that with the boat and escort which conveyed them, finding the said Indians scattered between Guayne and Moruca, they took them and arrived at the post, where there was a Dutchman who had three Indian women with their children, whom he had enslaved and seized from the mouths of the Orinoco, as they stated, and they took them to the Missions without violence or doing any damage to the Dutch. But, on the other hand, to gratify the Dutchman, the Chief of the said Post, who knelt down and, with tears, asked the declarant and the monk, his companion, for love of God to give him a certificate for his exculpation, with which to satisfy the Governor of Essequibo, the declarant and his companion, without perceiving the craftiness of this pretension, took pity on him and gave him such a full certificate that they went too far in saying therein that they had a permit from the Governor and Commandant-General of Orinoco and Guayana to enter as far as that spot, which was not the case; for the passport held by the master of the boat which conveyed them was expressly for the mouths of the Orinoco, and beyond it they had no further permission nor other orders beyond those of their Prelate: And that as regards the post and commercial establishment which Gravesand supposes the Dutch Company held between Guayne and Povaron, the declarant neither knows nor has heard speak of such establishment; that neither has he any knowledge of the murder of the Chief of the barrack Arinda, towards the upper part of Essequibo, nor even of its existence; and that it seems incredible to the declarant that the Spaniards of Orinoco, or the Indians of our obedience and acquaintance, should have committed this homicide, for besides the distance and country between Orinoco and that place being considerable and unknown to us, we have never heard speak of such murder, and this is the first time that we have heard the barrack Arinda mentioned, which being situated, as Gravesand states, towards the upper part of the River Essequibo, is inaccessible to us and our Indians, because the Colony of Essequibo lies between the said upper parts and our villages so as to stop the way: That the declarant has never seen or heard say that the Dutch have conducted a fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, nor that the Spaniards have found it necessary to put a stop to it, neither does he perceive that the Dutch have any necessity for such fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, seeing that they have places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo; and that the most Reverend Father is persuaded that at the present time, under pretext of fishing, they wish to establish themselves freely, with their boats, in the mouth of the Orinoco, to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guarupo, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their Colony considerably when the Orinoco, with its creeks, was not so well guarded as now; which new measure and want of commerce is the real cause of the decay of Essequibo and of the resentment of Mr. de Gravesand, the chief trader and always the most interested in the illicit trade of the Colony: That it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards from carrying on the said fishing in the territory of the State itself, which he says extends from the River Mareguina up to this side of the Guaine, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says, is an insufferable error: With respect to the slaves who have deserted from Essequibo, the declarant says they are of two races, either negroes purchased from Africa, or Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be seized, by the Caribs their allies, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne, which run into the sea and communicate with the Orinoco, or along the Rivers Cuyuni, Maseroni, Aponony, and others which run through the further interior of this Province and disembogue in Essequibo: that if there is any question about our retention of these, our reason for it is clear, for being subjects of the King criminally enslaved by the Dutch, who maintain this inhuman traffic with the Caribs contrary to all law, we cannot and must not restore them to slavery when they have the good fortune to escape it by again availing themselves of the protection of the officers of their legitimate Lord and Sovereign: If the negroes

are in question, the declarant says that Señor Gravesand is wanting in truthfulness; for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, their owners, Don Thomas Franquis and Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back and have not obtained any satisfaction; several times when Gravesand has here claimed restitution of the deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana, and the money produced taken to Essequibo, excepting only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic Religion, for these have been declared free according to the King's command; and that the declarant does not know that either the Indians or negroes, fugitives from Essequibo, have been induced to escape by the Spaniards, nor does it seem to him likely that any one has engaged in such actions; that it is a fact that the Colony of Essequibo is going visibly to its ruin since the door has been closed for the illicit traffic which it previously carried on in Orinoco, and the poitos or slaves have found that of their liberty open, so that they can escape thence; and, finally, he says that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs except that of the Cuyuni in 1758, in which action only one man died, and he was a soldier of the Spaniards; and he adds that he has been for five years Apostolic Missionary in this Province, with which experience he can and ought to say that the manoeuvres of the Dutch of Essequibo and their detestable traffic in poitos is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not yet been settled, and why they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them as they did in 1750, at another attacking them by main force, and at another carrying them off by diabolic craft and policy; in such wise that in the period alone in which the Religious Brethren of the declarant have worked in these Missions, the Dutch, together with the Caribs, have destroyed, as may be seen in the "Autos" of the matter, seven of our established villages, without counting those which they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit Missionaries and to the Observants, likewise killing many Religious. And what he has declared is from his own knowledge and from what he has heard from the Reverend Fathers the Senior Missionaries and other persons of the highest credit, and in this belief and assurance the declarant states it under obligation of the oath which he has taken: that he ratifies and affirms what is therein, and if necessary will repeat it; that he is 34 years of age; and this declaration having been read to him, he said that it is the same which he made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has signed it with the said Señor Commandant General and us the judicial witnesses whereof we certify.

(Signed)

DON MANUEL CENTURION. (Rubric.)

FRIAR FELIX DE TARRAGA, *Apostolic Missionary*. (Rubric)

DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Rubric.)

ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

(8.)

Another of Lieutenant Don Felix Ferreras.

In this said City of Guayana on the 26th day of the said month and year, in order to continue the report ordered to be drawn up in the preceding "auto," there appeared in this tribunal Don Felix Ferreras, Lieutenant of Infantry, of the garrison of this Province of Guayana, whom his Lordship, the Señor Commandant-General admitted upon oath, which he took according to law, by God our Lord, and promised upon his word of honour to tell the truth to the King in what he might know and might be asked: And being interrogated according to the tenor of the said note, presented by the Minister of Holland, which runs from folios 1 to 6 of these Autos, and, for [his] better understanding, it having been read to him word for word: He declared that the Dutch are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers or creeks which drain into the sea from Essequibo, exclusively, up to the mouth of the Orinoco: That they have only been permitted to have in that part a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians in a barrack which they call the Post, on the eastern bank of the River Moruca, which the Dutch call Maroco: And that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because even the said Colony is not so, and we know that it began in the middle of the last century.

That it is untrue that the Dutch have held or do hold possession of the River Cuyuni (called by them Cayoeny) for, having established therein a guard and barrack like that of Moruca in the year 1747, to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians whom they enslaved surreptitiously in the dominions of our Lord the King, for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the Colony, directly it came to the notice of the Spaniards in the year 1757, the declarant being Deputy Commandant of Old Guayana, they were dislodged therefrom: and so neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, nor the other rivers which disembogue in Essequibo, do the Dutch hold any possessions, nor is it permissible for them to hold it, for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana, running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession, that the Dutch were owners of almost all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity: That the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the River

Essequibo, from its mouth up to that of the Cuyuni, where they have a post which they call Old Castle. That the Essequibo runs from S.E. to N.W. almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern boundary of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors: That the declarant does not know, nor has ever heard, that Spaniards have built a fort on the Cuyuni or in its vicinity, with many or few troops; for in that part we have no other settlements than the two Missions or villages of Indians, Guazepati and Cavallapi, which the Catalonian Capuchin Father, founded in the years [1]757 and [1]761, on the northern bank of the River Yuruarí, an affluent of the Cuyuni, and at the distance of 70 leagues from the demolished Dutch barrack, and that in the said Missions there is no more than one soldier in each, for an escort to the Missionary: that concerning what happened in February of last year, at the Post of Moruca, the declarant knows nothing, seeing that at the said time he was on service in the Rio Negro: And that respecting the Post and commercial establishment which Gravesand supposes that the Dutch Company held between Guayne and Povaron, the declarant does not know nor has heard speak of such establishment: that neither has he any knowledge of the murder of the Chief of the barrack Arinda, towards the upper part of Essequibo, nor even of its existence, and that it appears incredible to the declarant that the Spaniards of Orinoco, or the Indians of our obedience and acquaintance, should have committed this homicide, for besides the distance and country which lies between Orinoco and that spot being considerable and unknown to us, we have never heard speak of such murder, and this is the first time that we have heard the barrack Arinda mentioned: That the declarant has not seen or heard say that the Dutch have conducted any fishery in the mouth of the Orinoco, nor that the Spaniards have found it necessary to put a stop to it, but only that in the year 1760 Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores seized a schooner and two boats from Essequibo in the River Orinoco and Barima its tributary, while going in pursuit of some Hollanders who were purchasing poitos from the Caribs along those channels, and that the said vessels were declared confiscate in the government of Cumaná to which Guayana was then subject; but that the pretence of this fishery by the Dutch in the mouth of the Orinoco appears suspicious to the declarant, for they have other places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo, and that he is persuaded that, under pretext of fishing, the Dutch wish to establish themselves freely with their boats in the mouth of the Orinoco, to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guarapo, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their Colony considerably when the Orinoco, with its creeks, was not so well guarded as now: which new measure and want of commerce is the true cause of the resentment of M. Gravesand, Director of Essequibo, and the most interested in the illicit trade of the colony: That it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards from carrying on the said fishing in the territory which Gravesand calls territory of the State itself, which, he says, extends from the River Mareguine up to this side of the Guayne, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says, is a serious error: As regards the slaves who desert from Essequibo, the declarant says that they are of two races, negroes bought in Africa, or Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be seized, by the Caribs their allies, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne, arms of the sea communicating with the Orinoco, or along the Rivers Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, and others which run through the further interior of this Province and empty themselves in Essequibo: That the latter have never been claimed back by the Dutch, who well know the guilt of their acquisition; for in this inhuman traffic they cause many innocent persons to be slain in order to enslave others contrary to the law of nations; and with respect to the negroes, the declarant says that Señor Gravesand is wanting in truthfulness, for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, although their owners, Don Thomas Franquis and Agustina Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back and have not obtained any satisfaction; several times when Gravesand has here claimed restitution of some of the negro slaves, deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana and the money produced taken to Essequibo, except only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic Religion; for those have been declared free according to the King's command: and that the declarant does not know that either the Indian or negro fugitives from Essequibo have been induced to escape by the Spaniards, nor does it seem to him likely that anyone has engaged in upon such actions, with the risk of being hung in Essequibo: that it is a fact that the Colony is going to its ruin since the door has been closed for the illicit traffic which they carried on previously in Orinoco, and the poitos or slaves have found the door of their liberty open, so that they can escape therefrom, and, finally, he says that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs except that of the Cuyuni in the year 1758, in which action only one man died, and he was a soldier of the Spaniards: and he adds that he has been resident for thirty-three years in this Province, and that with this experience he can and ought to say that the manoeuvres of the Dutch of Essequibo, and their detestable traffic in poitos, is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not yet been settled; and they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them as they did in the year 1750, at another attacking them by main force, and at another carrying them off by diabolic craft and policy, in suchwise that during the period alone in which the declarant has been acquainted with the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Friars of this Province, the Dutch, together with the Caribs, have destroyed nine of their established villages, without counting those they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit Missionaries and to the Observants, likewise killing many Religious and soldiers, and that among almost all

these savages Hollanders have been found naked and painted like Caribs, and that what he has declared is the truth, under obligation of the oath which he has taken. That he ratifies and affirms what is therein, and if necessary will repeat it: that he is fifty-seven years of age: And this his declaration, having been read to him, he said that it is the same that he had made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has signed it with the said Commandant-General and us the judicial witnesses, whereof we certify, &c.

(Signed)

DON MANUEL CENTURION. (Rubric.)

FELIX FARRERAS. (Rubric.)

DIEGO IGNACIO MARINA. (Rubric.)

ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

(9.)

Another of Don Santiago Bonalde.

On the 28th day of the said month and year, in order to continue the report ordered to be drawn up in the foregoing "Auto," there appeared in this tribunal Don Santiago Bonalde, citizen of this city, whom the Commandant-General admitted upon oath, which he took according to law, by God our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under obligation whereof he promised to tell the truth to the King in what he might know and might be asked: and being interrogated according to the tenor of the said note presented by the Minister of Holland, which runs from folios one to six of these "Autos," and, for his better understanding, it having been read to him word for word, he declared: that the Dutch are not, nor ever have been, in possession of the rivers or rivulets which drain into the sea from Essequibo, exclusively, up to the mouth of the Orinoco; that they have only been permitted to have in that part a small guard of two Europeans and some Indians in a barrack which they call the Post on the eastern bank of the River Moruca, which the Dutch call Maroco, and that this settlement has not existed from time quasi-immemorial, because even the said colony has not either, and we know that it began in the middle of the last century; that it is untrue that the Dutch have held, or do hold, possession of the river Cuyuni (called by them, Cayoeni), for having established therein a guard and barrack, like that of Moruca, in the year [1]747, to facilitate the inhuman traffic and seizure of Indians whom they enslave surreptitiously in the dominions of our Lord the King for the cultivation of the plantations and advancement of the colony, directly it came to the notice of the Spaniards, in the year [1]757, they were dislodged therefrom by the declarant, who was despatched with some troops for this purpose by the Deputy-Commandant of old Guayana, and so neither on the Cuyuni, Maseroni, Apanoni, nor on the other rivers which disembogue in Essequibo do the Dutch hold any possession, nor is it permissible that they should hold it, for since the said rivers include between them almost all the territory of the Province of Guayana, running from its western boundary in which they rise to its eastern boundary where they fall into the River Essequibo, it would result from the supposed possession that the Dutch were owners of almost all the vast Province of Guayana, and that we, the Spaniards, held nothing therein except the worthless banks of the Orinoco, which is an absurdity; that the only place wherein the Dutch are tolerated and established is on the banks of the river Essequibo, from its mouth up to that of the Cuyuni, where they have a post which they call Old Castle; that the Essequibo runs from S.E. to N.W. almost parallel to the sea coast, the eastern boundary of this Province of Guayana, and leaves the interior thereof free to the Spaniards, its legitimate possessors; that the declarant does not know, nor has ever heard, that the Spaniards have built a fort on the Cuyuni or in its vicinity, with many or few troops, for in that part we have no other settlements than the two missions or villages of Indians, Guazicpatti and Cavallapi, which the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers founded in the years [1]757 and [1]761 on the northern bank of the River Yuruari, which falls into the Cuyuni, and at the distance of seventy leagues from the demolished Dutch barrack, and that in the said missions there is no more than one soldier in each for an escort to the missionary; that concerning what happened in February last at the post of Moruca, the declarant only knows that the Capuchin Fathers who made that incursion, brought the Indians fugitives from their villages, who had withdrawn to the channels and plains between Guaine and Moruca, and that having reached the barrack established by the Dutch and found therein, enslaved by the Dutch Chief, two or three Indians, natives of our dominions, they brought them to the Missions, without having committed any injury or act of hostility against the Dutch; and with regard to the post and commercial establishment which Gravesand supposes that the Company held between Guayne and Povaron, the declarant neither knows nor has heard speak of such establishment; that neither has the declarant any knowledge of the murder of the chief of the barrack Arinda, towards the upper part of Essequibo, nor even of its existence, and that it seems impossible to the declarant that the Spaniards of Orinoco, and Indians of our obedience and acquaintance, have committed this homicide, for besides that the distance and country which lies between Orinoco and that spot is considerable, and known [unknown] to us, we have never heard speak of such murder, and this is the first time that we have heard the barrack Arinda mentioned; that the declarant has not seen, or heard say, that the Dutch have conducted any fisheries in the mouth of the Orinoco nor that the Spaniards have had to prevent it, but only that in the year 1760, Lieutenant Don Juan de Flores seized a schooner and two boats from Essequibo in the river Orinoco and the Barima its tributary, while going in pursuit of some Hollanders who were purchasing Poitos from the Caribs along those channels, and that the said vessels were declared confiscate in the Government of Cumaná,

to which Guayana was then subject; but that the pretence of this fishery by the Dutch in the mouth of the Orinoco appears suspicious to the declarant, for they have places from which to provide themselves with fish much nearer to Essequibo, and that he is persuaded that under pretext of fishing, the Dutch wish to establish themselves freely, with their boats, in the mouths of the Orinoco, to re-establish and facilitate the clandestine shipments of mules from Guarapiche and Guarapo, and tobacco from Barinas, hides and other products of the Spanish Provinces, with which they used to benefit their colony considerably, when the Orinoco and its creeks were not so well guarded as now, which new measure and want of commerce is the true cause of the resentment of Monsieur de Gravesand, Director of Essequibo, and the most interested in the illicit trade of the Colony; that it is an equally false statement that they have also been prevented by the Spaniards in the territory of the state itself, which, he says, extends from the river Mareguine up to this side of the Guayne, very near the mouth of the Orinoco, which supposition, the declarant says, is a serious error. As regards the runaway slaves from Essequibo, the declarant says that they are of two races, negroes bought in Africa, and Indians whom the Dutch unjustly and cruelly seize, or cause to be seized by the Caribs their allies, from our dominions along the Rivers Moruca and Guayne, running into the sea and communicating with the Orinoco, or along the rivers Cuyuni, Maseroni, and Apanoni, and others, which run through the further interior of this province and empty themselves in Essequibo; that the latter have never been claimed back by the Dutch who well know the guilt of their acquisition; for in this inhuman traffic they cause many innocent persons to be slain in order to enslave others contrary to the law of nations; and that with respect to the negroes, the declarant says that Señor Gravesand is wanting in truthfulness, for although we know that two negro slaves, fugitives from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, were sold there by the said Gravesand, although their owners, Don Thomas Franquis and Augustina Catalina de Arocha, inhabitants of Guayana, have claimed them back and have not obtained any satisfaction, several times when Gravesand has here claimed restitution of the negro slaves, deserters from Essequibo, and their owners have agreed that they should be sold, this has been done in Guayana, and the money produced taken to Essequibo, except only those slaves who made their escape to obtain the benefit of the Catholic religion, for these have been declared free as the King has commanded. And that neither the Indians nor the negroes, fugitives from Essequibo, have, to the knowledge of the declarant, been induced by the Spaniards to escape, nor does it seem to him likely that any one has engaged in upon such action with the risk of being hung in Essequibo; that it is a fact that the Colony is going to its ruin since the door has been shut for the illicit traffic which it carried on previously in Orinoco, and the Poitos or slaves have found the door of their liberty open so that they can escape from there; and finally, he says, that the statement is absolutely false that the Spaniards have killed any Dutch guard or guards, or have attacked any other post of theirs, except that of the Cuyuni in the year 1754, in which action only one man died and he was a soldier of the Spaniards; and he adds that he has been resident for twenty-seven years in this province, and that with this experience he can, and ought to say, that the instigations of the Dutch of Essequibo and their detestable traffic in Poitos is the reason why all the Caribs in our Missions, and many other nations of savages, have not already been settled, and why they labour continually, under the direction of the Dutch, in the destruction of our villages by various means, at one time burning them as they did in the year 1750, at another attacking them by main force, and at another carrying them off by diabolic craft and policy; in suchwise that during the period alone in which the declarant has been acquainted with the missions of the Catalanian Capuchin Friars of this Province, the Dutch together with the Caribs have destroyed nine of their established villages, without counting those they burnt and destroyed belonging to the Jesuit and Observant Missionaries of Orinoco, likewise killing many fathers and soldiers; and that among almost all these savages, Hollanders have been found painted like Caribs; and that what he has declared is the truth under obligation of the oath which he has taken, which is ratified and affirmed therein, and if necessary he will repeat it. That he is forty-six years of age; and this declaration having been read to him, he said that it is the same that he made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein; and being blind, has ordered his eldest son, Santiago, to sign for him, as he did with the said Señor Commandant-General and us the witnesses, whereof we certify.

(Signed)

DON MANUEL CENTURION. (Rubric.)

FRANCISCO SANTIAGO BONALDE. (Rubric.)

DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Rubric.)

ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

(10.)

Citation of absent Witness.

The judicial witnesses summoned before this tribunal Cipriano Maiorga, in order that, by taking down his declaration, the requirements of the declarations of the Capuchin Fathers, Friar Joseph Antonio de Zervera and Friar Felix de Tarraga, Missionaries of this Province, may be completed. Thus Señor Don Manuel Centurion, Commandant-General of this Province, provided and ordered in this city of Guayana on the 29th of March, 1770, and signed it in the presence of us the aforesaid witnesses, whereof we certify.

(Signed)

CENTURION. (Rubric.)

DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Rubric.)

ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

The same day we the judicial witnesses call upon Cipriano Maiorga, as Captain of the launch in which, during the month of February of last year, the two Capuchin Missionary Fathers, Friar Joseph Antonio de Zervera and Friar Felix de Tarraga, went to fetch Indians from the mouths of the Orinoco, and not having found him in the whole of this city we have ascertained that he is absent with the cruiser under his charge: which in fulfilment of the foregoing "Auto," we put for due form and certify.

(Signed) DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Initialled.)
ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Initialled.)

(11.)

Declaration of Don Thomas Franquiz.

In this aforesaid city, on the 30th of the said month and year in order to complete the requirements of the foregoing declarations in respect to Don Thomas Franquiz, he appeared before us the judicial witnesses in the tribunal of Government, and being admitted upon oath, which he duly made by God our Lord, and a sign of the cross; he promised the King to tell the truth in what he might know and might be asked; and being interrogated by the Señor Commandant-General in the matter of the flight of one of the slaves of the declarant, who is said to be in the Colony of Essequibo, he declared: that it is true that about the end of last year 1776, a negro slave of the declarant, called Ambrosio, fled from this city to the Colony of Essequibo, accompanied by another named Francisco, belonging to Agustina de Arocha; and from various deserters who afterwards came from Essequibo to this city, the declarant has learned that his negro and the one belonging to Agustina de Arocha have been sold in Essequibo to a Lutheran schoolmaster, by the Government [Governor] of that colony, after having kept them at work in his own plantation, and that they escaped from him, and he had to come down to the mouths of the Orinoco to recapture them: that this is as much as he knows, and can say in this matter, under the oath which he has taken, wherein it is ratified and affirmed, and if necessary he will repeat it; that he is twenty-nine years of age, and this declaration having been read to him, he said that it is the same that he made, that it is well and faithfully written, that he has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has signed it together with the said Señor Commandant-General and us the witnesses, whereof we certify.

(Signed) DON MANUEL CENTURION. (Rubric.)
THOMAS FRANQUIS. (Rubric.)
DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Rubric.)
ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

(12.)

Declaration of Agustina de Arocha.

In this said city, on the 2nd of April, 1770, there appeared in this tribunal before us the judicial witnesses Agustina de Arocha, inhabitant of Guayana, cited in the foregoing declarations, whom the Señor Commandant-General admitted upon oath which she took according to law, by God our Lord, and a sign of the cross, under obligation whereof she promised the King to tell the truth in what she might know and might be asked; and being interrogated in the matter of the slave of the declarant, who, it is stated, ran away from this city to the colony of Essequibo, where he now is, she said: that it is true that towards the end of the year 1766 a negro slave belonging to the declarant deserted from this city to the colony of Essequibo, with another belonging to Don Thomas Franquiz, the former named Francisco, and the latter Ambrosio, and that from various deserters who afterwards came from Essequibo to this city, the declarant has learned that her negro and the one belonging to Franquiz have been sold in Essequibo to a Lutheran schoolmaster by the governor of that Colony after he had kept them at work in his own plantation, from which they escaped, and he came to recapture them in the mouth of the Orinoco; that this is as much as she knows and can say in the matter, under obligation of the oath which she has taken, wherein it is ratified and affirmed, and if necessary she will repeat it: That she is forty-three years of age, and this her declaration having been read to her, she said that it is the same that she made, that it is well and faithfully written, that she has nothing to add or subtract therein, and has not signed it because she said she did not know how to do so; at her request Don Francisco de Amantegui signed it with the said Señor Commandant-General and us the judicial witnesses, whereof we certify.

(Signed) FRANCISCO DE AMANTEGUI. (Rubric.)
DON MANUEL CENTURION. (Rubric.)
DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Rubric.)
ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

(13.)

"Auto."

In the city of Guayana on the 4th of April, 1770, Señor Don Manuel Centurion, Commandant-General of this province, being in his tribunal with us the judicial witnesses, he declared that having seen the declarations and inquiries whereof these "Autos" consist, he approved them and considered them sufficient for the proofs which by order of the King he has been instructed to draw up respecting the complaints made to His Majesty by the Minister of Holland concerning the proceedings of the Spaniards of Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo, and therefore ordered that a complete copy of this report being taken by us the witnesses, the original should be sent to the King our Lord by the hand of the Excelentísimo Señor Bailio Friar Don Julian de Arriaga, and thus the said Señor Commandant-General decreed and signed it with us the aforesaid witnesses, in default of the notary, and on ordinary paper because stamped paper is not current in this Province, whereof we certify.

(Signed)

DON MANUEL CENTURION. (Rubric.)

DIEGO IGNACIO MARINO. (Rubric.)

ESTEVAN MARTIN. (Rubric.)

No. 28.

Reply of the Governor of Cumaná to the Royal Order of September 23, 1769, in reference to the Complaints made by the Dutch Minister concerning the Outrages of the Spaniards of the Orinoco against the Dutch Colonies in Guayana (1770).

(Translation.)

Your Excellency,

Cumaná, May 10, 1770.

ON the 30th March of this year I informed your Excellency in a despatch, of which a triplicate is inclosed, of the receipt of the Royal Order of the 23rd September of last year, accompanied by the paper in which the Dutch Minister complained of the proceedings of the Spaniards established on the Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo, as described therein, and I offered to draw up the report which is called for in justification of the acts complained of, so far as I could learn and ascertain the truth regarding them.

"Archivo de Indias,"
Audience of Carácas,
Correspondence with
the Governors of
Guayana.
Years 1762 to 1814.
131—2—17.

In fulfilment of that promise, I have to inform your Excellency that the only acts which I have found to have taken place before the separation of the Province of Guayana from this Government were caused by the Dutch themselves of the Colony of Essequibo, bordering on the Missions of the Catalanian Capuchin Fathers in the said province. For in 1758, when Don Nicolas de Castro was Acting Governor, the Prefect of the Missions sent a despatch, informing the then Commandant of that garrison, at full length, of the serious injuries and loss of life inflicted by the Caribs of the desert, at the instance of the Dutch of Essequibo, on the new Mission of Guayca Indians at the place called Hauchica [Avechica], and stating that he feared greater loss in the neighbouring villages. He therefore begged him to send speedy help, as the chief cause of these losses lay in the constant suggestions and persuasions with which the Dutch urged the Caribs not to submit to a settlement of Spaniards. This they did in order to set them against that holy object, and to keep up the abominable traffic which they always carried on with the Caribs, giving them clothes and tools in exchange for Poyto [slaves] Indians (by which name they call slaves), who are captured by the Caribs in their wars to be sold as slaves in the said Colony of Essequibo. Accordingly, they daily hinder the progress of the Gospel and the conversion of the Gentiles, which was especially the case when these Dutch crossed the borders of their Colony and came to take possession of territory and establish themselves, for the better security of the above-mentioned traffic, in the dominions of His Majesty, in the neighbourhood of the last Missions on their frontiers. This is shown by the fact that they established, with the permission of the Governor, Lorenzo Storm Gravesand, a post with a guard on an island called Caramacúra, in the River Cuyuni, in the territory of the Missions (no doubt the same as that called by the Dutch in the paper mentioned the River Coyoenij), for this river has never belonged, nor been held to belong, to the Colony of Essequibo, as is set forth in the Prefect's despatch above mentioned.

On being possessed of the above news the Commandant of Guayana dispatched an expedition to the River Cuyuni, with instructions to dislodge the Dutch from their post, and seize their Indian slaves, or Poitos, and any others they might find there. This was done in spite of the resistance of the Dutchman in command of the post, and although two of the soldiers of the expedition were killed and wounded during the action. Thereupon the said Commandant drew up papers justifying all that had happened, and sent them, with the two Dutchmen taken in resistance, to the said Acting Governor, Don Nicolas de Castro. The Governor took the opinion of a lawyer, who said that he should send the papers with a report to His Majesty in his Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies; but it does not appear from them, nor is it known, whether he made the report or not, or what became of the two Dutchmen.

The said Governor of Essequibo being thus acquainted with the event and the capture of the two Dutchmen on the River Cuyuni sent a despatch to the said Commandant of Guayana demanding their delivery, which the Commandant, without replying, forwarded for the decision of the Acting Governor, Don Nicolas de Castro. The latter replied to the Governor of Essequibo in

terms which, with all the other representations made on the subject, are set forth in the paper which I transmit to your Excellency herewith.

After receiving the reply made by Don Nicolas de Castro, the Governor of Essequibo sent a roll-shaped case to the Commandant of Guayana, who, seeing that it contained a map and a letter, simply fastened it up and returned it to the Governor by the same persons who had brought it, all of which is set forth at greater length in the second paper annexed. Neither in this Government nor in the public archives are to be found any documents other than these two papers and a Royal Order, copy of which is inclosed, sent to this Government from Madrid on the 30th March, 1753, and communicated by the Marquis de la Ensenada, for the reparation of the injuries and loss of life caused by the said Caribs in these Missions of Guayana at the instance of the Dutch of Essequibo, and for the other objects therein explained.

His Majesty being acquainted of the above will deign to take such resolution as he may think fit.

May our Lord protect and prosper your Excellency for many years as He is able, and as I desire.

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

(Signed) PEDRO JOSEPH DE URRUTIA.

(Rubric.)

To his Excellency Don Julian de Arriaga.

No. 29.

Despatch of Commandant of Guiana to Secretary of State in reference to the Capuchins, their Missions in Guiana, &c. (1771).

(Translation.)

"Archivo General de Indias." Audience of Caracas. Despatches of Governors of Guayana. Years 1771 to 1777. 131—2—18.

THE COMMANDANT-GENERAL of Orinoco and Guayana represents with proofs the reprehensible conduct of the Capuchin Missionaries of Catalonia, who claim the Civil and Political Government of the Indian villages which they instruct in this Province. No. 18.

Sir,

Guayana, July 29, 1771.

In reference to what I have already represented to your Excellency under date of the 20th June last, I must now add that the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia, Missionaries of this Province, always insisting that the Government, Civil and Financial, of the Indian villages which they instruct is their particular privilege, have continued their resistance and opposition to the establishment of the Territorial Judge, and a Military Chief, whom I commissioned for the purpose of governing the four villages of the Caroni, with the authority of Military Commandant and "Corregidor," as being the office most known, and employed among the Missionaries, and the most significant and intelligible, so that the Indians may recognize him as their Chief. But this measure, in itself, is odious to these Missionaries, who wish to command in everything. But although I have explained to them its importance for the defence of this Province, its safety and trade, they,—having observed that the Commission of that official is a warrant of the Military authority, and is not of the form which corresponds to the office of "Corregidor," as is shown in the copy, legalized, No. 1,—have been so stirred up, and have raised frivolous objections to such an extent on this question of name, that not only have they imagined that my intent is to ruin those villages, as the Prefect states in his letters, marked Nos. 3 and 5, but also, as appears from the report, marked No. 13, have managed to excite the Indians to rise in rebellion, with this species of sedition, ordering them not to receive a "Corregidor," and not to obey any other orders than those of the Father Prefect, who by force wishes that I should prefer the imaginary privileges of the Missionaries to the better service of the King and the public weal. And they put forward certain Royal "Cedulas" which the Reverend Father alleges in their favour, but does not give, nor are they to be found in these Archives. And these Fathers understanding not the Royal Laws, which charge the Governors and Justices of these Kingdoms with the conversion, settlement, instruction and government of the Indians, argue with me strongly that Governors are prohibited from providing "Corregimientos." But as the Viceroy and Audience to whom this matter belongs are more than five hundred leagues distant from here, too far for communicating with them, at this time, the case is urgent: I am Commandant-General of New Settlements, and not strictly and exclusively Governor of this Province, nor is the person I have appointed strictly a "Corregidor," but a simple Lieutenant or Judge of Commission, whose powers are limited according to what may be acquired, and who is recalled or placed there according to necessity. I do not consider well founded the reasons which these Fathers allege, in opposition to the municipal laws, which authorize me to command and direct the new settlements and villages of the Indians, and to the powerful and special motives I have for taking upon myself the political government of these four villages indicated, as set out in the justificative documents accompanying my said representation of the 20th June last.

Nor, still less, can I, in the present circumstances, concede to these Missionaries the permission they request of me in their letters, Nos. 6, 8, and 10, to send as Procurators to Spain the two Fathers, Fray Jaime de Puigcerda, and Fray Joaquin Maria de Martorel. For, besides the notable want of Religious from which these Missions actually suffer, as I told them in my letters Nos. 7, 9, and 11, the two named are wanting in all the requirements which the laws prescribe for such

permission. For, from letter No. 12, Your Excellency will see that the first-named is a froward, rebellious man, even from the point of view of his Ministry; the second is the same. Both are those very two famous fanatics, who in the time of my predecessor, Don Joaquin Moreno, were here as parish priests. They insulted him so much, and conspired so openly against [the Government of] this city for having, against their will, removed the Reverend Capuchin Community to Angostura on the Orinoco, that it is here believed that they were the authors of the great fire of twenty-two houses that were burned down one night in 1766, concerning which it appears that my predecessor drew up a judicial report for transmission to Your Excellency.

What is quite certain is that these Fathers proceed in all without obedience and humility, for they always oppose the orders of the Governor-General of this Province. They will not even submit to those of the Diocesan Ordinary, not even when they reside here as parish priests and chaplains, as appears from the document and letters No. 14, handed to me by the Ecclesiastical Vicar.

Although in the letters they write me they affect a great respect for the orders of the King, they have no such, except in so far as may suit them. For having sent them by Royal order of the 5th June, 1762, a command to remove the village of Suay to the neighbourhood of Angostura, when the city of Guayana was removed to this place, they resisted so much that they actually hindered the removal of that village, so necessary for the progress of Angostura, by alleging that the place was unhealthy; that there was no wood for building; and that in this neighbourhood there were no lands adapted for cultivation for an Indian village (and now there are four at a distance of one, two, and four leagues, without any detriment of Spanish inhabitants dwelling in this city; and two others before reaching Caroni).

In virtue of what was provided in the said Royal Order of instructions I exhorted them to remove the four villages of Unata, Uyacoa, Tiparua, and Piacoa, which in direct violation of the spirit of these instructions they had founded on the banks of the Orinoco, below this city and even of the fort, without licence, nor knowledge of the Government: And, in like manner, they resisted, wishing to deceive the King by a diffuse representation full of imaginary statements and exaggeration which His Majesty in a Royal "Cedula" of the 16th May, 1769, rejected, commanding that the change I proposed should be carried out.

In the same manner these Fathers refused to serve the chaplaincy of the forts of Guayana, allotted to them in the military regulations of this province, approved by the King; and now, in order to have more stipends, they esteem it, and are content to remain with it, as there is no secular priest for the duty. They do not confess the men of the garrison, not being willing to subject themselves in any way to the Ordinary.

These are only the Royal orders that have been communicated to these Catalanian Fathers since the year [17]64 up to the present time. The obedience they have shown thereto is evidenced by the testimony contained in No. 15, and proved by the various appeals made to your Excellency by Don Josef Solano on the 27th June, 1765, and 23rd April, 1769, and what these Capuchins wrote in March of the said year [17]68, and what the Vicar-Apostolic now represents to me in his official communication and copies, No. 14.

Although we should charitably like to attribute all these vices to the effects of some iron wills, without malice, it cannot be the case, because we see that, notwithstanding that the prelate and all the community know the perverse spirit of these two Religious, whom he has appointed as his Procurators and Attorneys for Spain, yet he wishes to make use of such men for the purpose of surprising and embarrassing the best and most respectable Tribunals by the cunning and hypocritical aspect of these Capuchins, without taking into account that in the meanwhile they abandon many villages, leaving them without any instruction or spiritual food. Thus one is compelled to believe that they proceed deceitfully and in bad faith, and not, as they state, for the greater glory of God, service of the King, and the good of souls.

All this, Señor, arises from the absolute independence in which up to now the Reverend Community has lived on account of the deserted condition of the country; and the little appreciation it was held in when under the jurisdiction of the Government of Cumaná. At that time there was no other Royal official than a simple Governor of the Fort, whom the Capuchins of Catalonia made and unmade without any more trouble than writing a letter or making a visit to the Governor in order that he should sacrifice the poor Commandant, and leave them free to dispose, at their pleasure, of both the spiritual and temporal.

From that time to now no official had the courage to oppose them; and thus they consider themselves masters not only of all the villages which they instruct, for there are some that were founded in the last century, and even these they do not wish to see taken over [? by the Government], nor hand them over to the Ordinary, unless on the understanding that, as constituting an ecclesiastical administration, they are allowed to manage and freely apply to their own use the produce of the plantations and the Indian communities without the knowledge of the Government, nor giving any account to anybody of these properties.

They possess a cattle farm with more than 50,000 head of cattle, horses and mules, and nearly the entire property and wealth of the villages of the territory of their Missions, which is far greater than that of all the rest of this province. And finding themselves, by these means, so powerful, they do not wish that anyone should have any authority or jurisdiction over them, fearful, as the Royal Official says in his certificate No. 16, lest they should be obliged to make use of these goods in the conversion and settlement of the innumerable Indian heathens, who dwell in the forests of the interior of this province; and lest they may have to leave the villages situated in the vicinity of the Orinoco, where these Missionaries already do nothing else than carry on in them a traffic in the cattle and produce they possess, to the prejudice of the State.

The corporals and soldiers of the escort are those who really manage the conversion of the Indians, and work at their settlement, and until there exist therein produce, cattle, houses,

church, and everything else necessary to live comfortably, the Missionaries scarcely allow them selves to be seen by the Indians, whom they afterwards claim to be theirs, and then they declare that they have converted them and settled them with their labour and the sweat of their brow.

They make use of the Indians without paying them just as if they were slaves. And they make it appear that they are the defenders of their liberty. And if the Commandant-General, in fulfilment of his duty, desires to be informed of anything for the purpose of correcting abuses, and do what he ought in the service of the King, these Capuchins rise up against him with contemptuous and fanatical declarations in order to make him appear odious to the public.

This is substantially what passes here, and which with the greatest respect, and proper proof, I bring to the knowledge and high consideration of Your Excellency, so that my reasons being weighed in the balance of justice with those of these Religious, Your Excellency may determine whatever may be of your best pleasure, understanding that they state that they will carry their clamours even to the throne.

May God preserve the important life of Your Excellency for long years, as I desire, for the happy government of these Kingdoms.

Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) DOCTOR (*sic*) MANUEL CENTURION.
(There is a Rubric.)

P.S.—To-day, the 6th August, I have received the letter marked A, the reply of the Prefect to the last one I wrote to him, dated 25th July last. And therefrom Your Excellency will see that these Fathers have resolved to despatch, without my permission, the two Religious, as their attorneys for Spain, And I cannot detain them, for they are already very far advanced by unknown roads towards Carácas.

(Signed) CENTURION.

Excel^{mo} Señor,
Bailio Fray Don Julian de Arriaga.

No. 30.

Report of the Council of State on the Report of Commandant of Guayana, Señor Don Manuel Centurion (1776), with various preliminary Papers.

(1.)

"Consulta" of the 21st May, 1772. Published on the 30th June following.

THE KING.

GOVERNOR and Commandant-General of the City and Province of Guayana: With a letter of the 1st of August, 1770, the Governor of Carácas sent a statement showing the condition of the New Settlement of that City and Province at the end of the year 1769; stating that besides, there were then being founded the town of La Esmeralda on the Upper Orinoco, as I had commanded, and, on the northern bank of the River Paragua, near the Island of Ypoqué, and three and a-half days' march to the south of that capital, another by the Catalonian Capuchin Missionaries called Barceloneta, the establishment of which is important not only for the advancement of the conversion of the Caribs and other Heathens who inhabit the interior of the Province, but also to secure the inhabitants of that city in the possession and enjoyment of the good lands which are being discovered between the two; That at the same time Don Francisco Villasana, a citizen of New Guayana, had covenanted, in the terms prescribed by the laws of those kingdoms, to found a town by the name of Carolina on the northern bank of the River Aroy, thirty leagues southwest of that capital, where, with another of Indians which he was founding on the bank of the Erevato, he will facilitate communication with the Upper Orinoco, and the transport of cocoa from the woods of the River Padamo, and will produce for the conversion of the savage Indians the same effect as Barceloneta. With another letter of the 22nd of January, 1771, the said Governor of Carácas also sent another statement of that New Settlement of Guayana and the map of the entire province, which, under date of the 31st of December of the preceding year, you forwarded to him, and which simply shows the increase in villages, persons, fanegas of land cultivated and head of cattle in the said Province of Guayana from the year 1764, when the transfer of the city of the same name was made to the Angostura on the River Orinoco, up to 1770; including likewise the respective total to which those settlements amount, you stating that you had founded the said Capitania with 163 houses and tiled buildings of stone and mortar and of mud, with other establishments, affirming that with these elements, the convenience and health which the inhabitants of that place enjoy, it will in future be wealthy, useful to the State, and formidable to the enemies of the Crown. And all the papers having been seen in my Council of the Indies, together with what was reported by the Contaduria and stated by my Fiscal, and I having deliberated thereon, have resolved that, without loss of time, and with the fulness, clearness, and arrangement of matters which the importance of the subject demands, you shall inform me of all the particulars which are found to be wanting in the last map and explanation which you

sent under date of 31st December, 1770, and which amount to reporting, as I command you, to what Religious, and in what form, the Villages and Missions held by the Jesuits have been handed over; the distribution of lands, cattle, and implements that has been made and bestowed upon the settlers; under what rules, by whom, and how the seven villages of Spaniards which are mentioned, have been founded, and those under which Don Francisco de Villasana purposes to found the town of Carolina on the banks of the River Aroy, and, lastly, the situation of and distance between the villages and missions, with whatsoever else you may think worthy of my Royal attention, or of that of my said Council, transmitting direct, confidentially, or to that Tribunal, both the report commanded and the others which you will continue to forward concerning the condition and progress of that new Province, annexing a copy of the Royal instructions and orders which may have been communicated to you to investigate the new settlements, and explaining whether the contract entered into with Villasana to found the town of Carolina, or other villages, has been drawn up according to the general forms and rules prescribed by the laws themselves, or whether it includes any other condition; and in regard to the cessation of the motives which (as I have already informed you by Royal "Cedula" of the 28th October, 1771) induced me to commit the supervision, advancement and aid of the said Province to the Government of Carácas, restoring, on account of greater proximity and similarity, its subordination and communications to the Viceroy of Santa Fé; I order you likewise to take very particular care to report to the said Viceroy whatsoever you may consider worthy of his notice and attention, asking him both for help in money as well as in troops, and whatsoever else may conduce to the advancement and prosperity of the Province. It being well understood that this communication and subordination to the Viceroy is not to impede or retard the reports, which, as already indicated, you are to send direct and confidentially, or to my said Council. Done, &c.

(2.)

Report of the Contaduria of the 6th July, 1774.

By Royal Cedula of the 24th July, 1772, Don Manuel Centurion, Governor of Guayana, was commanded, without loss of time, and with the fulness, clearness, and arrangement of subjects which the importance of the affair demanded, to report to Your Majesty all the particulars found wanting in the last map and explanation respecting the settlement of that Province, which he sent with a letter of the 31st December, 1770; and which amounted to reporting to what Religious, and in what form, the Villages and Missions held by the Jesuits had been handed over; the distribution of lands, cattle and implements which had been made and bestowed upon the settlers; under what rules, by whom, and how the seven villages of Spaniards mentioned had been founded, and those under which Don Francisco Villasana purposed to found the "Villa" Carolina on the banks of the River Aroy, and, lastly, the situation of and distance between the Villages and Missions, with whatsoever else he might consider worthy of the notice of His Majesty, continuing his reports of the condition and progress of that new Province, annexing a copy of the Royal instructions and provisions that might be communicated to him in order to legalise the new settlements, and explaining whether the contract made with Villasana for founding the town of Carolina or other villages, had been drawn up according to the general forms and rules prescribed by the laws themselves, or whether it included any other condition.

This report, circumstantiated in all respects, and accompanied by nine documents, the said Governor of Guayana has forwarded under date of the 11th of November of last year, and, in conformity with what was ordered by advice of the Council of the 29th April, 1772, it has come, with the previous correspondence, to the Contaduria General. This Officer having examined it, recognises the precision and clearness wherewith he supplies all the details, of which a circumstantial account was demanded from him, showing the villages of the old foundation, the manner in which it has been legalised, those which have been established in his time, and upon what footing and under what rules, admitting that in some the laws have been observed, and in others not, as circumstances did not allow it. He describes the condition of the Missions of that Province, and especially of those which the Jesuits held, and which he shows are almost entirely abandoned at the present time, on account of the nature of the soil and through the Capuchins not having taken them under their care, wherefore a request was made for Franciscan Religious, who, he says, succeed well there; but that there were only two of them, and that although he had asked for the number requisite he had not obtained them up to the present time: the forts and defences which in the past, and at the present, have been constructed in that Province, with a note of how much he has, for his part, contributed to this important object and the indispensable works which are necessary for adequate security. And, lastly, summarizing the Royal and other orders which regulated that settlement, he points out how this undertaking in all its parts devolved upon him; he makes a distinguished merit of his services and difficulties, and the sums of his own money with which he has helped towards the prosperity of its present condition; he explains what the Royal Treasury has received, and the means of furthering this important object; he recommends the distinguished merit with which the Royal Officer Don Andres de Oleaga has aided him in everything, and requests for him the honour of Commissary of War,* or of the Tribunal of Accounts of Santa Fé, and that a Royal Treasury Officer should be appointed as his official colleague, on account of the need of one, and the utility resulting therefrom to the Royal Treasury, proposing for this post Don Francisco de Amantegui, Secretary of his Government and Command, of whom he makes special praise, recommending also Don Antonio Barreto, Acting-

* The Officer who inspects regiments to see if they are complete, and prevent fraud, &c.

Captain of the Company of Infantry of the Garrison of that Province, and asking that he may be granted this (Company) for his own, and the Companionship of one of the Military Orders, for the singular ability with which he has helped in the settlement and progress of the Upper Orinoco.

Taking the aforesaid for granted, and that the Contaduria General has limited itself to merely giving a succinct general idea of the outcome of the "Expediente," considering that its gravity and importance demand an accurate, full, and detailed abstract of all the sections of Centurion's report, and justificatory documents, it acknowledges that thereby he not only fully informs the Council of such particulars as were demanded, but that, accepting what is presented in the said report and documents, he appears worthy of distinguished approbation for the signal merit and good services in which for the advantage of the State and of the King, he has devotedly employed himself, for his constant labours and his whole conduct, in objects so worthy of being regarded with the first attention on account of their value and importance. But although various replies of the late and present Viceroy of Santa Fé, and of the Governor of Carácas, are noted, which approve and extol the zeal and conduct of the said Centurion in these matters, nevertheless the Contaduria doubts whether they are sufficient to justify his management in the whole of this vast affair, for being limited to replying to him only upon the reports which came to them of the advancement and progress of those Settlements, and other parts relating thereto, it seems, that not having entered upon a detailed and verified examination of all parts of his management, there is some fear as to whether this will prove so laudable and distinguished as it now presents itself.

What is certain is that, as concerning Missions, in regard to those of the Capuchins, the Council knows the complaints which it has had before it respecting the proceedings of Centurion, and that just recently this "Expediente" was drawn up to restrain him, and to correct the objectionable methods which he has employed. And treating in the present Report of this subject of Missions, and of the measures which he has taken for the administration of justice in the villages therein, and other regulations of his Government, it is necessary for the Council to bear in mind that preceding "Expediente" for the decision of the present one. The subject of the Missions which the Jesuits held, and which seem to be almost abandoned, also requires all the attention of the Council, as being a commendable and religious one. And with regard to all other points, including the merit and services of this Governor, and the particular merits which recommend the persons specified, the Contaduria thinks that the proper decision of everything lies with the Council, especially when it recognises that the small amounts contributed by the Royal Treasury have been administered in due form and order, which is the chief point for its consideration, as it pointed out in one of the previous reports which it has made in this "Expediente," indicating thereby that the other points belonged, in the main, exclusively to the judgment of the Council.

But the creation of a new Royal Officer there, which is proposed, seems to need further consideration, and that the Viceroy of Santa Fé should report thereon, after hearing the Tribunal of Accounts, and the Fiscal of the Audiencia, with a note of the real needs of the case and advantage which may result, and whatsoever else may suggest itself to him. Respecting which, and chiefly concerning this "Expediente," the Council will agree to consult His Majesty as to what may be his pleasure.

(Signed) THOMAS ORTIZ DE LANDAZURÉ. (Rubric.)

Madrid, July 6, 1774.

(3.)

Report of the Fiscal on the above Report.

The Fiscal, in view of this Report of the Contaduria, says that the Governor of Guayana satisfies the Royal "Cedula" sent to him for a report concerning the many and important matters mentioned therein; but a higher opinion being required as to what he advances concerning his own merits and services, and concerning the persons he mentions, it appears to him that the Viceroy of Santa Fé must be ordered to report on the whole matter, after hearing the Tribunal of Accounts and the Fiscal of that Audiencia, in order to the subsequent adoption of such resolution as may be suitable.

Madrid, September 5, 1774.

(4.)

Note of the Secretariat.

In consequence of what is stated by the Contaduria in this Report, the Secretariat points out that the "Expediente" which it quotes respecting the surrender of the villages of Indians which are under the care of the Catalonian Capuchin Missionaries, of the aforesaid Province of Guayana, and the placing in them of Magistrates and Parish Priests, it was resolved by the Council, and declared, that the said Religious acted well in retaining the said villages, and that the Governor went too far in imputing to them excesses which they did not commit; and by

Royal "Cedula" of the 6th July of this year 1774, the Viceroy of Santa Fé was ordered to ascertain whether the said villages are in a condition to admit of Magistrates and Parish Priests without causing the flight of the Indians thereby, and having done so to render an account; advising him that by another "Cedula" of the same date, the Prefect of the said Missions had been ordered to meet him upon the matter, and inform him circumstantially of their condition, and of whatsoever else he might demand.

(5.)

Report of Council.

Council of the 16th February, 1776, and 20th April following. [Present] Senores Arco, Valdelirios, Ximeno, Casafonda, Santos, Magallon, Agnero, Cerda.

Sire,

In view of the Governor of the Province of Guayana, Don Manuel Centurion, having sent with a letter of the 31st December, 1770, a map and explanation respecting the condition to which he had brought that Province, he was commanded by Royal "Cedula" of the 24th July, 1772, without loss of time, and with the fulness and clearness which the importance of the affair demanded, to report: to what Religious, and in what form, the Villages and Missions which were under the Jesuits had been handed over; the distribution of lands, cattle, and implements which had been made to the settlers; under what rules, and by whom, the seven villages of Spaniards, shown in the map, had been founded, and those under which Don Francisco Villasana purposed to found the town of Carolina on the banks of the River Aroy; and, lastly, that he should show the situation of and distance between the Villages and Missions, with whatsoever else he might consider worthy the attention of Your Majesty; always continuing his reports respecting the condition and progress which that new Province might attain; and, annexing a copy of the Instructions and Royal Orders which might be communicated to him for this purpose, should explain whether the contract made with Villasana for founding the town of Carolina and other villages had been drawn up according to the general forms and rules prescribed by the Laws, or whether it included any other condition.

Afterwards, in a letter of the 20th March, 1773, the said Governor rendered an account of the increase of that Province, from the year 1766, in which he took possession of his command; and as shown by the statement and return, which he annexed, the said increase consisted in 43 settlements of Spaniards and Indians; and of 8,558 inhabitants; 712 houses; 2,899 farms, and 131,963 head of cattle and horses; crediting also, by a certificate, which he enclosed, countersigned by the Royal Officer of that Treasury, the receipt therein of 38,803 dollars; which progress he brought before Your Majesty's notice to show his eagerness that in that vast dominion the favourable resolutions which its natives deserved from Your Majesty's Royal Grace might become effectual, and hoping that it would earn your Royal approbation.

Respecting this "Expediente" the Contaduria reported on the 22nd November of the same year 1773; that, having examined the foregoing, it was aware that, in the year 1770, the Governor of Carácas sent in another plan, identical with that sent by Centurion, including the year 1769 and in view thereof the Council consulted your Majesty on the 21st May, 1772, as to further instruction being necessary to provide the most useful and suitable means for facilitating the progress of the said Province; and Your Majesty having agreed in this opinion, a Royal "Cedula" was issued on the 24th July of that year,* that the said Governor, Centurion, should report upon this matter, and without taking account of this Royal Resolution, because, perchance, he had not received it, he made a new file of documents for the information of the Council, and to obtain the approval of his proceedings; but not offering further information than those previously sent by the Governor of Carácas, it was insufficient to furnish the complete information required by the Council, in order to take suitable measures; wherefore it seemed to the Contaduria that there was nothing to be done but acknowledge the receipt of those documents, calling Centurion's attention to the "Cedula" which had been sent to him, so that with all possible speed he might send the aforesaid report, and the Fiscal having concurred in this, in his reply of the 26th of the same month of November, and the Council agreeing with him, a Cedula was sent accordingly to the Governor on the 28th April, 1774.

Before receiving it, and in fulfilment of what he had been ordered by the former one of the 24th July, 1772, he reported, in a letter of the 11th November, 1773† (annexing nine documents), that the Province of Guayana is the most easterly part of your Majesty's dominions in South America on the north coast, and its boundaries are, on the north, the Lower Orinoco, the southern boundary of the Provinces of Cumaná and Carácas; on the east, the Atlantic Ocean; on the south, the great river of the Amazons; and on the west the Rio Negro, the Creek of Casiquiari, and the Upper Orinoco, the boundary of the eastern and unexplored part of the Kingdom of Santa Fé. That, on the confines or limits of the vast region of that Province, the French and Dutch have occupied the whole sea coast with their colonies; the former in Cayenne, near the mouth of the Amazon, and the latter in Surinam, Berbiz, and Essequibo, 55 or 60 leagues from the great mouth of the Orinoco; on the banks of the Amazon and on those of the Rio Negro, as far as San Joseph de los Maravitanes (35 leagues below the mouth of the Cassiquiari, and 32 from our villages and forts of San Carlos and San Felipe), are established the Portuguese; that our

* Subhead (1), *supra*.

† See "Venezuela No. 1 (1896)," pp. 123-130.

actual possessions are limited to a part of the Rio Negro, the whole of the Casiquiari, upper and lower Orinoco, and the new settlements, which are being founded in the interior of the country, along the rivers Caroni, Paragua, Aroy, Caura, Erevato, Padano, Ventuari, and others running from the unexplored centre of Guayana to the Orinoco; that this river divides into arms 41 leagues before reaching the sea, and empties itself into it by innumerable mouths, which occupy the 70 leagues of mangrove swamps, between Point Barima and Guarapiche. That the chief and easternmost of all is that called Boca Grande or Boca de Navios; that this is 17 miles wide, and has a channel of two leagues in the middle of the bar, with four fathoms of water, until it reaches the high seas; it has a muddy bottom, the shore is low, and consists entirely of mangrove swamps; the sea is very calm, especially from February to October and the spring tides run up one fathom of water, and keep back and salt the water of the Orinoco for 17 leagues above this mouth; that the other mouths only allow the entrance of long-boats and pirogues, and form a labyrinth of submerged islands and creeks, which run into the Gulf of Triste, opposite the Island of Trinidad, and the best known and most practicable of them are Manamo, Macareo, and Pedernales. That by the Boca Grande, or Boca de Navios, frigates of 40 guns can enter and navigate the Orinoco, with a favourable wind, at all times, without difficulty, up to the mouth of the Caroni, or the Island of Faxardo, and that, from May to October, when the river is full, they can ascend, although slowly, owing to the strong current and lack of wind at that season, as far as the Angostura, where is now situated the capital city of that Province, 83 leagues from the sea; that from Caroni to the mouths of the Orinoco is 58 leagues, entirely uninhabited on both banks (and, indeed, it is a pity to leave it desolate, for it is the best land in the world for agriculture and trade, though there are a few wretched spots, and one of them is the old city of Guayana, nine leagues below Caroni, and eight above the place where the Orinoco divides into arms as has been said); that in that unhealthy place in the north of that Province, and on the south bank of that river is what is called the Castle of Saint Francis of Asisi, upon a cliff; it is a battery, in the form of a trapezium, without moat or fence, it is 40 yards long and 20 wide, and has 10 iron guns, with their requisite ammunition. Close to it on the west, rises the hill of Padraastro, which commands within gunshot, the castle of Saint Francis, and, on the summit is a small log fort, with a star palisade, but without a moat; it is 37 yards long and 26 wide, and has nine iron guns mantled and ammunitioned; and for each post there is a garrison with a Captain Commandant, a Subaltern, and 25 infantry soldiers, an Artillery Officer and six gunners, and an armed launch at the foot of the forts, with a gun at the prow, 12 swivel guns and 16 pioneers; that, as the average breadth of the Orinoco, and at this part of the river, is 1,800 yards, and greater than the direct range of the cannon of these two batteries, the former inhabitants had to place another on the opposite bank, so that, their fires crossing, the passage is barred to hostile vessels; that with this object they constructed, close to the mouth of the Creek of Limones, an oval tower with an extreme diameter of 20 yards, well built and of good material; but, unfortunately, before it was finished, it fell by its own weight, owing to the weakness of the soil on which they built it without the precaution of putting in piles, which were required to strengthen that soil of mud and fine sand. That this work has been entirely abandoned for the said reasons, and, consequently, the passage along that bank is open to the vessels of the smugglers and enemies of the Crown; that with 10 fathoms of water, and the wind behind them, they can sail without risk of being reached by the guns of the batteries of Saint Francis and the Padraastro, which are opposite, unless accidentally by some high shot. That, to avoid these inconveniences, and those of the lightness of the soil, and in order to have the whole force together in a post of vantage, which may really be a key to close the Orinoco (the well known navigation of which easily lays open to the enemy the rear of the Provinces of Cumaná, Caracas, Barinas, and even opens the gate to the Kingdom of Santa Fé), your Majesty desires and has declared in a Royal Order of the 3rd December, 1772, that a formal survey be made of the hill of the Island of Faxardo, which is eight leagues above the Padraastro, and half a league below the mouth of the Caroni, and divides the Orinoco into two nearly equal channels, the larger being 700 yards in time of flood. Its summit is suitable for a fort equal to that projected for the Padraastro, and the situation more fitted to bar the river and guard the Province, for, with its commanding position, the musket is a better defence than cannon is in the other, and, as there is at present no settlement whatever below Caroni, near the Orinoco, they are all within the shelter of this fortification, for although there are some towns to the east, inland, they are a long distance from the river, and protected by a chain of mountains which runs between them and the Orinoco, which obstacle, favoured by the aforesaid desert, renders difficult any attempt of the enemy against them, and affords sufficient time to go and prevent it in any case. That the fortress of Faxardo can be more easily reinforced than that of the Padraastro, and the men summoned by the Commandant General at Angostura for this purpose, have a defence in the said River Caroni, an important one against an enemy trying by land to prevent a junction of forces; it is also more convenient for communication and assistance from its proximity to that capital. That that great country having been abandoned since the last century, for the settlement and reduction of the natives, to the three Catalan Capuchin missions of the island of Trinidad, the Franciscan mission of Piritu and the Jesuits of Santa Fé, the last two remained inactive until the year 1732; that they all distributed amongst them this vast country, even without knowing it or having explored more of it than the bank of the lower Orinoco, in the following manner. The Catalan Capuchins, who were settled up till then in the neighbourhood of the city of Guayana, took the 83 leagues between the mouths of this great river and Angostura, and the part given by a line drawn north and south from here to the Marañon or Amazons. The Observantine Franciscans took the 100 leagues between Angostura and the mouth of the River Cuchivero, with the corresponding country up to the Amazons; and the remainder up to the sources of the Orinoco (then unknown) was taken by the Jesuits; but afterwards, on the discovery of the Upper Orinoco,

Rio Negro, and the Casiquiari which joins them, it was considered too large a territory for a single Mission, and leaving to the Jesuits the 100 leagues which they had occupied between the Cuchivero and the rapids of Atures and Maypures, which divide this river into the Upper and Lower Orinoco, Your Majesty appointed the Andalusian Capuchins for the conversion and settlement of the Indians of the Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro, and they were afterwards charged also, provisionally, with the spiritual care of the villages evacuated by the Jesuits of Orinoco, and they abandoned the whole of it immediately, as he represented to Your Majesty on the 17th September, 1771, there having remained of that community no more than the two Religious, Friar Joseph Antonio de Xerez and Friar Miguel de Nerja, who after the general flight of their brethren, and the death of the Prefect, Friar Andres de Cadiz, retired in ill health to that (*sic*) capital, and are employed in the Curacies of Maruanta and Borbon; for which reason he has a Religious of the Franciscan Mission constantly going up and down the Orinoco, Casiquiari, and Rio Negro, to assist as far as possible with spiritual aid all the villages deserted by the Andalusian Capuchins in both territories, until Your Majesty provides, as he has begged, a Mission for the Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro; and the principal Committee of appointments of the Houses, Colleges, and Missions of the Company of Jesus, fixed at Carácas, selects the conventual Franciscan Monks of that Province, for whom, in an application of the 21st August, 1771, he asked, as being the Missionaries who have done best of all he has had in the villages of the Jesuits since the expulsion; and who, like them, can easily replace the monks who die or fall ill in that unhealthy country; and in consideration that the Diocesan charged with these churches, in virtue of the delivery which he made him of them in accordance with the orders and instructions of Count de Aranda, though asked several times to provide them with Missionaries, says and maintains that he has none. That that Province having been abandoned, as he has said, since the last century to the discretion of the Missionaries, sickness and want of trade and of government were destroying the City of Saint Thomas of Guayana, the only settlement of Spaniards which existed in all that vast region, and the Orinoco was almost deserted, or rather dominated by the savage Caribs, until about 1755, when the Royal Boundary Expedition arrived, which was commanded by the "Gefe de Esquadra" [Rear Admiral] Don Josef de Iturriaga, who tamed the pride of the said Indians and subdued and handed over many of them to the Missionaries, founded, at the expense of the Royal Treasury, the two Settlements of Spaniards, Ciudad Real and Real Corona, on the Higher (?) Orinoco, and caused 300 leagues to be explored along the Upper Orinoco and Casiquiari, entirely desert, up to Rio Negro, where he held the Portuguese boundary with a detachment and fort; and in order to more effectually restrain the advance of the conquests of that nation, he brought under Your Majesty's dominion and into the bosom of our holy Religion, the tribes of Indians ruling in that country, who not only had up to that time, with extraordinary valour and constancy, prevented the entry of the Spaniards on the Upper Orinoco, but also destroyed, in cruel and continual war, the other natives; and he founded with them the three villages of San Josef de Maypures at the entrance of the Upper Orinoco, and San Carlos and San Felipe on the Rio Negro; for the support of which and for the foundation of the other villages and towns which might be considered advantageous for the security and preservation of those dominions, Your Majesty appointed him Commandant-General of the New Orinoco Settlements, when by Your Majesty's order the other Commissioners of the Boundary Expedition returned to Spain in 1761. That in consequence of the representations made by Don Josef de Iturriaga, or rather of the reports of Don Josef Solano, who had been third Commissioner in the said expedition, Your Majesty resolved to place the government of this Province on a new footing (up till then it was subject to that of Cumaná), and to transfer the City of Guayana to the Angostura of Orinoco, for which purpose Your Majesty appointed as Acting Commandant of that Province Colonel Don Joachim Moreno de Mendoza, and sent him the Royal Instructions on the 5th June, 1762, making him independent of Iturriaga, and subordinate to the Viceroy of Santa Fé. That in 1764 Moreno took possession of that command, and in 1766 the aforesaid Centurion went to relieve him of it and undertake it on the same terms as he had, save with the difference of being, for the time, under the orders and direction of the said Don Josef Solano, Governor of Carácas. That at the beginning of the following year [17]67, Don Josef de Iturriaga retired in ill-health to the Island of La Margarita, leaving in his charge the general command of the Orinoco settlements, with the same powers that Your Majesty had conferred on him, as appears from the appointment or commission sent on the 28th January, [17]67, and the Royal "Cedula" of the 5th May, 1768, which confirms it; and that in consequence thereof he endeavoured to inform himself of the condition and circumstances of everything appertaining to his jurisdiction in order to deserve the Royal confidence and the satisfaction of his superiors; that he visited all the villages of the Province, except the three of the Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro; and beginning with the territory of the Catalanian Capuchin Mission, which is the oldest, and was established in the last century, he found that the entire settlement and extent of it amounted to 18 Indian villages, with 5,273 souls, the Spanish Town of San Antonio de Upata with 137 persons of both sexes and all ages; a herd of horned cattle of more than 30,000 head, and a corresponding stud of mares and horses, which the Catalanian Capuchin Fathers, as founders, managed and owned, in the territory, under their charge, from the bank of the Orinoco for 30 leagues inland to the east of the Caroni; that the Indians are docile, and the country very healthy and very fertile for agriculture and cattle breeding, and advantageously situated for settlement and trade; but as, unfortunately, all these good things are in lifeless hands, they are monopolized and prohibited to natives and Spaniards, and consequently all are wretched: that 25 leagues above the mouth of the Caroni he found the New Town of Guayana, at Angostura of Orinoco, which consisted of 555 poor persons, recently removed there, and lodged in some straw huts, and as yet without crops, cultivation, cattle, boats, or other means of subsistence, and with the misery and hardship of not having in that neighbourhood any other settlement or any resource for more than 20

leagues distant, but in a healthy spot, suited for trade by land and water. That in the territory which the Mission of the Franciscans of Piritu was to occupy there were as yet, however, no more than two monks settled, and they had founded the two Carib villages of Platanar and Guazeiparo with 268 souls, near the town of Real Corona, 35 leagues from that of Guayana, and composed of 105 very poor Spaniards: Ciudad Real, which is likewise in the said territory, 60 leagues higher up, on the Creek of Uyapi, near the Orinoco, had 458 Spaniards less ill furnished, and at the distance of 12 leagues on the east bank of the Cuchivero, a hamlet of 127 Carib Indians, fugitives from the Jesuit Missions, and added to the population of that town by Royal order: That almost all this country is healthy, but not so fertile and fruitful, nor inhabited by so many Indians, as that of the Catalonian Capuchins. That between Cuchivero and the rapids of Atures and Maypures the Jesuit Missionaries had on the south bank of the Lower Orinoco five villages of Indians, and one on the opposite bank within the jurisdiction of Carácas, which they had founded at the time of their establishment, namely, in 1732, at various distances, with 1,262 inhabitants, the most civilized and useful in the whole Province, 6,000 head of horned cattle belonging to the Mission, and more than 1,000 owned by the Indians; and some Spanish families established among them who contributed not a little to the happiness of the Indians, and to the subsistence of those villages in spite of the unhealthiness and sterility of the country which appears to be poisoned by exhalations deadly to men and even to plants; but that the Jesuits preferred it because of having the River Meta before them for their navigation and trade with the Kingdom of Santa Fé, where they had their Provincial and Colleges. That to visit the three little villages on the Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro, containing 540 souls, as well as to explore the cocoa groves of those wild woods, he commissioned the Prefect of the Mission of the Andalusian Capuchins, Friar Josef Antonio de Xerez, Infantry Lieutenant Don Francisco Bobadilla, Commandant of the station and frontier of the Rio Negro, and Don Apolinar Diez de la Fuente, who was to be Captain-Founder of La Esmeralda, and is at present Governor of the Quixos; who stated unanimously, under date of the 28th November, 1767, that the said groves were so well grown and fruitful that they could supply that Province with their fruit, and even export some to these kingdoms of Spain, with profit both to buyer and seller. That nothing else was then known of the vast interior of that Province except the 30 leagues which the Catalonian Capuchin Missionaries had penetrated in their district, and that the maps showed that even leaving between the foreign colonies and our settlements a desert of 80 or 100 leagues to prevent communication and trade, there remained many hundreds of square leagues for us to settle and occupy, with great profit to the State and to Religion; but that to our misfortune it was all not only unknown to the Spaniards, but abandoned to foreign settlers, who became acquainted with the Caribs through the trade in slaves from the savage tribes which live in the centre of that extensive country, and by this means considerably increased their settlement on the sea coast and on the River Amazon, leaving us the land deserted and impossible for us to occupy in future, no longer finding natives wherewith to people it, unless prompt and efficacious measures were taken on our part by advancing up to the frontiers of the foreigners to restrain their incursions and encroachments in Your Majesty's dominions. That with this knowledge and the assurance that there neither were nor are in that Province Indians who can be subdued and converted by words or preaching only; and that force and presents were necessary to bring them from the forests and keep them in civilized and Christian society; in which work the most active Missionaries employed the escorts of troops which were furnished them by the Governor, the natural reflection at once occurring to him that the soldiers would labour much better for the conversion and pacification, when sent by their Commandant directly, and under their own officers, to the frontiers or to conquests, than if sent by the Missionaries, for from the latter they expect neither reward nor punishment to stimulate them: That, at the same time, that city was without means or resources, and, as he has said, recently settled; its inhabitants very poor and lacking everything needful for human life, surrounded on all sides by a horrible desert which rendered subsistence there impossible unless some Indian villages were founded in the neighbourhood to provide the crops and labourers necessary for the settlement and comfort of the Spaniards; but that he wanted the requisite means for these enterprises; for the Royal Treasury there was empty and in debt, and there was very little hope of help from that of Santa Fé, as he has found hitherto that it is always without funds. That this miserable state of the Province and his wish to justify the Royal confidence by furthering the happiness of the country as far as his resources would reach, induced him to undertake the conversion of some wild Indians, to bring some Spanish families from the adjoining Provinces, and to settle the country at once at his own expense; and to carry out this important plan he appointed an administrator to collect all the dues and casual profits falling to him as Governor and Chief Justice, both those from licences and anchorage of vessels and from the Court of Justice, fines, shops, stores, etc, the proceeds of which up to the present time, he says, amount to the sum of 7,521 dollars, which, as appears by the certificate of the said administrator, Don Diego Mariño, has been employed in the conversion and pacification of more than 7,000 wild Indians; in bringing 200 Spanish families recruited in the Province of Carácas, Cumaná, Barinas, and Margarita, and in founding eighteen villages in this manner:—Maruanta and Pana-pana, at two and four leagues from that city, in the territory of the Catalonian Capuchin Mission, to which emigrations have been made from the villages of Monte Calvario and Santa Ana, on the subjection of the Indians for the village of Puedpa, and almost all the expenses of the foundation of Barceloneta on the Parava, as shown equally in the certificate of the Father Prefect Friar Bruno de Barcelona. In the territory of the Franciscan Mission he has founded and increased (as shown by the certificate of the Reverend Fathers, the Commissary, and acting assistants) the villages of Buenavista and Orocopiche at one and two leagues from that city, and penetrating the interior of the country, he has founded the villages of Guaipa, San Luis and San

Vicente del Erevato, that of San Francisco del Iniquiari, and those of La Concepcion and San Carlos de Caura; that he has assisted those of Japaquire and Cerro del Mono, all Indian, as likewise the Spanish towns of Borbon and Carolina; that he has increased the settlement of Real Corona, and maintained that of Ciudad Real, in order that they might not go to ruin through the continual epidemics of these last years. That in the Territory which was occupied by the Jesuit Mission, he has founded, in a healthy and advantageous spot, the town of Caycara, with the Indians and Spaniards dispersed from the ruined village of Cabruta of the province of Carácas; and has likewise maintained the other villages which the Jesuits left on that side of the Orinoco, notwithstanding the terrible mortality and sickness experienced in nearly all of them at certain seasons of the year. And on the Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro (as appears from the certificate of the Ex-prefect and Assistant of the Mission of the Andalusian Capuchins, Friar Josef Antonio de Xerez and Friar Miguel de Nerja) he has founded the six formal villages, Sama, Santa Barbara, Juamini, San Gabriel, San Francisco Solano, all at his own cost and charity; and in the same territory he has founded, at the cost of the Royal Treasury (by virtue of the Royal Order of the 5th October, [17]68), the town of La Esmeralda, a cattle farm for the support of the residents, and has commenced the foundation of some twenty other Indian villages on the main road, which he has successfully opened for the readier and easier intercourse of those New Settlements with that capital, as likewise for the exploration and formal occupation of the territory, and the conversion of its natives, all with the small expenditure of 11,483 dollars (as shown by the certificate of the Royal Treasurer of that place, Don Andres de Oleaga). And lastly, that in order to occupy the important frontier of the Parime, in the far interior, in the south of that Province, he has despatched a detachment of 60 men under Lieutenant Don Vicente Diez de la Fuente, who is at present at the sources of the Parava, 300 leagues from that capital, founding the city of Guirior with Spanish families which he has sent to him from the capital, and various other Indian villages that are being converted in the same direction, and which are so many steps towards our Settlement and the security of Your Majesty's dominions in those parts. That the towns of Borbon and Carolina have been founded at his request, the former by Don Josef Francisco de Espinosa, and the latter by Don Francisco Villasana, residents of that Province, and that each has covenanted to found them, according to the general formalities and rules prescribed by the laws, without stipulating or soliciting any other condition. That under those conditions they have obtained Your Majesty's Royal approbation in Royal "Cedulas" of the 14th November, 1772. But considering that the jurisdiction and lands which the law grants them are of little or no value at present, and that they have laboured and spent much of their own property, especially Villasana, through his concession being further in the Interior, he considers him deserving that Your Majesty's Royal Clemency should grant him a salary of 200 dollars annually, and 100 to Espinosa, during their lives, in reward of their merits, and as an incentive to the rest who may be able to devote themselves to founding settlements. That the distribution which is made of agricultural lands, building ground and sites for cattle farms, is carried out according to the laws of those kingdoms, and to the instructions given him by Don Josef de Iturriaga in his appointment, according to the Royal Order or faculty which he cites, of the 21st of September, 1762, but without any title, and under the express condition that to no resident will ownership be given until he has cleared and occupied the land he asks for. That to the Indian villages he is allowing one league of productive land to every twenty, and another league of defence between that and the nearest limits of other settlements or plantations, so that they may not suffer injury from one another, nor from the Spaniards and their cattle; that to each Spanish village is assigned two leagues of productive land to every twenty, one square league for each cattle farm, pasturage and waters being common property, and building ground according to what each inhabitant can build. That to those of the town of La Esmeralda, on account of the remoteness, solitude, barrenness and difficulty of that spot, there has been given to each family, for its settlement, 3,000 wild cocoa trees from the woods, in land capable of multiplying them, and other seeds for sowing, a site for a cattle farm, and building ground for a house, as property in perpetuity; and for the first year two labourers and rations of casave bread and dried meat, and once for all, two spades, two hatchets, two cutlasses, two hen-coops with fowl, a pig and a cow for each family; and for the community there has been founded, and is increasing well on their commons, a herd of horned cattle, all at the expense of the Royal Treasury, as there was no other resource for the maintenance of the settlers there and on the Rio Negro; the administration of which is under the Commandant of them all, Don Antonio Barreto, Captain of Infantry. In the other settlements of Spaniards and Indians, as they have been made without cost to the Royal Treasury, and in places with fewer inconveniences, they have been endowed variously, according to their necessities, and what has been possible with fairness. That he has taken and takes very particular care to report and render account of everything to his superiors, and has obtained the satisfaction that all of them have approved his zeal and conduct (as shown by the letters which he annexes from the Governor of Carácas, Don Josef Salano, and from the Viceroy Don Pedro Mesia de la Cerda and Don Manuel de Guirior), and that he hopes, in like manner, to deserve the higher approbation of Your Majesty, and that you may consider yourself well served by him and by those who have assisted him in placing that Province in the state of prosperity which it now enjoys, whose deserts he cannot do less than bring before Your Majesty, stating that the foremost and best helper he has had for everything, has been the Royal Accountant, General Don Andres de Oleaga, and therefore considers this zealous and faithful official worthy that Your Majesty should confer upon him the honour of Commissary of War or of the Tribunal of Accounts of Santa Fé, and that a Royal Treasury Officer should be appointed as his colleague, to assist him to bear the insupportable labour now imposed upon him, and who is required for the good administration of the revenue and the increase of the Royal Treasury. The second is Don Antonio Barreto, Acting Captain of one of the companies of Infantry of the

garrison of that Province, who, on account of the singular energy, talent, devotion and disinterestedness which he has shown for the Settlement and progress of the Upper Orinoco, deserves that the Royal Clemency should honour him with the Command of the company in which he serves, and the Companionship of one of the Military Orders. And the third is Don Francisco de Amantegui, Secretary of the Commandant-General, who has served seven years in that capacity with honour, intelligence, application and disinterestedness, and deserves that the Royal Clemency should grant him the post of Royal Treasury Officer of the Revenue there, if such post is to be created; or, failing that, something equivalent thereto.

Respecting this "Expediente" [the Council] again reported to the [Contaduria on the 6th July, 1774,* that not only did the Governor of Guayana, in his circumstantial report, fully inform the Council of all matters required of him, but that if they were to rely on what was represented therein, he appears worthy of distinguished approbation for the signal merit and good services in which for the advantage of the State and of Your Majesty he had devotedly employed himself, with continual labours, and all his conduct in objects so worthy of being regarded with the first attention on account of their value and importance; but that although they had before them various replies from the former Viceroy of Santa Fé, Don Pedro Mesia de la Cerda and Don Manuel de Guirior, and from the Governor of Carácas, which approved and extolled the zeal and proceedings of the said Centurion in these matters; nevertheless, the Contaduria is doubtful whether they were able to completely justify the management of all this vast matter, for being limited to replying to him only upon the reports which they received concerning the advancement and progress of those settlements, and the other points relating to them, it seemed that, not having entered into the examination and justification in detail of all parts of his conduct, there was some fear lest it might not turn out to be so laudable and distinguished as it now appeared; it being certain that in the matter of Missions, as regards those of the Capuchins, the Council was aware of the complaints which had been made respecting Centurion's proceedings, and quite recently they had definitely resolved to restrain him and correct the objectionable manner in which he had acted; and treating in the day's proceedings of this matter and of the measures which he had taken for the administration of justice in the villages thereof, and other regulations of his Government, it would be necessary for the Council to have before them that previous report for their decision. That the matter of the Jesuit Missions, which it seems were almost abandoned, would also require all the attention of the Council on account of the important and religious character of the affair.

And respecting the remaining points, including the merits and services of this Governor, and the particular favours which he solicited for the individuals whom he mentioned, the Contaduria considered that their consideration and approval particularly appertained to the authority of the Council, especially when it recognized that the small sum which had been contributed by the Royal Treasury had been administered with due order and formality, this point being the one chiefly appertaining to its charge, as it pointed out in one of the previous reports which it had made on the "Expediente"; indicating, consequently, that the rest were particularly within the province of the Council, and it considered that the creation of a new Royal Officer for Guayana needed further information, and that a report respecting it might be asked for from the Viceroy of Santa Fé, first hearing the Tribunal of Accounts and the Fiscal of the Audiencia, as to its real necessity, and what advantages might result, with anything else that might suggest itself.

The Council, in view of all the aforesaid, and of what the Fiscal adduces in the annexed reply, represents to Your Majesty that as it appears from the last reports of Don Manuel Centurion, Governor of the Provinces of Guayana, that the advancements of the said Province are much increased, both in reductions of Indians and in increase of settlements, owing to the active measures which, led by his zeal for the Royal Service and the well-being of the natives, he has taken during the nine years he has occupied that governorship; it considers, that even if the advantages which the said Province appears to have had since the said Don Manuel Centurion has governed it be reduced to one half, not only does he deserve thanks for his accredited zeal and services, but that, in order to stimulate him to increase it and them, it will be very becoming for Your Majesty's Royal munificence to distinguish him by such rank as may be most in accordance with your Royal pleasure, which favour he will the more esteem, both on account of the great appreciation which it deserves and because the person concerned does not ask any favour.

Similarly the Council considers the following individuals to be worthy of the favours proposed by the said Governor, as a reward for the aid and assistance they have afforded him in obtaining the aforesaid advantages of that Province:—

Don Francisco Villasana, founder of the town of Carolina, to the favour of a salary of 200 dollars yearly for life, and Don Josef Francisco de Espinosa, founder of the town of Borbon, to 100 dollars on the same conditions, as an incentive to others who may devote themselves to founding settlements. The Royal Accountant-General to the honours of Commissary of War or of the Tribunal of Accounts of Santa Fé, and Don Antonio Barreto, Acting Captain of one of the companies of infantry of the garrison of that Province to the full captaincy of the same company, and to the Companionship of one of the four Military Orders. With respect to the creation of a new Royal Treasury Officer in that Province, as the said Centurion proposes, in order to assist the Royal Accountant, Don Andres de Oleaga, the Council is of opinion that the Viceroy of Santa Fé should be asked to furnish a report, on the understanding that after hearing the Tribunal of Accounts and the Fiscal of the Audiencia, he may show its real necessity and the advantage it may produce, and whatsoever else may occur to him, doing the same in respect to the merit of Don Francisco de Amantegui, Secretary to the Commandant of Guayana, who has been for seven years in that position, and whom the Governor considers entitled to the post of Royal Treasurer, or in default thereof to some other equivalent.

* Subhead No. 2, *supra*.

Finally, as the reports of the said Governor include other points, which being somewhat improbable, require scrupulous investigation, the Council considers it desirable that further reports should be called for from the Viceroy of Santa Fé, the Governor of Carácas (with instructions to the latter to obtain corresponding reports from the Junta de Aplicaciones) from the Father Commissary-General of the Indies, and from the Capuchin Prefects resident in Spain (from each of these Religious for their respective missions in those parts), so that in conformity with the result of the replies received from all, this Tribunal may be able to propose to Your Majesty the measures which may seem most fitting for the increase of the advantages which may be realized in that Province, and for any greater expressions of Royal gratitude of which the said Governor, Don Manuel Centurion, may appear worthy.

Your Majesty will resolve what may be most in accordance with your Royal pleasure.
Madrid, &c.

No. 31.

Information and Account of the Distance between the Villages of this Mission, made by the Very Reverend Father Prefect on his Pastoral Visit, which took place on January 15, 1776.

(Translation.)

	Leagues.
From the village of the Purísima Concepción of Caroni to that of our Most Holy Father Saint Francis of Altagracia	9
From the village of Altagracia to that of the town of San Antonio de Upata	2½
From the town of Upata to that of San Joseph of Cupapuy	2
From the village of Cupapuy to that of Santa Maria of Yacuario	4
From the village of Santa Maria to that of Saint Michael of the Palmar	9
From the village of Palmar to that of St. Paul of Cumamo	9½
From the village of Cumamo to that of Nuestra Señora de Monserrate of Miamo	3
From the village of Miamo to that of San Fidel of Carapo	3
From the village of Carapo to that of San Felix of Tupuquen	5½
From the village of Tupuquen to that of Our Lady of the Rosary of Guacipati	5
From the village of Guacipati to that of Divina Pastora of the Cattle-farm	4½
From the village of the Cattle-farm to that of San Joseph de Leonisa de Ayma	4
From the village of Ayma to that of Our Lady of Sorrows of Pudedpa	10
From the village of Pudedpa to that of San Pedro of the Mouths of the Paragua	25½
From the village of the mouths to that of the town of Saint Isidore of Barceloneta there is no road open by land, and one has to sail a day and a-half by the Paragua, and the distance will be about	15
From the town of Barceloneta to that of Saint Bonaventure of Guri (Aguri in copy)	25
From the village of Guri to that of San Antonio of Huiesátana	8
From the village of Huiesátana to that of Saint Raymond of Caruachi	9
From the village of Caruachi to that of Our Mother Saint Eulalie of Morucurri	3
From the village of Morucurri to that of our Lady Saint Anne	9
From the village of Saint Anne to that of the Holy Cross of Mount Calvary... ..	9
From the village of Calvario to that of the Caroni, with the passage of the river	1½
Total number of leagues	175½

" Archivo General de Indias," Seville, Audience of Carácas, Letters and Reports, years 1776 to 1788, 132—3—1.

The Very Reverend Father Prefect, Fray Mariano de Sebadel, concluded this circular visit on the 9th March, 1776.

Which I, Fray Felix de Tarraga, Secretary of the Mission, certify.

(Seal.)

No. 32.

Report of Don José Abalos, dated Carácas, the 4th of February, 1779.

Instruction for the Settlement of the Province of Guayana.

ONE of the chief objects which the King our Lord (whom God preserve) has had in the establishment of the Intendency of the Army and Royal Treasury of this Province of Venezuela and the territories added to it, being that agricultural and commercial settlement should be encouraged therein; and therefore, in conformity with His Majesty's intentions, various measures

Archivo-General of Simancas, Secretariate of War, Bundle 7305.

have been taken relating to those objects in the Island of Trinidad, and other places. And as the same thing is to be carried out in the eastern part of the Province of Guayana, the Commissioners appointed for the said purpose will act according to the following Articles :—

1. It being of the first and chief importance in this matter, in order not to labour uselessly, to secure the boundaries of the said Province of Guayana, which begins, on its Eastern side, to windward of the disembogement of the River Orinoco into the sea on the border of the Dutch Colony of Essequibo; it shall be one of the first cares of the Commissioners appointed for this matter in making the new settlement to go as near as possible to the aforesaid Colony, endeavouring to select the most advantageous and useful site for founding the first settlement, bearing in mind that it will perhaps be necessary to make fortifications on that frontier to defend the boundaries, and that consequently it is requisite that the spot should be suitable for the erection of a fortress which from the advantages of position, may have additional security against any enemies who may design to attack it.

2. The said Dutch Colony of Essequibo, and the others which the States General possess on that coast, are all in general on the banks of the rivers, close to the sea shore, and do not penetrate far into the interior of the country, and, consequently, at the back of Essequibo and the other Dutch possessions, running Eastward up to French Guiana and Southward as far as the River Amazon, the land is in part free from them and only occupied by heathen Indians and a numerous body of negro slaves, fugitives from the Dutch, and also from the [French] Guiana plantations. The Commissioners shall endeavour to occupy the said lands as appertaining to Spain, their first discoverer, and not afterwards given up, nor occupied at the present time by any other power, neither has any other power a title thereto; and they are to advance their occupation on the Eastern side as much as they possibly can, until they reach French Guiana, and are likewise to extend themselves as much as they can on the South until they reach the frontier of the Crown of Portugal.

3. The design of these measures is not merely to establish and secure possession of what belongs to the Crown of Spain in the Province of Guayana, but chiefly to settle those extensive countries, in order to secure thereby the benefits of the Monarchy, to render lands that are so fertile useful and profitable, and at the same time to forward by these means the conversion of those numerous heathens and the propagation of the Holy Gospel. And although it is known and acknowledged that an enterprise of this character, in order to be carried out in all its parts, requires length of time and much assistance, and that it must encounter great difficulties; yet, as what is never begun cannot be finished, if the difficulties and obstacles, which appear in all things at first sight, were to be considered a reason for abandoning them without even making a beginning, we should now find ourselves reduced to a very lamentable condition.

In this view and with this idea it is obligatory, indispensable and necessary to begin in order to finish and to conquer in order to smooth the way; for which reason this great work is entrusted to one who, by his ardour, intelligence and firmness will be able, if not to carry it out in all its perfection, which is not possible in his time, at least to advance it so far that he will leave but little work for his successors.

4. It would be very desirable that the said occupation of lands and their settlement should be begun in the rear of the Dutch Settlements, close to French Guiana, and particularly to the Rivers called Oyapoco and Arovak. Firstly, because, being more central, it would be easier to help the northern and southern extremities in case of attack on either part; and secondly, because, the Settlement having been established on the boundaries, the efforts of foreigners to occupy what belongs to us might be frustrated, for they will endeavour to do so as long as they see the adjoining land unoccupied, but when once we are planted on the frontier, in an advantageous position, we shall be able, if necessary and there is nothing to prevent it, to take into consideration the construction of a small fortress to serve as a defence for the security of the frontier, and at the same time for a protection to the new settlers against the raids of the heathen Indians and the fugitive negro rebels. Wherefore, if it be possible to make a beginning in the said places efforts shall be made to carry it out in this manner, or as near thereto as may be convenient.

5. The notices and reports which exist concerning those countries suggest, and even demonstrate with sufficient clearness, the present almost insuperable difficulty of penetrating at once up to the frontiers of French Guayana, and that it is still less possible to remain at so great a distance, cut off from communication with the Capital, and from its help and assistance, and without any known means of supporting and advancing the settlement, and its plantations and commerce. This being understood, the difficulty or impossibility must likewise be considered of inducing people to emigrate and take up residence in places so remote and unsafe. Taking into consideration the foregoing, and that, to judge from the position of the City of Santo Thomas, it appears that it will only be possible for settlers to collect together in places close to the water's edge, where they can be in communication with the Capital, and obtain the necessary help therefrom, and likewise have an easy outlet for the crops they produce by their perseverance, labour and industry; the Commissioners are charged that, if they meet with the above-mentioned obstacles against penetrating and establishing themselves, not only in the furthest limits of the eastern portion of the Province, but even much nearer; they may in such a case, if they think fit, select for a first settlement the most suitable site in the country which lies between the mouths of the Orinoco and the Colony of Essequibo, endeavouring that by excellence of position, fertility of soil and other qualifications, it may be healthy, pleasant and profitable to the settlers who go thither. For since the first settlement and its results must decide the question as to the others which it may be desirable to found, it becomes highly requisite and necessary to obtain and spread a good report, in order that others, being induced thereby, may go and settle there, and by degrees the occupation and progress of the new settlement, and of the others which favourable

circumstances may permit, may be effected, without losing an instant in spreading the settlement.

6. The occupation of the lands in all these countries must be taken up as part of the same province of Guayana, and in the name of the Governor and Commandant thereof as its Chief and Head, by grant and appointment from His Majesty, and, under His orders in military and political matters, but subject to this Intendency in respect to the foundation of settlements and their agriculture and commerce.

7. It would be of the highest importance that there should be, at the same time, a sufficient number of colonists to found a considerable number of villages for promoting agriculture and encouraging the breeding and multiplication of cattle, in order that a land so extensive might thus be utilised without delay. But it is clearly impossible to carry out this undertaking so rapidly, particularly in the matter of settlements; and the occupation of the said country can be rendered easier by the formation of numbers of cattle farms, which while contributing to the abundance and cheapness of meat and leather, may furnish the means for a branch of commerce of great value through the practicability of driving the cattle up to the water side.

8. With this object His Majesty has been pleased to accept 12,000 head of cattle offered by the community of Catalanian Capuchin Missionaries established in the same province of Guayana, and has deigned to order their distribution amongst its inhabitants, for the encouragement of stock farms; and four or six thousand of them will at once be appropriated for conveyance to the new lands in question, in order that the said number of cattle being distributed among a proportionate number of settlers, they may receive extensive lands suitable for agriculture and have sufficient pastures and watering places for cattle breeding.

9. Although in the new settlement which may be founded and the others which may be made it appears usual, desirable and necessary, that in the site which is selected and appointed for the village there may be the largest number of settlers possible, yet considering that at the present moment, for immediate benefit and future progress the foundation of villages, will neither be so useful nor easy as that of simple cattle farms which can fill much land, from point to point, towards the East and South, this idea shall be carried out if possible, taking into consideration that, in order to execute it duly, precautions are requisite against the attacks of fugitive negroes and heathen Indians, in order not to render the new settlers liable, by their dispersal, to become victims of the ferocity of either the one or the other.

10. The large number of fugitives from the Dutch and French, who, as believed, are established at the back of Essequibo and Surinam, and the desire which they doubtless have of preserving their liberty, may induce them, by the offer of its preservation and of the advantages of which the new settlement is capable, to come out of their woods and take the resolution of establishing themselves under His Majesty's Government in the settlements in question.

Consequently, endeavours shall be made to take suitable steps, with the utmost gentleness, to attract them if possible and to allot them lands in which they may be usefully occupied, and at the same time serve for the increase of the settlement. But they must never be placed all together, nor shall any village be made of negroes only, unless under agreement. They shall be placed by judicious distribution in such a way that they are far apart without too great facility for uniting together, and that there may be estates or cattle farms of white people between them, to whom the negroes shall always be subordinated, for they must not be capable of filling any office of authority.

11. Although just at first, from necessity, it may be useful and even requisite, for lack of other inhabitants, to take negroes and put them in places which are to serve as frontier, nevertheless as there cannot be security in boundaries guarded only by people of this colour it is to be noted that if they are brought in they are to be so placed that a space be always left between the settlements of the negroes and the foreign colonies in which villages of whites may be founded, by whose fidelity the possession of the frontiers may be insured.

12. In order to commence the great work of occupation of the said lands, and the foundation of settlements, it is necessary to bring some families from those which the scanty population of the Province of Guayana itself may allow, taking them for the said purpose to the place in which the first village is to be founded, and noting that for the transfer of such families it seems proper that some portion of the land should be surveyed and examined, and a selection made of the spot which may be considered most suitable; and likewise that plantations of plantains and other fruits be made for the support of the new inhabitants, so that from the time of their arrival they may have something for their maintenance, and may be less exposed to want. When this has been done the Settlers may be transferred to this first village, where, when they are once settled, the measures for further advance may be taken in every form.

13. This first village shall bear the name of San Carlos de la Frontera, and its church shall be dedicated to this holy Archbishop, with the title of Patron, for it is the name of our august Sovereign, who dedicates himself with so much care and vigilance to the propagation of the holy gospel, the erection of churches, the increase of divine worship, and the encouragement of colonization.

14. In order that this may be pressed forward as far as possible and with the greatest rapidity, it will likewise be desirable that some families of Indians be drawn from the Indian villages of the Catalanian Capuchin Missions of the said Province of Guayana, to be established in the said first new settlement.

And they should be some of the most industrious and best instructed in agriculture and cattle rearing in order that by their knowledge and diligence the means of self support may be speedily obtained, without depending on external supplies coming from a distance and exposed to risks. Should the Missions of the Catalanian Fathers be unable to supply the families required for the said purpose, they should be requisitioned from those held by the Regulars who were expelled

from the Company, or from others who may be fit for the object in view, and who may be useful and advantageous in the new Settlement. Especial care is to be taken that they are all people of sound religion and good morals; for if these essential requisites are wanting no good results can follow, and if one of them is wicked it will be enough to introduce discord and laxity, and will infect them all.

15. In order that a spiritual pastor may not be wanting to the new Settlement, it will be desirable that a Religious from among those who are in the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers should likewise go to the new village; from which, at the same time, it will follow that the aforesaid families of Indians will be more easily inclined to go thither, from the knowledge they have of the Religious who will be appointed.

16. In the selection of site and the foundation of the village attention shall be paid to the provisions of the municipal laws of these Indies concerning both points; not only in respect to the healthiness of the spot and the advantages of its position, but equally in respect to the beauty of its squares and streets as an essential point in the policy which is to be initiated. But it must be taken into consideration that at a long distance from the capital and without adequate defence it would at present be dangerous to make the Settlement too close to the water side, on account of the attacks which might be experienced from certain Corsairs, pirates, smugglers, and other people of evil life; so it will be desirable to found the new Settlement at a slight distance inland, in order that it may be free from all risk and that its inhabitants may live without fear; while, with slight labour, they will enjoy the advantages of exporting and importing what they require by water.

17. The abundance of the lands and their vast extent in every direction allow the distributions to be made with considerable liberality; but nevertheless it will be necessary to proceed with regularity, although without stint, by appropriating the various kinds of land in proportion to what each one can cultivate, and may require for rearing his cattle.

For it would be useless to grant anyone more land than he has the means of utilizing, especially seeing that from the abuse in this matter, which formerly took place in this Province and elsewhere, the result has been that after considerable loss some have much and others nothing, to the general detriment of the settlers. And therefore it is necessary to avoid this from the beginning, and not to grant more than can be utilized; for if after their establishment and progress the new Settlers require further grants of land it will be easy to make them as circumstances demand.

18. In order that the transference may not be distasteful to the new Settlers the first ones shall be conveyed at the cost of the Royal Treasury, and shall be maintained therefrom for the first six months; so that they may have time to build their houses, make their plantations of maize, yucca, plantains, and other vegetables necessary for their support, and rear some birds and other animals useful and suitable for the object in view; and for the same object they shall likewise be furnished from the Royal Treasury with the implements they may require during these six months without exacting any payment for them.

19. The facility and advantages which the said countries offer for the rearing and increase of cattle, may result in a short time in their development, to the great advantage of the Settlers themselves, and of the State. And from the 12,000 head of cattle offered to His Majesty by the Catalonian Missionaries, which have been ordered to be accepted, four or five thousand head might be appropriated to this purpose, and they would form a sufficient stock. With this object it shall be arranged that the said number of cattle shall be cows, and that 25 shall be given to each Settler, with sufficient pasture for a thousand head so that cattle-rearing may be encouraged in the said country. And in order to carry this out, no one shall be allowed to kill any cattle during the first three years, upon any pretext whatever, under the penalty of forfeiting them all, and only in the fourth year shall they be allowed to kill the steers or bulls which they may require for their own consumption; but not for export or sale to others. For in respect to this it can only be done to a certain degree in the sixth year after reports upon the progress of the cattle and by permission of the Intendency, which will grant it, upon being informed of the circumstances, for such a number as may be considered necessary, and no more, in order that the abundance which is so requisite for cheapness and the adequate supply of stock may not be diminished.

20. Whereas in the Catalonian Capuchin Missions there has been for some time little care, or rather exceeding neglect, of its large cattle farm, and from this neglect the cattle now reared there are wild, and it is particularly difficult to collect them from the woods for needful use; this shall serve as a warning that in the new Settlement, and the others which may follow, efforts must be made that, in the cattle farms which are established, care is taken to stock them with those which are here called "rodeas" or some other docile class; so that the herds may be kept up and not turn wild or run away to the woods; but that it may be possible to catch them without fail whenever they are required.

21. For the greater encouragement of the new Settlers to go and establish themselves in the said districts, there shall be granted, in each Settlement, to the whites and pure Indians the privilege of gentry and their houses shall be considered freehold according to the laws of Castile, but these privileges shall be limited to the first Settlers and those who go within the period of six months from the first foundation, and they shall not afterwards be extended.

22. Exemption from tribute and contributions shall likewise be granted to the new Settlement and to the others which may be made, for the space of ten years, this exemption being understood to be from "alcabalas," "pulperias" and "medias anatas de oficios."

23. In respect to the customs duties and others which are placed on the export and import by water, complete exemption shall be granted for the space of five years; and if necessary it shall be extended for five more, for the greater benefit and encouragement of the new Settlers.

24. With regard to the tithe which is to be paid of all produce and cattle they shall likewise be exempted for the first five years, and in the following five they shall only pay the half, but when the ten are completed they shall have to pay the said tithe in full.

25. The building of the churches shall be done by the townsmen themselves or at their cost, and the necessary ornaments, the church offerings and maintenance of the clergy, shall be done at the cost of the Royal Treasury.

26. The Royal Courts, which must likewise exist in every Settlement that is made, shall also be built at the cost of the town, as usual; and the best position in the centre of the town shall be selected for them, with a suitable square; and the same with respect to the church.

And whereas at present they cannot be more than small and cheap temporary buildings, sufficient land shall be allotted in order that, when means are forthcoming, great and magnificent edifices may be raised, worthy of a flourishing and populous Settlement.

27. The plantations must at first be accommodated to the necessity of supporting the Settlers, both in the first foundation and in the others which will follow; but as soon as circumstances allow, endeavours shall be made, and measures taken, for the plantation and encouragement of produce which may be useful for trade, taking into consideration for this object the quality of the land and the climate. In this matter however no fixed rule can be laid down at present, until there is a report upon those countries which may serve as basis for a decision.

28. With this important object all that country shall be examined as far as possible, and a suitable description shall be drawn up of its woods, rivers, vegas and other parts, showing, not only the fruits and timber which they now produce and which can be used with advantage, but also those which might be rendered profitable by different plantations in future; and the same with respect to the tributaries of the rivers and their depth, for the convenient transport of the produce by water.

29. They shall also endeavour to ascertain if perchance any minerals exist there, and an account of them shall be sent to this Intendency, with stones from the mines and a statement of their position and surroundings, in order that measures may be taken in the matter in view of the experiments which should be conducted and the reports which should be made.

30. Timber for building being of the highest importance for the construction of ships of war and merchant vessels, especial care shall be taken that no trees are felled which can be devoted to the said purpose; and in regard to the timber which may be required for the construction of buildings and other purposes of the Settlers, care shall be taken that they are from trees less needful for ship-building, and that in the lands which it is necessary to clear for plantations, those are to be selected in which least harm is done to the forests, it being always understood that the trees are in a place from which they can be conveyed for use in ship-building.

31. The number of heathen scattered through those vast countries may afford means after the establishment of the first Settlement is completed, of bringing some Indians to settle in it or in its neighbourhood, concerning which, and the great interest attaching to the conversion of the heathen, it will be very desirable to take seasonable measures by suavity and kindness to attract them and convert them by making use of the information to be obtained from the Indians and Missionaries of Guayana who understand the matter, and of the other means which may be known to be suitable; noting that experience has proved in all the Missions of these Provinces that it is not the most desirable thing to leave the said Indians alone in separate villages; for in such case, however much trouble is taken, they always keep the same ideas and inclinations towards idolatry; whereas, on the other hand, in the presence of the Spaniards, and by their example and encouragement, they become civilized with less difficulty, acquire other customs, and are become useful in every respect. For which reason, whenever they can be induced to live in villages of Spaniards, it will without doubt be most advantageous. It must likewise be accepted as a rule, that with Indians who are once brought in, it is not generally the best thing to treat them with too much gentleness, but with a certain amount of rigour, which course usually produces much better effects.

32. If it be remembered that from a Province like Guayana, in which the population is very scanty, only a very small number of inhabitants can be taken to the frontiers for the first foundation which is to be made and the others which are to follow it, upon this view it would be desirable to convey them, and even to take some foreigners who by their application and industry might establish a flourishing colony. But as such foreigners could only be admitted at present if they are Italians or Germans, and of the Catholic Religion, for those of any other nation might lead to complications; it is necessary to restrict ourselves in this matter to the said Germans and Italians, who may be procured by diligence and care; for which purpose a letter shall be written to the Commissioner of Settlements in the Island of Trinidad, that he may try to procure some colonists of this kind; and with the same object a correspondence shall be maintained by those who understand this matter in Guayana with the Commissioner in Trinidad. But in order that no time be lost in the prosecution of this undertaking, steps shall be taken in Guayana to select some of the inhabitants and convey them when occasion arises for settling them on the frontier; questioning them beforehand so that they may go willingly, making the transfer easy by means of the offers and privileges which have been mentioned, and which they are going to enjoy. This Intendency will write to other places to have enquiries made for any European or American Spaniards who may desire to migrate to the new Settlement, and according to the result obtained suitable reports shall continue to be made for due understanding and further arrangements. But however this may be, it is indispensable that the first foundation be made speedily; and, as there is at present no readier method, the people of Guayana must be taken for the purpose, and it must likewise be ascertained whether in the jurisdictions of Cumaná and Barcelona, which border

on the Orinoco, there are any inhabitants who desire to go, so as to increase those from Guayana, or to render the latter less necessary.

33. It was provided in Article 12 that before commencing the new Settlement it would be desirable to make an exploration and examination of the country in which the first establishment might be made; and if it be agreed to do so, it must be carried out in the same way; and thereto is to be added that this operation must be commenced from Guayana; for which purpose one or two launches should be appropriated to convey the chief Commissioner, who shall be appointed for this operation; who, in addition to the crew, shall take with him 20 or 30 trustworthy men to accompany him under arms, so as to penetrate with some safety into the interior of the forests. And when a survey has been made as far as possible, without running into danger, he is to select the site which seems to him most suitable for founding the first Settlement, in conformity with what has been laid down.

34. When the spot for the said Settlement has been selected, the portion of land required for the building of a few houses shall be marked out, and also the other portion which it may seem necessary to leave open to the winds; and when this has been done a number of huts shall be temporarily erected, not only for their lodging while they remain in that spot, but so that the new Settlers may have some place of shelter, and be protected from the severity of the weather, while they are carrying on, for their own account, the building of other houses better adapted for their habitation, according to the greater or smaller size of their families and the means they possess for the purpose. And in like manner the stubbings and clearings are to be made where necessary, and a patch of maize sown in them and a plantation of yucca and plantains, so that on the arrival of the Settlers they may have something to maintain them while they are preparing other support for themselves.

35. For all the aforesaid there must be despatched from here some axes, cutlasses, shovels, spades, adzes and nails, so that by means of these implements they may find themselves provided with the instruments necessary for the said labours. And as regards the maize and other fruits, they shall be taken from Guayana, where everything necessary for this purpose shall be purchased at the cost of the Royal Treasury, and be taken in the launches which convey the first Commissioner and the other explorers.

36. Supposing that those who go on this expedition do not find in the country they are surveying anything for their support, except by chance, it becomes necessary for them to take everything required for their maintenance during the time they will have to remain to make the survey and the arrangements for the first Settlement, so that it may not be abandoned, delayed, or impaired through want of provisions. And if, owing to the character of the country, its climate and frequent rains, it be considered that the provisions may perish or not keep long in bulk, suitable precautions shall be adopted in this respect, wherein they shall be guided by the information of the experts of Guayana. And furthermore, care shall be taken to send from the capital a sufficient quantity, within a month or two after they have started, to supply the deficiency which might arise; leaving it to the judgment of the Chief Commissioner to notify beforehand if any urgency arises, so that help may be forwarded.

37. Respecting the important subject of provisions, seeing that they must be provided in Guayana, and that, in view of the circumstances and with more exact knowledge of the country, measures may be taken with greater judgment and security, it is left to the decision of the Commissioners to carry out what they think most desirable with the object of securing a result which may not disappoint the chief object of the Commission.

38. Of all the arrangements which may be made from Guayana, and whatsoever is done and discovered in the country in question; the difficulties which are overcome; the others which are guarded against; the information which is acquired concerning the interior of the country and its boundaries; the points reached by the Dutch from Essequibo, Surinam, Belvis, and Demeraria, and by the French from Guiana or Cayena; the extent to which the latter have penetrated; the cattle they have introduced and bred; their present condition; the designs which may be discovered or feared; the precautions which it is desirable to take to stop their progress; and lastly, everything that can in any way be useful, shall be communicated without delay, clearly and minutely, to this Intendency, in order that by information and knowledge it may be able to make a suitable use of it for the better service of the King, and may be able to take such measures as may be required.

39. As it is not possible in a matter so vast, where the country is unknown and there are as many contingencies and obstacles as can occur to the imagination, to give fixed and certain rules, it is left to the judgment and discretion of the Commissioners to make their own arrangements, and whatever they may consider most suitable for the attainment of the objects expressed. The chief thing is the Settlement and security of the boundaries of the Province of Guayana, on the eastern side of Essequibo and French Guiana: and for this purpose the measures above specified have been proposed; their execution and the steps to be taken in unforeseen, impossible or difficult circumstances must be left to the Commissioners.

Caracas, February 4, 1779.

Caracas, dated as above.

(Signed)

ABALOS. (Rubric.)

Copy of a communication from Señor Don José de Abalos to Señor Don José de Galvez, dated Carácas, 25th November, 1779.

Archivo General of
Simancas.
Secretariate of War.
Bundle 7305.

Docket.—On the margin of this document is the following note:—

The Intendente of Caracas: Reports the return of the Commissioner, Don Joseph Felipe de Inciarte, from his expedition for the discovery and settlement of the eastern part of Guayana; and says that he will send by the first mail the diary and map of the lands investigated, but meanwhile communicates to the Intendente various important facts which ought to be known at once.

Sir,

Carácas, November 25, 1779.

IN my previous letters of the 22nd of March, No. 260, and 5th of July, No. 329, I communicated to Your Excellency what I had been doing up to that time for the occupation of the lands in the Eastern part of Guayana, towards the rivers Oyapoco and Aprobak, and for the commencement of a Settlement, informing Your Excellency that I had appointed Don Felipe de Inciarte to carry out this undertaking, and sending the instructions I gave him for that purpose and other documents relating to the matter.

Having been provided with necessaries in Guayana, he proceeded to make the first survey of the country, and has now returned to this capital to report to me upon his mission. He has fully justified the confidence I placed in him, and by dint of perseverance and effort has overcome enormous difficulties, concerning which I am well informed. He has reported to me that having approached the Settlements of the Dutch in Essequibo and their immediate vicinity, to within the distance of 14 leagues, he has not found in all the regions of the said possessions any savannahs or pasture grounds suited to cattle farming, but lands fertile for agriculture, to judge from the foliage and verdure which he noticed in the small plantations and ill-cultivated lands of the Indians.

He has brought me the map of those countries which he made during his travels, with a very exact diary of all that he noticed on the way. Copies are being made of them all in order to be sent to Your Excellency, but they are lengthy, and I fear that I shall not be able to have this satisfaction until the next mail.

According to the present state of things, from the information I have obtained, it seems to me that what is to be feared just now is not so much the possibility of the advance of the French in the rear of Surinam and Essequibo, as that the Dutch of those Settlements may encroach upon us; for they are much nearer to us, and are constantly pressing forward their plantations, for they are excellent agriculturists, and seeing much eligible country unoccupied, it is natural that they should endeavour to lose no opportunity to improve and benefit them.

The want of the treaties of peace for my instruction and accurate knowledge of what has been agreed upon with the States General respecting the Settlements of Surinam and Essequibo, and how far their frontiers extend, leaves me in a state of uncertainty as to the selection of a site for the first village; but nevertheless, seeing that according to Inciarte's report, the most eligible site is one situated beyond (?) the first place or post of the Dutch called Moruca, both on account of the fertility of the soil and the advantages of the land for fortification, I propose to make arrangements for establishing it in that spot, as it offers the additional facility of ready communication by water along the navigable channels, which penetrate up to the said site and may become very considerable advantages.

Notwithstanding this, and as my arrangements are made with the view of not losing time, I beg Your Excellency, for my government in the future, to be good enough to inform me what we have agreed upon with the Dutch and French, in order that I may neither overpass the boundaries or fail in what is desirable. In the meantime I cannot help complaining of the indolence or want of zeal with which the Governor of Guayana regards this very important matter, and has stinted the said Commissioner in the assistance he ought to have readily afforded him. And, although I attribute this solely to the influence of the man who, owing to the death of the secretary (and whom I previously considered a well-disposed person) is now serving him in that capacity, and who, without doubt, allows himself to be led by his private interests to embarrass Inciarte in the means he requires for such an undertaking, yet I consider the matter deserving of severe censure from Your Excellency.

May our Lord, &c.

(Signed)

JOSEPH DE ABALOS.

To Don Joseph de Galvez.

No. 34.

Report of Señor Don Josef Phelipe de Inciarte on that part of the Province of Guiana where the New City of Guiana is situated, the Lower Orinoco, and the Eastern Part of the Province (1783).

Dear Sir,

Caracas, December 5, 1783.

General Archives of
Simanca. Depart-
ment of the Secretary
of War.
Bundle 7305.

IN fulfilling the Commission you entrusted to me verbally, to send you a written account of the disadvantages of the locality in which is situated the City of New Guiana and its surroundings, as far as the Fortress of the old town, and the obstacles it presents to the progress and increase of the town, as also the advantages presented by the adjoining lands, from the said Fortress following the Lower Orinoco to the sea, for the increase of population, progress of Agriculture and Commerce, and further to take note of all particulars concerning the Eastern portion of the said Province placed under my care, I will advise you of all I have seen, observed, and verified concerning these matters.

The arable lands within easiest reach of the Capital are situated at a distance of ten to fourteen leagues inland, and these lands are scarce, for which reasons, up to the present day, no inhabitant has succeeded in establishing a plantation worthy the name; and supposing plantations to have been established, the conveyance of their productions to the Capital would be a matter of much expense, having to be accomplished by means of beasts of burden; and as the route is interspersed with numerous rivers, frequently impassable in the rainy season, from want of fords, there would result, over and above the increase of expense and the delay, serious damage to the goods; but putting these obstacles aside, and supposing these lands to be cultivated, they would not yield sufficient produce to establish even a small commerce with Europe—it would, indeed, scarcely suffice for the consumption of the Capital.

For the above-mentioned reasons the Population of the Capital and its surroundings has not greatly increased; also, as the greater part of the inhabitants are very poor, they are barely able to cultivate the lands necessary for their subsistence, for want of means, arising from the great distance at which they are situated.

The four Indian villages nearest to the Capital are: Buena Vista, Maruanta, Orocopiche, and Panapana. In the first instance they were prosperous villages, largely populated, but at the present day they are so reduced and depressed that there are barely sufficient Indians to cultivate conjointly the lands necessary for their subsistence; this is owing to their being so far away. Thus, far from the population of these lands increasing, it is greatly diminishing, on account of the continual migration of the Indians to the lands of the Lower Orinoco.

The result of this is, over and above the loss of all these souls, they prevent the conversion of many others by the news the fugitives spread of the heavy toil and privation to be met with in the villages referred to, doing away thus with all hope of founding an Indian village in the environs of the Capital.

Any commerce which the Capital could, at present, hold with Europe would be so limited that one ship, of moderate tonnage, arriving here, would have to lay out its cargo and stores and return to Europe for at least two years, and this is taking into consideration the cargoes which might be brought in boats from the Province of Barinas, without which addition to the produce of the Capital it would be difficult for a ship to lay out its cargo and find a sufficient quantity of productions in exchange, from the Province of Guiana alone, with which to load the ship for the return journey. Added to what has already been said, any ship bound from Europe to this Capital arriving during the four months that the Orinoco is at low water could not reach their destination, it being impossible to accomplish the journey further than the mouth of the River Caroni, the Orinoco not having a sufficiency of water to float a ship; at all times, even at high water, the navigation of the Orinoco from the Caroni to the Capital is most laborious on account of the heavy swell of the river.

During the aforesaid months it would be necessary to transfer the cargo to boats to accomplish the journey from Caroni to the Capital, which is a distance of about thirty leagues, from which would result, beyond the heavy expenses of such a means of transport, a proportionate delay and damage to the goods; and, if for the return voyage it happened that the cargo was ready to be shipped at the time of the fall of the Orinoco, a delay of four or five months would occur, or the same labour and expense would be incurred to convey the cargo to the mouth of the Caroni.

Up to here I have given you an idea of the difficulties which the Capital of Guiana, and the villages in its environs, have had and have to suffer for the population, agriculture, and commerce to be in this deplorable state, and I will now proceed to explain the advantages which I consider could be derived from this province.

The lands situated between the Rivers Caroni and Caura, there being a distance of forty-five to fifty leagues between the two, abound with pasture lands, rivers, and streams, and, in addition, their climate is favourable, for which reasons they offer advantageous prospects for the establishment of cattle-ranches; it can be said also in favour of this, that the Capital is at nearly an equal distance from both rivers.

If eight or ten prosperous cattle-ranches were at present established here, containing from forty to fifty thousand head of cattle, these ranches would rapidly increase, and in time would furnish a considerable branch of commerce with Europe.

According to information given to me by Don Manuel Ferran, merchant of Cadiz, living in the aforesaid City of Guiana, divers wealthy families of the Provinces of Caracas and Barinas, are

anxious to establish themselves in these lands, and to transfer their cattle here, and several have given him the power of attorney to act for them in the matter, and thus they could bring into these lands a considerable number of herds of cattle without harm to the said Provinces of Carácas and Barinas.

The prospects offered for the settlement of the Lower Orinoco are as follows :—

All the southern lands of the Lower Orinoco, stretching from the East of Old Guiana to Point Gorda (two leagues from the sea), a distance of about forty leagues, are favourable to the cultivation of cacao, sugar-canes, coffee, cotton, and tobacco, and give an abundance of timber ; they are also interspersed with various navigable streams to within the vicinity of the Piacott (?), whose banks are very fertile. These lands can be reached by means of the Orinoco, which in this part is navigable to ships during all the seasons of the year.

Besides the aforesaid lands, there are various Islands favourable to cultivation, and which are entirely free from inundations, as those of Piacoa, the two islands of Iaga and others whose names I do not know ; but of all these the most worthy of note is the Island of Imataca, situated at about fifteen to twenty leagues to the north-east of Old Guiana, and extending from there to the sea, a distance of fourteen to sixteen leagues ; it has various streams navigable to boats, and divides the Orinoco into two branches, both navigable to ships in all seasons of the year.

If it is proposed to settle these territories, it would be advisable to found two Spanish towns, one in the lands south of the western point of the aforesaid Island of Imataca, and the other eight to twelve leagues to the east of the first.

Further, it would be most necessary to send eight missionaries, with a sufficient escort, to convert the multitude of Indians, Mariosas, Guaraunos and Caribs to be met with in these lands. The work of their conversion would not be difficult once they were made to understand that they could remain in their own lands, the great obstacle to their conversion up to the present being the bringing them out of their fertile lands to others almost barren.

These Indians would be of great use in founding two or three towns in the said Island of Imataca, and besides providing the Spaniards with cassave, plantains, fish, and other goods necessary for their subsistence, they would work the plantations that were established there.

As to Spanish settlers, they would come in great numbers from the kingdom of Santa Fé, Province of Barinas, and other parts, if divers favours were granted them, together with the liberty, in a few years, of trading with the foreign Colonies without paying duty, exchanging their productions for Negroes, implements of agriculture, and the residue for gold and silver.

The actual owners of cattle-ranches in New Guiana, as of those which may be established in the future, as soon as they have the freedom of trading with the said Colonies, paying royal duties, enabling them to exchange their cattle and productions, for Negroes, implements of agriculture, silver and gold, will, without doubt, establish plantations in the new towns of the Lower Orinoco for commerce with Europe, which commerce will in time become very considerable.

In respect to fortifying the river for the protection of the new towns, it appears to me advisable to send an engineer to view the Island of Burro, situated in the middle of the river, two leagues from the sea, and if it is favourable for the building of the said fortifications, I am convinced that no ship could enter the Orinoco without passing under the cannon of the Island ; and as regards the two channels formed by the latter, they are within range of a four calibre gun. Beyond the protection of the said towns the convenient position of the Island would prevent all contraband trade, both Spanish and foreign, as no ship could leave or enter the river without being sighted from it.

If the populating of the Lower Orinoco is successfully carried out, what with the productions yielded by these lands, those that are brought from the Province of Barinas, the increase of cattle-ranches, and consequently of cattle, which would ensue for New Guiana, in a few years an extensive commerce could be established with Europe which would be of considerable benefit to the State, the Royal Exchequer, as also to Religion and to the inhabitants of the said Province.

If the Lower Orinoco is not populated, the Province of Guiana, far from being of use to the Royal Exchequer, will remain what it is, and has been—a serious charge on it. On these particulars Don Antonio Barreto, Captain of the veteran companies of Guiana, and the aforementioned Don Manuel Ferran, could give you all information, if it were convenient. Both reside in the said city, and have great knowledge of the lands mentioned, especially Don Manuel Ferran, who holds estates here, and has made many voyages up the river, and who is a man of great honour and credit.

As regards the populating of the Eastern part of the Lower Orinoco and the frontiers of the Colony of Essequibo, for which I hold a commission, I will refer to what I have already explained in the information I remitted to your predecessor, as also to his Excellency Don Josef de Galvez, dated the 27th of November, 1779 ; but as during the war the French took possession of the Colony of Essequibo, the Dutch have abandoned the advanced post they held on the banks of the River Moruca, which position it is important we should occupy before any new occurrence ; therefore it appears to me advisable to fortify this post provisionally, and to found an Indian town for the natives, who inhabit its vicinity, and to send two missionaries with a detachment of soldiers to serve as escort, and in this manner to prevent the inhabitants of the said Colony from penetrating into the lands lying between their Colony and the Orinoco.

This enterprise would not be of great cost to the King, and meanwhile would be of great use, when the work commences, of populating with Spanish settlers the remainder of the lands included in my commission, providing them with the different necessities of life with the exception of meat.

I have now given you all the information I have been able to collect concerning this matter, of which particulars I am sure you will make the best possible use.

May Our Lord grant you many years of life.

I have the honour of kissing your hand.

Your attentive and faithful servant,

(Signed)

JOSEF FELIPE DE INCIARTE.

Señor Don Francisco Saavedra.

(This is a copy of the original presented to Señor Don Francisco Saavedra, Intendant of the Army, in the city of Carácas: Aranjuez, 27th of April, 1784.)

No. 35.

Report of the Council of State to the King on the Remonstrance made by the States-General in 1769 against the acts of the Spaniards in Guiana (1785).

Docket on the File.

[Cumaná No. 22.]

For the Council :

"EXPEDIENTE" called for by the Dutch Minister, wishing to allege right and dominion in the Colony of Essequibo and fishery in that part of the River Orinoco, and that your Majesty's subjects trouble and unjustly disturb it.

The Señor Fiscal, in the inclosed answer of the 6th of the present month, August, requests that the whole affair may be handed over to some person chosen by the Council to draw up a detailed report of it, and an abstract of all the previous papers, and whatever there may be thereto relating at the present day, and let the whole be returned to him for his opinion thereon.

Reply of the Fiscal of the 17th October, in which he says to deal with the "Expediente" in reference to the representation of the Dutch Minister, alleging the right of fishing in the Orinoco (upon which affair His Majesty has commanded to be informed), there are wanting documents, and requests that a search be made in the correspondence division (Secretaria) of New Spain, or, failing that, in the "Via Reservada."

Note.—Having made a search in the "Secretaria" referred to for the papers mentioned in the reply of the Fiscal, the only ones found are those relating to the [official] visit of the Province of Cumaná, drawn up by the Governor, Don Joseph Diguja, in 1761, the map which accompanied this Report being in the Council Chamber, by virtue of their command.

To the Fiscal for report.

Council, October 25, 1769.

Remarks of the Fiscal.

The Fiscal, for the "Expediente" necessitated by the Dutch Minister, wishing to allege full right and dominion in the Colony of Essequibo and fishery in that part of the River Orinoco, and that your Majesty's subjects trouble and disturb it unjustly, states that, in order to comply with the orders expressed in His Majesty's Royal Order of the 10th September, 1769, concerning this affair, he requested that all documents and data that might serve to elucidate this matter, and had any connection therewith, should be sought for in the Department of the Council of the Indies, as well as in that of the Secretary of State, and be added to the file.

This was effectively complied with by the transmission of a mountain ("crecido cumulo") of papers, despatches, letters, and documents; and the Fiscal having devoted himself to their examination, finds that the proper study and discernment of all these is a very long affair, in which a great part of his time, that he requires for the due transaction of other and very important affairs of his office, would be uselessly consumed. Consequently, he is of opinion that to avoid this inconvenience, and that the greatest exactness may be attained, the whole affair should be placed in the hands of a competent person chosen by the Council, so that a circumstantial commentary and abstract of all the documents, and whatever else there may be therewith connected at the present time, be drawn up, and on its conclusion the whole returned to the Fiscal for his opinion and judgment, and whatever else may be necessary to inform His Majesty.

Council, October 1, 1774.

Letter showing course of Inquiry.

Sir,

San Ildefonso, September 22, 1779.

"Archivo de Indias,"
Seville. "Audencia de
Caracas." Despatches
and Reports, Bundle 17
"Consulta" of Sep-
tember, 1770.

In consequence of what was set forth by the Council of the Indies, in a "Consulta" of the 27th October of the past year, in regard to reporting upon the complaints made by the Dutch Minister on account of the proceedings of the Spaniards of the Orinoco against the Colony of Essequibo, it is necessary that the documents referring thereto be examined, and it is requested they be sent to him; in this Department, under my charge, there have been found the documents mentioned in the inclosed index, from Nos. 1 to 5, inclusive, and a despatch was sent to the Department of State requesting that, if those wanting exist there, and be found, they be sent to your Excellency.

In this supposition, and the information included in Nos. 6 and 7 having been received, conformably to the Reports requested from the Commandant of Guayana and Governor of Cumaná, and the representation of the Prefect of the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchins, No. 8, having been added thereto, I herewith transmit to your Excellency, by command of the King, the said documents, as contained in the index, so that the Council, when they have considered the same, may report to His Majesty whatever may appear necessary and convenient, returning at the same time those marked from Nos. 1 to 5, and also the plan of the Province of Guayana, contained in No. 6.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(Signed)

JULIAN DE ARRIAGA.

To the Marquess de San Juan de Piedras Alvas.

Report and Resolution of the Council.

The Fiscal has examined the papers put together in this Department, in consequence of a certain Memorial presented to His Majesty by the Dutch Minister, complaining of the proceedings of the Spaniards established on the Orinoco against the Dutch Colony of Essequibo. This Memorial was sent confidentially with a Royal Order, dated the 10th September, 1769, that it should be examined as soon as possible by the Council, and His Majesty advised as might seem best with regard to the extent of those boundaries, and the right to the fishery at the mouth of the Orinoco claimed by the Republic.

To this Memorial was annexed, as a precedent, another file of papers, made up and laid before His Majesty on the 9th May of the present year, 1768, on the receipt of a despatch from the English Ambassador, relating to the restitution of the negroes who fled from their islands to our possessions in America. Afterwards many Reports were added and confirmatory evidence received from the Governors of Cumaná, Guiana, and others, which were sent confidentially, in virtue of the order of the Council, dated the 27th October of the same year, 1769. In these circumstances, and in accordance with the opinion of the Fiscal, it was agreed on the 6th August, 1774, that the whole should be given to the Secretary to make a complete précis, and this has been done.

This being so, the Undersigned observes that, at present, the papers call for no steps, for, the long period of more than fifteen years having passed, without any fresh demand having been made for a reply upon this particular by the Dutch Minister, it induces one to believe that that Republic, being better informed of the want of just motives for the claim which they promoted, have already abandoned it.

It is true that in the papers annexed to this "Memoria," and particularly in the Report of the Governor of Guiana, Don Manuel Centurion, not only was it shown by documents that the subjects of Holland had complained without reason, but also that it would be well to increase on our part several precautions, which he projected in those territories, as very important to the State. But as so long a time has already passed, during which the circumstances of the province have considerably changed, we cannot now enter upon their examination without new and more recent Reports of the actual situation of the affairs of those countries.

After consideration of all the points, it appears that what ought to be done is to wait until future events show what is the best course, in which case the Fiscal will be again consulted to give his opinion as to what should be done.

To which the Council agrees.

Madrid, May 27, 1785.

(Signed)

Señores CASAFONDA.
ARECHE.
HUESTA.

Council of June 4, 1785.
In "Sala Primera."

As the Fiscal says.
June 4, 1785.

Topographical and General Description of the Province of Guiana by Governor Marmion (1788).

(Extract.)

Guiana, July 10, 1788.

"Archivo General
de Simancas."
Secretaria de Guerra.
Bundle 7241.

TOPOGRAPHICAL and general description of the Province of Guiana and of its mighty river the Orinoco, in which an account is given of its settlement, arable lands, products and commerce, and certain measures are proposed which are regarded as conducive to its development and increase, its preservation, and better condition of defence.

The Province of Guiana in its entire extent, including the possessions of the Portuguese, French, and Dutch, is 1,000 leagues more or less in circumference, from the mouths of the Orinoco to San Carlos on the Rio Negro, and following its stream downwards, with that of the Amazon, which falls into the Atlantic, turning westwards and coasting up to the same mouths of the Orinoco, the last of which to leeward falls into the Gulf of Triste opposite Puerto de España of the Island of Trinidad to windward.

The portion of this country belonging to Spain is bounded on the East by the Dutch Colonies of Essequibo, Demerari, Berbis, and Surinam, and by the French Colony of Cayenne; on the South by the Portuguese Colonies of the Amazons and Rio Negro; and on the West and North by the Upper and Lower Orinoco, which separates it from the Kingdom of Santa Fé and from the Provinces of Barinas, Carácas, and Cumaná. It may be regarded as divided into three districts: that of the Lower Orinoco, which includes from Point Barima, on the great Boca de Navios, up to the Rapid of Atures, a space of more than 180 leagues from East to West, wherein lies the capital of Guayana Santo Thomé, the places reduced by the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers, part of the Missions of the Observantines, and the best arable lands and chief, though very scanty, settlements and products of the province: that of Parime, on the south, in which are the so-called city of Guirior and the Lake of Parime, or El Dorado, formerly so celebrated,* a country of great extent not well explored, and which the Rivers Parime, Mao, Curaricara, and Paragua water to no purpose; and, lastly, that of the Upper Orinoco, from the mouth of the River Meta, not far distant from the Rapid of Atures, up to San Carlos, at the junction of the Rio Negro and Casiquiare, and following the stream of the latter until it discharges itself again into the Orinoco near the Villa of Esmeralda. A great part of this extensive Province is occupied, especially towards the centre, by divers nations of barbaric Indians, who are but little known and very difficult to reduce, owing to their wandering life, to their sheltering themselves in the thickets of their hills and forests, and to their attachment to, and extreme love of, independence, which they prefer to all the greater advantages of civilized and rational life. This Province, owing to its situation, is the most profitable and chief possession or head of all the continent of America, and the one which, by means of its abundant river, the Orinoco, must be considered as the gate or entrance to the interior of the Provinces of Cumaná, Carácas, Barinas, and the Kingdom of Santa Fé, and which, serving as a defence in case of invasion, must prevent the enemy from penetrating into any of them. It offers a short passage to Spain and very advantageous trade, provided it be encouraged, owing to the facility of bringing by water the products of all those Provinces to the capital or seaport thereof, through the navigable rivers which run into the Orinoco.

Lastly, it is a country the secure possession of which is so important as to justly demand the most careful vigilance, for on its preservation depends to a great extent that of the aforesaid Provinces. To prove this truth it is sufficient to consider the local conditions of the Orinoco and the approaches which, by means of its secondary tributaries, it affords to the various territories. But before entering on this description, and in order not to confound the objects in view, it will be desirable to give an idea of the Rivers Essequibo, Masuruni and Cuyuni, on account of their importance in themselves and the relation which they bear to the main subject. The Essequibo falls into the sea 48 leagues to windward of the Boca de Navios of the Orinoco, and runs from North to South for 18 leagues inland, at which distance it is joined by the Masuruni and Cuyuni; from that point it bends to the South-East, and reaches the base of the Cerro Dorado and the shores of Lake Parime, where it has its sources; and to the East of them are the sources of the Rivers Berbis and Surinam in the country occupied by† the negro fugitives from those Dutch Colonies, whose increase, and union with the wild Indians, may some day cause trouble to the inhabitants of these Provinces.

The Masuruni, from its junction with the River Essequibo, runs to the south, and, at a distance of 10 or 12 leagues, forms as it were a star of three branches, which take different courses and have their sources between the Rivers Essequibo and the lesser Caroni.

The Cuyuni, the object of chief attention in this part of the Province, from its point of discharge into the River Essequibo, runs from East to West nearly up to the Caroni, where it is joined by the Yuruario on the North-West, and the Supamo on the South, which runs from its sources in the hills of the same name near the watershed formed by the Rivers Caroni and Paragua. It irrigates the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers and receives the waters of many smaller rivers which are not marked in the map. It has various rapids or reefs which cause some difficulty in its direct navigation, but the Dutch traverse it in canoes, pirogues, and feluccas, and thus carry on

* Lake of Parime between the third and fourth degrees of North latitude, on the shores of which the discoverers of the 16th century used to place the imaginary great city of Manoa or El Dorado. (Note in MS.)

† Towards the sources of the River Surinam at 45 leagues North to South from the sea coast, and 85 to 90 East to West from the sources of the Essequibo, are situated the dwellings of the negro fugitives from those Colonies, with whom, in the year [17]61, the Dutch found themselves compelled to make peace. (Note in MS.)

their traffic in poitos, whom they enslave, and in other merchandize* and products of the country. The Government of Essequibo keeps a detachment in a fort called the Old Castle, situated where the Masuruni discharges itself into this river, and an advanced guard at 20 or 25 leagues up the river; in between they have plantations of cane and other products, as seen in the year '58, and it is to be presumed that they have since further advanced and increased their possessions, according to information from the Indians who frequently traverse those districts. The Rivers Orinoco, Caroni, Cuyuni, and Essequibo, with the sea, form an island, which, from its centre, affords easy and short communication, by which the Dutch, as there is no obstacle to prevent them, come in and go out every time they want to inspect our possessions, observe our movements and obtain such information as they require for their designs: within this Island are all the Missions of the Reverend Catalanian Capuchin Fathers and the most excellent and fertile tract of land in all the Province.

River Orinoco.—The importance of this abundant river doubtless renders it deserving of a detailed description of a multitude of points all worthy of attention; its courses, distances, mouths, cañons, islets, the larger rivers which join it, &c. But to avoid the confusion which might arise from such prolixity and minuteness of particulars, these are given in a separate document No. 1; and here will be presented merely a general, broad view of its chief features and of the Rivers Apure, Meta, and some others which run into it.

Respecting the origin or sources of the Orinoco there has been a variety of opinions, differing greatly among themselves, and discussion too prolix for this place. Father Caulin, in his recent work, on the strength of very exact observations and reports, comparing the information which he was able to obtain from natives themselves and others, places them in $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of North Latitude, and in 317° , more or less, of Longitude, close to a lake, not that of the Parime or Dorado, as had been believed, but another more than 60 leagues to the West of it; from its sources it runs from East to West with many turns and windings, bending to the North more than 130 leagues up to its point of junction with the Guaviare, and the Atavapo which fall into it, the latter on the South, and the former on the West, having previously received the Cassiquiare, or to speak more correctly, thrown it out like an arm, by which it joins and communicates with the Rio Negro, and thereby with the Amazon. From its point of union with the Guaviare and Atavapo, it runs from South to North, with various windings, for about 100 leagues till it passes Cabreta in the Province of Carácas, and Caicara in this Province, being joined in this reach on each bank by many smaller rivers, and by some important ones, such as the Vichada, Meta, and Apure; the last falls into it on the East by various large arms higher up than Cabruta. From this point it takes its course to the East, constantly receiving fresh affluents, which contribute to it their flow of waters from the watersheds of the Provinces of Carácas, Cumaná and Guiana. Thus it is increased more and more until it falls into the sea by a multitude of arms or cañons, each of which in itself seems a great river, and having traversed in this last reach the distance of 130 leagues, more or less. With intelligent pilots this river is easily navigable from its mouths up to the Island of Faxado; between which and the capital there are several difficult passages, especially at low water, such as banks of sand and shoals. Continuing onward to the Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro various rapids are met with, such as those of Carichana, Atures and Maipures, difficult and more or less dangerous to pass, according to the season of the year, which render it necessary for vessels to pass by a tow rope. Here the Indians show their dexterity and intrepidity, shooting forward in their pirogues and canoes, and risking the violence of the current and the danger of the rocks, on which it looks as though they would strike at every instant and be dashed to pieces.

It rises and falls once every year; the waters begin to rise slowly in the month of March, and in the month of August, in which they attain their greatest height, again subside with the same slowness until February, in which they remain at their lowest level, between which and its highest point there is a difference here in the capital of about 14 fathoms at high water. Its floods inundate an incredible extent of country in the plains of Carácas and Barinas where navigation is conducted in launches, pirogues and canoes, along extensive fields of wild rice, so abundant that vessels might be laden with it. Its fall leaves dry most spacious and beautiful strands, which, in the months of February, March and April, are covered with an immense multitude of turtles. These turtles go to lay and bury their eggs in the sands, and they afford the settlers and natives an abundant harvest of turtle oil or butter of sufficiently good flavour for cooking, and many other useful products, at small cost. The rise of the river is favoured by the East winds or breezes which prevail for eight months in the year. From June inclusively up to the end of September, the period of flood, many calms are experienced and very rapid currents. In going up the vessel is sailed before the wind, and in descending by tacking windward: when the river is falling the spring tides are alarming, though not at the capital; yet at Pana-pana, which is four leagues away, they swell the river to the height of one foot, at Faxardo two feet, and so on in proportion as the mouth is approached. The tide runs in and rises with the same rapidity of current with which it ebbs, and when it is full it remains almost motionless, but the moment it begins to fall the waters lose at once the amount of the increase.

Of the rivers which fall into the Orinoco those which chiefly call for attention, from the volume of their waters, the opportunities they offer for profitable trade with the Provinces which they flow through, and the intercourse which they facilitate with the interior of them are the Meta and Apure.

The Meta from its mouth up to the first settlements of the Kingdom of Santa Fé in Macuco, near the plains of the Government of Santiago de las Atalayas, is nearly a desert, or at most inhabited by the Guajibos Indians, a nomadic nation, impossible to subdue, cowardly and

* They give in exchange various kinds of Dutch cloths, ironware, firearms, ammunition and, especially, brandy. (Note in MS.)

very treacherous; this river is always navigable in launches, and although it has several shoals, they are of small danger, being sandy and not of a resisting or solid nature. In the summer there are continually very fresh breezes, in the winter calms and a considerable current; but under the lee of the banks the river is navigated with less difficulty. The people of the Kingdom of Sante Fé are wont to come down occasionally with a cargo of flour, sugar, cotton cloth, table cloths, hammocks, and other products of that country, which they sell in this and in the plains of Carácas, with considerable advantage, taking back payment in cash, as they are not permitted to do so in kind.

The Apure has its sources in the Kingdom of Sante Fé, near the city of Nueva Pamplona, in the mountain ridge. Descending the mountain, it waters the plains of Casanare, and is swollen by several rivers which fall into it, the Santo Domingo from the Province of Barinas, the Portuguesa, which crosses and opens up communication with the district of Guauare, and other lesser ones. It empties itself by separate channels into the Orinoco at $7\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of latitude and 80 leagues, more or less, from the capital of Guiana. For some years navigation has been carried on by it up to the Nutrias in Barinas. On its banks the citizens of Carácas have the chief store of cattle in that Province. It produces excellent mules, which are continually drawn upon for the other Provinces. It has an abundance of woods of superior quality for building and other purposes.

Between Angostura or New Guayana and the mouth of the Apure, there are many other rivers of less importance, but some of them abound in woods and arable lands; those on the side of Cumana and Carácas are the Cari, Paro, Manipiri, and Guarico; and on that of Guiana, the Arbi, Caura, Cuchivero and many other rivulets on either side, by all of which the conveyance of produce is greatly facilitated to the inhabitants who are settled on their banks.

Among them all the Caura deserves most attention, on account of its abundance of wood and the fertility of its soil and arable lands, in which the Indians cultivate produce of prime necessity; and a beginning has been made of some small plantations of cotton by the fugitive Indians from Essequibo. For this purpose some families are being sent by the Government, under the inspection of the Sergeant Commandant of that garrison, and they may be of some use for the cultivation of this product, whereas in the capital and its vicinity as their number is already considerably increased, they were beginning to be prejudicial and to cause anxiety.

Population of the Province of Guiana.—The actual settlement of this Province* consists of eleven small settlements of Spaniards divided into four cities and seven towns, both of which, with the exception of the Capital, are so in name only, and in 62 missions of Indians, under the instruction of the Observantine Fathers, in the Upper and Lower Orinoco, from the Rio Negro up to New Guiana, and under the Capuchins from here downwards; amounting in all to 24,395 Spanish settlers, coloured persons and natives of both sexes and all ages, as shown in statement No. 2 sent herewith. The Missions under the instruction of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, consisting of 13,000 Indians of various nations and situated in the most important and fertile part of the Province, are still, notwithstanding the length of their establishment, in the category of new reductions and with very distant hope of reaching the condition of civilisation which is desirable, in spite of the efforts of the religious to instruct them in the importance to them of the social and Christian life. For as they have no particular landed property, and content themselves with a moderate cultivation of maize, cassava and certain roots, for their immediate sustenance, they regard all the rest with indifference, and as a degradation which they avoid as much as possible in order to give themselves up to idleness and lawlessness; and there is no slight risk to the missionaries themselves who endeavour to restrain them: These missions, governed under the economic system which has obtained up to the present time, without in all probability being the most fitting or the most perfectly conducive to the greatest utility and general advantage of the settlement, are nevertheless, on the whole, the best cultivated and supplied in this part of the continent.

The District of Guirior deteriorates from day to day, and the number of Spanish and native inhabitants in it dwindles; the small detachment of troops which guards it experiences great scarcity of provisions except cassava and plantains, and the latter by no means abundant; they are without cattle, and in order to obtain some salt meat occasionally, they are obliged to send to Barceloneta, a journey so long and difficult that it arrives in very bad condition if not entirely putrid.

The numerous savages inhabiting those forests occasionally show signs of their ancient arrogance, sallying out from time to time to insult the Spanish settlers, with whom they have recently had encounters in which they were repulsed with some loss on either side. The rest of the Spanish Settlements, with the exception of the capital, have advanced very little in population; their numbers and those of the capital and of the Missions or Villages of Indians, are shown in the statement sent herewith, and the note thereon will perhaps explain why greater progress has not been made.

From Carucina the ridge runs along the same side of the Orinoco with a small tract of meadow land between the two and of hill country which ends at the River Caroni, where the range turns to the south. This portion of land has in length the distance shown, and in breadth, from north to south, twelve leagues, more or less, up to the town of Oputa, where begins the flat tract of Savannahs which reaches to the Cuyuni and beyond.

* The statement of the population which is quoted is drawn up from the statistics sent to the government in the year [17]84. (Note in MS.)

From Caroni up to the New City of Guiana is entirely a tract of pure sand, so that after crossing this river it seems another sphere; the great difference of temperature being exaggerated by the heat and bareness of the country, in which, at very wide distances, are only to be seen clumps of palms of little use, because, after having borne fruit for a year or two with some profit, they become exhausted, and what they afterwards produce is almost worthless.

From the capital on the south, a great extent of wooded productive land is met with, but, on account of the long distances, and the costs and difficulties of conveyance, its cultivation has not advanced; the products which it has hitherto sent to market being few, and not of the best, for the most part consisting of the actual necessities of life, which scarcely suffice for home consumption.

Of exportable produce, some six hundred loads of tobacco can be grown yearly, half or more within the jurisdiction of the town of Opata* and the remainder in that of the capital and the other villages of the Province; this branch of industry would be very prolific if some further concessions than those which they already enjoy could be made to the settlers with respect to seeds, and they would derive no small advantage from them, in the encouragement of this and other useful commercial enterprises. 8,000 hides, more or less, are stored every year, half from the Province, and the rest from the neighbourhood. As the cocoa does not suffice for home consumption, it is necessary to bring it from Carácas and Barinas; but if there were plantations of this product, it would yield well and abundantly, on account of the excellent quality and richness of the soil; and the same may be said of indigo, of which a beginning has been made with a small quantity of seeds, which have given the best evidences of superior quality and the assurance of copious harvests if there were planters and capital which could be devoted to the encouragement of so useful a branch of industry capable in itself of rendering the Province a wealthy one.

Cotton, almost without any cultivation at all, yields in some parts of the plains, even those which seem most profitless, an excellent crop, each tree or shrub bearing almost double as much as those in the Windward Islands, according to the reports of intelligent and trustworthy persons, and with the great advantage of higher security for the harvests, owing to the greater regularity of the rains and seasons; but as little account has hitherto been taken of this trade directly with Spain, and its export is not free to any other part, the cultivators whom the Government have endeavoured to stimulate to the furtherance of this important branch of industry have begun to get discouraged.

The stock of cattle† is reckoned at about 220,000; 180,000 head in the cattle farms of the Commune of the Capuchin Fathers, although a very accurate estimate cannot be made, owing to the difficulty of counting them, and the remaining 40,000 among the private settlers. The rearing of mules is rare, as is also that of horses; but the suitability of the pastures and the strings of mares which are brought from the adjoining provinces might soon facilitate the procreation and multiplication of both species.

Notwithstanding the large quantity of cattle stated, it is frequently necessary to have recourse to the plains of Carácas and Cumaná for the supply of this capital, because their conveyance from the farms of the Missions is costly and difficult, and the stock kept by private breeders consists merely of females and young ones, there being very few slaughter houses amongst them.

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The Commerce of Guyana, Royal Revenue, and Salaries paid from it.

From what has been already said the reason of the slight progress which the direct trade with Spain from this Province has made up to the present time can be given; in former times there came hither certain registered vessels from Cadiz which returned laden to a certain extent with tobacco which came down from Barinas, which was over and above the number of shiploads which that Province supplied to the Royal Guipuzcoan Company, together with what was harvested in this Province, and with hides and a small quantity of cocoa from Carácas; but latterly the hides being the only branch remaining, and being in small quantities, and not always profitable, and there being no other resource, this commerce ceased, and only two registered vessels have come since; in May of last year a schooner belonging to the settler Don Luis Josef Luis Basanta with 18,000 to 20,000 dollars worth of wine, oil, and other goods, and in March of the present year a brigantine of Don Manuel Jerran, likewise a native of this city, with 10,000 or 12,000 dollars worth of wines and brandy; the country remaining under the same necessity as before of what is requisite for the general supply and encouragement of its agriculture.

The internal trade of the Province is shown by what has been said concerning its fruits and products; the trade carried on by the settlers with the foreign islands in their small boats, by virtue of licenses from the Intendency of Carácas, consists simply in conveying cargoes of some small number of hides, salt meat, and cattle, and mules, which they purchase for this purpose chiefly in the adjoining Provinces, and which, in addition to the mortality of the animals and other losses which they suffer in the voyage, they frequently, or almost always, upon arriving at those Colonies, find themselves compelled to sell for low prices; this is because, since the war,

* The tobacco of the district of Opata is of very good quality, equal and, in the opinion of many, superior to that of Barinas, for which it can easily be mistaken.—(Note in MS.)

† Some want of method in the government or management of the cattle farms, in the mode of pasturing and enclosure, is the reason why much cattle strays and is lost, and consequently the due increase therein is not obtained.—(Note in MS.)

competitors come from other parts, and especially from New England, with the same freight and in better condition. They pay increased dues of entry and exit; if they bring back negroes they are obliged to sell them on credit, from not finding purchasers for ready money; they lose on the money about 37 per cent., and lastly when, from sheer necessity, they have been permitted to take back in goods the third or fourth part of the produce of their cargoes, the most which this indulgence afforded was to repair or partly moderate the loss on exchange, the result being on the whole a deceptive trade, so much the more harmful as, when once begun, it was needful to continue it in order not to lose reputation; they are thus exposed to final ruin, which some have experienced, those being highly considered who have attained the point of living free from debt, and with some comfort and moderate decency. Hence arise irregular actions in contravention of the laws, smuggling operations, and despairing plunges into the danger of utter ruin for a paltry apparent advantage,—a petty smuggling, and of slight importance, and proportionate to the very small capital, with which it is conducted, but always prejudicial to the royal interests, to the real advancement of the Province, and to national commerce; and which, therefore, is duly watched, without omitting such measures ordinary and extraordinary, as prudence and the local knowledge of the country dictate, to pursue and destroy it. The revenue which the Treasury of Guayana receives from various sources, taking one year with another, amounts to 29,000 dollars,* and the outgoings for which it is liable amount to 56,689 dollars, as shown in statement No. 3 sent herewith, resulting in a deficit of about 28,000 dollars, and in the necessity of having recourse to the Treasury of Carácas, which, finding itself overloaded with its own obligations, cannot always help and assist with the readiness which urgent matters require.

What has been set forth so far shows the destitute, miserable, and backward state of the Province of Guiana, at the end of such a long series of years since its discovery and occupation; and after so much assistance in contributions, favours and exemptions with which the Court, knowing the importance of its preservation, has favoured it. This backwardness is partly attributable to the disquietudes and frequent hostilities in earlier times of the great multitude and variety of tribes of barbarous Indians which infested the country, to the opinion which prevailed for a long time respecting its unhealthiness, its poverty, and the paucity of its resources in comparison with other parts of America better known and frequented; and likewise to some invasions which were experienced from without; but even more than to this, it seems that the said backwardness must be ascribed to the mistaken selection of lands for settlements and primary foundations, to which would contribute not a little the perplexity attaching to a new country uncultivated and impenetrable, and the obscurity and uncertainty which the circumstances attending first settlements induce, which are difficult to dispel until in course of time the obstacles which prevented and opposed the progress of the work are discovered. The considerations which contributed, albeit in more recent times, to cause the present form of settlement, were that from the garrison of old Guiana downward, the villages would be distant and unprotected by the fortresses, that the enemy, in case of invasion, would find them defenceless and seize them on the way, and would obtain in them the help of the provisions of which they stood in need, and practised guides for the interior; that any work which might be done at the mouth of the river would be similarly exposed, and lastly that the lands in which they were ordered to settle are of the most healthy character,† and most excellently adapted for communicating with the neighbouring Provinces for the assistance which each would afford to the other.

These reflections resulted in the direction of Royal Instruction of the 5th of June, 1762, that for the better protection of the Province of Guiana, the interior Provinces, and the Kingdom of Santa Fé, the old settlement of Guiana, should be removed, by the facilities afforded by the Orinoco, to the Angostura of the same river; that the cattle should be taken, and that pastures should be assigned to them from that point upwards; that no permission should be given for sowing new crops on the banks of the Orinoco from the Angostura downwards; with the rest which is expressed therein; and afterwards by Royal Cedula of the 16th of May, 1769, orders were given to raze the four Indian villages Oyacoa, Tipuria, Piacoa, and Ouata, situated below the fortresses; both measures being clearly directed towards rendering difficult any incursion of the enemy, by depriving them of the assistance of provisions and guides. But the object has not entirely been attained; for even in the actual condition of affairs, in respect to guides, they could be obtained among the Indians of the mouths and cañons of the Orinoco with sufficient practical knowledge of the river, and the enemy would find at the same time the necessary supplies of meat in the village of Palmar, and in its savannah filled with the cattle of the Capuchin Fathers, at 25 leagues before reaching the fortresses, where the same missionaries in the time of the last war showed their dread of invasion, their exposed position causing no little anxiety to the Government; the invaders would find supplies also along the River Aguirre in the Missions of Cumaná, Miamo, Tupuquen, and others which lie more to the east, and, lastly, at eight leagues before arriving at the fortresses of old Guiana the enemy would find the assistance offered by the north coast, in the part of Cumaná occupied by the settlers with cattle farms, and in its neighbourhood or not very distant, the new reductions of the Aragonese Capuchin Missionary Fathers, and on either side an open route without any greater obstacle to impede their progress upwards. This being established, and taking into account the small degree to which the said precautions have contributed to aid in defence, we will pass on to show what is most suitable, or what is considered so under present circumstances; and notwithstanding that the object of this report is mainly directed to inculcate the utility of forming settlements from the garrison of

* Not having at hand the rough draught of statement No. 3 which is quoted, and merely an ordinary undated note, there may be some error in the rendering which is given of the annual income of that Treasury and of its outgoings, but not of sufficient importance to alter the estimate of it.—(Note in MS.)

† The actual situation of the capital of Guayana enjoys without dispute to a high degree these two advantages—a very healthy climate and easy and convenient communication with the neighbouring Provinces.—(Note in MS.)

Guiana downwards for a certain distance, on account of the advantages which would result therefrom to agriculture, to national commerce, to the subjection and reduction of the native Indians, and to the defence itself, its scope will extend to the whole of the Province and to the means of securing and protecting to the utmost its entrances and frontiers on all sides. If the multiplicity of objects and the indifferent method of the writer produce some confusion, the very cohesion and mutual dependence of the subjects treated will help to clear it up; and goodwill and the anxiety to carry out what is required will do the rest.

Scheme of Settlement which is proposed, and some measures for carrying it out.

It has been stated that the south coast of the Orinoco, from the point of Barima, 20 leagues more or less inland, up to the Cañon of Curucima is low lying and swampy land, and consequently, reckoning all this tract as useless, very few patches of fertile land being found therein, and hardly any Savannahs and pastures, it is disregarded; so, taking as chief base the said Cañon of Curucima, or the point of the chain and ridge in the great arm of the Imataca, an imaginary line will be drawn running to the south-east following the slopes of the same ridge which is crossed by the Rivers Aguire, Arature, and Amacuro, and others, at the distance of 20 leagues, direct to Cuyuni; from there it will run on to the Masuruni and Essequibo, parallel to the sources of the Berbis and Surinama; this is the directing line of the course which the New Settlements and foundations proposed must follow.

The lands of the Orinoco from Caroni downwards, united to those of Cuyuni and Masurini, are most beautifully situated: on the south there are great Savannahs for cattle feeding, and on the north the forests of the Orinoco for agriculture, which situation of the country presents, after a few surmountable difficulties, the probable assurance of the good success of an undertaking which should have been attempted long ago. From the Orinoco to the Cuyuni, north to south, measures 30 leagues, and much less from east to west up to the Guiana Missions and the cattle farm of their community, so that between these latter the lowlands and the forestlands of the coast is formed a narrow valley easy to fill with a proportionate number of useful foundations; especially if the Reverend Capuchin Fathers lend their assistance, as from their religious zeal and devotion to the King's service it is to be believed they would do willingly, and because they likewise would obtain therefrom the advantage of securing the rear of their villages, of preventing the escape of the Indians to the Hill Country and their communication with the Dutch, and of exercising with more tranquillity their Apostolic Ministry free from the alarms to which they are at present subjected. And although all the land which lies beyond the Cuyuni up to the sources of the Parime and Curaricara, having now been more explored, is found not to be of nearly such extent as was imagined, it may be expected upon reasonable grounds that it will be advantageously occupied within a few years by the spread of villages and cattle farms, the breeders extending their enclosures, the planters and settlers their plantations and the Missionaries their reductions; mutually supporting one another and continuing their settlements on the other side of the Cuyuni in the great Savannahs and margins of the rivers which run to the south towards the aforesaid sources of the Berbis and Surinama, and gaining on the way the reduction of the increased multitude of wild Indians, who, finding themselves hemmed in on all sides, would submit by treaty, and would aid the advancement of the settlement. On the other hand also, the object in view is much facilitated and advanced by the fact that it is a country, for the most part, of plains, or of very gentle uplands of considerably less elevation than those of Carácas and Cumaná, and of favourable and healthy climate. That this is so is proved by the experience of the new reductions of the Capuchin Fathers, which are advanced to a considerable distance towards those parts, the proximity of which to their Missions and to the cattle farms of the community, by affording supplies of bread and meat, and removing the chief obstacle to new settlements, is a reason for proceeding without delay to the occupation of those districts. It is also a reason for not giving the Dutch, who have already too far penetrated on the Cuyuni, an opportunity, by continually extending their colony,* of taking possession of those more advanced districts and villages, and of rendering it necessary for us to oppose them with forces which would be required for the defence of the other approaches to the Orinoco. For the reasons stated it appears suitable to begin from the centre nearest to the boundaries of the foreign possessions. But the indispensable increase of the expenditure which would be entailed upon the Royal Treasury by the difficulty of transporting cattle, provisions, and other necessities to such a distance, and by that of finding colonists who would be willing to settle in lands new, remote, and devoid of communication, necessitates the commencement being made at a less distance, namely, from the district already mentioned, from Carucima to the banks of the Orinoco, in the great arm of the Imataca. Hither settlers would repair with less repugnance, and would find provisions nearer to hand, ready assistance in case of necessity, abundance of timber for their houses and other buildings, immediate returns for their labour, easy conveyance and outlet for the fruits they produce, and better means for the progress and extension of their settlement from that point, and for facilitating communication with the interior of the country in the direction already indicated.

Port of Registration.—This primary foundation in Carucima, as it must be the point of support for the rest and the centre from which they must derive the needful supplies, deserves chief attention, and that from the beginning every possible effort should be made to encourage

* In a representation made in August [17]69 to our Court by the States General the right was claimed of possession of the Rivers Cuyuni and Masuruni, as branches of the Essequibo, and of the River or Cañon of Guayna near the outfall of the Orinoco.—(Note in MS.)

and increase it. Its favourable situation on the chief branch of the Orinoco offers many advantages, and affords for the greater convenience of commerce a safe harbour for registered vessels, easy of defence, at a reasonable distance from the Boca de Navios or entrance to the river, and without the inconvenience of vessels having to go up 80 or more leagues to the capital, through various bad reaches which render navigation and trade most difficult, and which by great delays overburden with charges the freights and goods. It has been found on many occasions that it has taken longer to get here from the mouths of the Orinoco than from Spain to the mouths, to which must be added that in time of low water (at least four months in the year) laden vessels cannot go out of this harbour or capital because of the shallowness in the strait called Mamoque, and they are obliged to go to take in cargo to Caroni, whither it is necessary to send it beforehand. The result of this practice is that, in addition to the prejudice which it entails upon legitimate trade, smuggling is somewhat facilitated,* without the zeal and vigilance of the principal officials being able to stop it altogether, however much they endeavour to do so.

This first settlement having been formed with the views stated, and with the object which shall be given more fully when treating of the defence, the colonisation shall be continued in the interior of that peninsula with three, four, or more villages, and lastly with a town of Spaniards on the banks of the Cuyuni nearly at its point of union with the Supamo, which will be most conducive in the said spot to the furtherance of the progress of the settlement, and to the protection of this approach to the Missions, and the prevention, as already mentioned, of the escape of the Indians and their communication with the Dutch of Essequibo, and the penetration of the latter into their districts, and the prejudicial traffic in poitos, &c.

Colonists or New Settlers.—The practical experience of certain settlements in these countries has shown that the plan of bringing families at all costs from Europe, or pressed ones from the Provinces, does not always produce the best results; but, on the contrary, such Colonies have been seen to disappear ineffectually in a very short time, after having caused considerable fruitless outlay to the Royal Treasury. Therefore it is desirable that new settlers should come voluntarily, attracted by the conveniences of a more advantageous settlement than that which they already possess, and by the favours and privileges with which they are encouraged. Of those who come on these conditions, the more numerous they are, so much the more land will they occupy; and when the agricultural lands found on the slopes of the ridges have been divided up, they will extend into the wooded valleys which run into the interior, until they reach the Savannahs. Here the breeders will establish cattle farms, and before long will meet their neighbours of the Missions, and both parties will find themselves compelled to go to the south of the Cuyuni, where, however far they may go, they will find no difficulty in conveying their produce and cattle to the chief Treasury of the Orinoco, to their capital, and to the port of registers.

The greater part of the people in every new settlement is necessarily poor, and without adequate capital for undertaking considerable enterprises, their means simply sufficing to obtain a scanty living by their personal labour. Consequently it will be desirable, in order to encourage and attract these new colonists, to bring and support them at the cost of the Royal Treasury for the first four or six months after their arrival, a period in which they will be enabled to build their huts and arrange their sowings of cassava, maize, plantains and other necessities for their mere maintenance. From this class of settlers neither rapid progress nor great advantages can be expected at first; but when they are established and distributed in lands, the fertility of which secures to them a good result, and gives them a more than ordinary return for their labour, they will delight in work, will be of good heart and will render each other mutual aid as among neighbours, and at the critical seasons of sowing and planting they will assist one another with their implements, and with their personal labour; they will regulate the conditions of fishing, hunting, and other measures necessary for their maintenance free of cost, and will economize, and save by degrees, sufficient for the hire of day labourers, and for the purchase of one or two slaves. Then emulation and ambition will incite them to introduce little by little among the products of primary necessity for consumption the cultivation of others of greater value and suitable for exportation; and, as the number of settlers, although in small sections, yet begins to form one community, so a good many will increase the branches of their industry, especially as regards cotton, and still more tobacco, the sowing of which would become indispensable if, under the general regulations of the administration, or others which it might be considered desirable to make, they were allowed the means of its greater encouragement, and the power of cultivating other important branches of commerce to the great advantage of the Province, and of the direct trade with Spain.

Men of property are usually those who are least attracted to new settlements, because they object to the disturbance caused by a change of residence, and only the inducement of special favours, which may secure to them recognised superior advantages, is capable of overcoming their repugnance to such a change. If by means of those advantages which Royal consideration may be good enough to grant, it were possible to obtain a regular number of families of this class, progress would be much more rapid, because, in proportion to the capital of each, the possessions would be extended, the lands would become valuable, and the abundance of produce from them would be augmented sufficiently to invigorate national commerce. The poor under the protection of the more wealthy would find countenance and employments in which to utilize

* Owing to the number of small rivers which run into the Orinoco on either side, and to the intersections of its numerous cañons, which form as it were an intricate labyrinth, this river is very difficult to protect from contraband trade, which would doubtless be much better watched if the port of registered vessels were situated towards the mouths more or less in the spot proposed.—(Note in MS.)

† From an extra-judicial report it is known that a beginning has been made of the foundation of the new town nearly at the point of union of the Cuyuni with the Orinoco.—(Note in MS.)

and advance their respective labours and industries, and on their own account would endeavour to establish cattle farms, and as, for the regular increase of these, an extent of one, two, or more leagues is necessary, the lands will be divided proportionately amongst them. In this case there would be no doubt as to the occupation of the lands which intervene up to the Cuyuni by a small number of regular breeders, nor as to their spread in the plains which lie along these frontiers.

Still more necessary than breeders or owners of large numbers of stock are the farmers, who have a large number of slaves for agriculture, in which the true and chief support of the surrounding Provinces consists, especially that of Carácas, for in proportion as it is possible to find well-to-do breeders, it is difficult to induce the others to go voluntarily to the Orinoco; for besides possessing considerable estates of valuable products, they have sufficient lands for expansion and a trade which affords them an outlet for their crops. For even if some of them might be inclined to do so, they would be deterred by the difficulty of finding anyone to purchase from them, at a fair price, the property they were leaving, or the contingencies inseparable from a removal of this kind would likewise hold them back, which to a class well off and with something to lose are matters of some consideration. These inconveniences might be overcome in the same manner as in the Island of Trinidad to windward, were it not that greater ones might arise from the admission of families from the foreign colonies, respecting which a further explanation is deferred, leaving to superior wisdom and penetration the deliberation of a matter of such delicacy and importance. It is proposed for the present that, in order to make a beginning with the occupation of the country, and the foundation of villages, use should be made of some families from the Province itself, to as great a number as the scantiness of its population will permit, and of those from the Provinces of Cumaná, Carácas and Barinas who choose to go voluntarily. Probably some would not fail to present themselves who would not be missed from the places they leave, and in those of their new occupation would be of great advantage in course of time. If in the capital this removal should be left to the option of the citizens, there is no doubt that many, or the majority, of the early settlers would gladly embrace the opportunity of going to establish themselves under the garrison lower down, from the experience and knowledge they possess of the fertility of those lands, and of the abundance therein of game, fish, and other advantages of which they preserve the memory still fresh, and a very lively recollection. But admitting those who might be considered suitable, restraint would have to be placed upon the rest, because at no time can it be permitted that the capital should suffer, but, on the contrary, its further encouragement must always be held in view, considering that, besides the value which it at present possesses, it is the centre of government, the residence of the chief officials, and a post important alike from its position and its excellent facilities for communication with the neighbouring Provinces.

The Reverend Catalanian Capuchin Fathers in the year [17]77, from their zeal and affection for the King's service, offered 12,000 head of cattle, which His Majesty deigned to accept, and ordered that they should be distributed among the inhabitants, to augment the stock of this breed; but owing to various casualties, this did not take effect either then or afterwards, and the present appears a very favourable occasion for the carrying out of the plan, which at no time could be better effected. With this help and beginning of encouragement several poor families will be stimulated to settle on the new foundations, to whom, as soon as they had a fixed abode, from 25 to 30, or more head of cows might be distributed, with a corresponding number of bulls—but under the condition of not killing, selling or alienating them until after at least the expiration of three years; so that in this manner, in addition to their finding themselves afterwards possessed of a moderate competency, by the multiplication of the stock in a few years, the extension of the settlements might be attained, and the further occupation of the interior country. When this extension has been obtained and advanced within the limits proposed, from Carucima inwards, and the last "villa" of Spaniards has been founded in the spot above indicated, the result would be a barrier of great security against the incursions and prejudicial traffic of the Dutch, and the country will be made passable by open roads for the mutual communication of the farmers, breeders and townsmen. By these means further explorations will be facilitated which it may be desirable and suitable to attempt in the great Savannahs which run to the south, towards the part where the Portuguese are extending their settlements according to the reports of some wild Indians whom the Capuchin Missionaries have lately succeeded in bringing from the woods.

* * * * *

Advancing towards the south to a certain distance, and turning towards the sources either of the Parime or the Curaricara are found, according to many credible reports, navigable rivers, some of which flow into the Casiquiare and others into the Rio Negro. When their courses have been explored it will be possible to facilitate safe communication along the entire frontier, and to afford mutual succour in 15 or 20 days, which from the capitals is impracticable in a much longer time, according to the season of the year, and the post to which they have to bring assistance, and as no difficulty presents itself from the Rio Negro downward, along the Cusiquiare and Orinoco, their banks being settled as supposed albeit with a small number of Spaniards and natives, the proper knowledge will be acquired of the extent and character of these lands, and of the true boundaries which separate them from the foreign possessions.

The execution of the operation proposed does not prevent attention being paid to the advancement and settlement of the rest of the Province, but, on the contrary, the knowledge of the progress of the numerous towns will stimulate many families of the districts of Cumaná, Carácas, Barinas, and Santa Fé to come and settle, according to their dispositions and powers of endurance, within the limits of the lower garrison, or of the capital, where they will increase the Spanish occupancy, and by the sight of them and their example the natives will be civilised, and inclined to live in the settlers' villages, and *vice versâ*. Nor must they be hindered by the

missionaries, especially in those settlements which may be founded anew in the districts of Carucima and Cuyuni, with the Guaraunos, Aruacas, Mariusas, and the rest of the tribes of that part; since experience has proved, at least in these parts of America, that the Indians, the greater the effort made to keep them to themselves, and apart from ordinary and general intercourse, the less dissuaded are they from the notions of their ancient superstitions, and remain, with very little difference, in the same condition as when they issued from their forests; that is to say, in one very little differing from that of the brutes, although with intelligence and exceeding cunning for evil. And, on the contrary, through contact and communication with civilised people they acquire other ideas, modify their primitive habits, and become civilised and of some advantage to society.

No. 37.

Table of the Missions of the Reverend Father Capuchins of Catalonia of the Province of Guiana. The Rev. Father Hermenegildo de Vich sent it to Father Cervera. Dated the 31st August, 1788.

Villages.			Presidents.			Nations.			Indians there living.
Caroni	P. Serafin de Arenas	..	..	Guayanos y Guycas	..	764
Unata	P. Hermenegildo de Vich	..	..	Aruaca y Guacas	..	324
Sta. Ana.	P. Pascual de Barcelona	..	..	Aruaca y Guarauno	..	457
Calvario	P. Luis de Casteltersos	..	..	Salibas y Guaraunos	..	444
Marocure	P. Buenava. de Sabadel	..	..	Caribes	..	550
Caruani	P. Buenava. de Coloma	..	..	Caribes	..	298
Sn. Antonio	P. Buenava. de Verdie	..	..	Guayanos	..	589
Guri	P. Franco. de Darnius	..	..	Caribes	..	235
Puétpa	P. Marano de Cervera	..	..	Guayacas y Guaraunos	..	278
Sta. Clara	P. Hermendo. de Premiá	..	..	Guaycas	..	191
Sn. Seraphin	P. Nohay	..	..	Guaycas	..	242
Bocas	P. Feliz de Vich	..	..	Guaycas	..	618
Sta. Magdalena	P. Bernardino de Sn. Felice.	..	..	Guaycas	..	138
Barceloneta	P. Bautista de Olot	..	..	Barinagotas	..	254
Ayma	P. Joaqn. de Barcelona	..	..	Guaycas	..	723
Avechica	P. Domo. de Sn. Hipolito	..	..	Guaycas	..	177
Divina Pastora	P. Juan de Liria	..	..	Guayanos	..	431
Guaceypati	P. Pedro de Bibas.	..	..	Caribes	..	706
Topoquen	P. Leopoldo de Barcelona	..	..	Caribes	..	435
Angel Custodio	P. Mariano de Perefitá	..	..	Guayanos	..	232
Cura	P. Manl. de Casteltersos	..	..	Guaycas	..	582
Carapo	P. Manl. de Preirana	..	..	Caribes	..	761
Miámo	P. Jph. Ma. de Mataró	..	..	Caribes	..	762
Cumamo	P. Raymdo. de Olot	..	..	Caribes	..	712
Palmar	P. Antonio de Martorel	..	..	Caribes y Guayanos	..	589
Sta. Maria	P. Agn. de Barcelona	..	..	Guayanos y Panacáyos	..	491
Cupapuy	P. Feliz de Tarrega	..	..	Guayanos	..	715
Upata	P. Henrique de Puirretro	..	..	Spaniards	..	477
Alta Gracia	P. Thomas de Olot	..	..	Guayanos	..	837
Total									14,012

It is a copy of that which the Rev. Father Fray Joseph Cervera sent me, and which I received in Turbaco the 27th March, 1789.

No. 38.

Letter of Fermín de Sincinenea to the Most Excellent Count del Campo de Alange.

Sir,

Aranjuez, June 15, 1790.

IN conformity with your Excellency's Commission, I forward herewith two accounts of what I consider useful for the time of war with the English, and the meeting place of the naval forces, and how in such a case they are to be maintained, without exposing the Monarchy to the extent that might happen if the war were to be carried on from the Peninsula, and the other side had secured the advantages which it promises them.

I entreat your Excellency will pardon the blots you will notice in them, as much on account of their obscure narration as for their bad handwriting, your Excellency bearing in mind that I deem it well that all should be written by my own hand, as I have done in the case of his Excellency, your Excellency's predecessor, and permitting me to do the same.

The Province of Guayana is now in imminent danger, as it will be the principal object of the enemy in the first war, with which view the English, at the time they possessed the Colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbis, adjoining* Guayana, delimited, with more than twenty sailors (?) in their boats, from the said Esquivo (Essequibo) to the Boca de Navios of the River Orinoco, and even 10 leagues up the river. Therefore, it ought not to be allowed to cut down a single tree from the fort of Guayana to the mouths of the said Orinoco towards the sea, so as by this means to prevent the enemy from finding cover [*sic*]. I would remind your Excellency that there exist numerous tribes of Indians from the said Esquivo (Essequibo) to the mouths of the Orinoco already noted. This must be looked upon with suspicion, in view of the fact that the English count upon all of them for the time when they undertake invasions against the said Province of Guayana and those adjoining it.

I was told the same by Count Dillon, the General of the Island of Tavaco [Tobago], who added that although the French arms had recaptured the said Colonies from the English, that [*sic*] the General [*sic*]† [? hiatus] English Archbishop informed him [? words corrupt] service on which it was arranged (?) for the undertakings against the Guayana and Cumaná, assuring him that he would attain it with facility considering that he counted upon the before-mentioned Indian tribes, and on very many of the natives; besides that, he also relied upon our 8,000 men of their own between English and colonists: but all that has disappeared with the peace.

The said Indian tribes your Excellency may regard as the largest disciplined force, considering that they are supplied by the enemies of the Crown with all kinds of arms, and instructed in the use of them, without mentioning the skill [with which they manage their] bows and arrows.

For the same reason, as they are able to penetrate into the said province by the rivers of the same Colony of Esquivo into which that of the Cuyuni flows, in whose vicinity the reverend Catalonian Fathers have a part of their Missions, as well as their cattle-farms, your Excellency will perceive the dangerous situation of that province, as also the chance the enemy has of taking it. The unprotected condition of the whole continent, which must be considered from the fact that by means of the Orinoco one can easily pass to the Provinces of Cumaná, Maracaibo, and the jurisdictions of Nutrias, Barinas, and Merida, as the huge River Orinoco receives the waters of all the rivers of the said provinces, and even to the Kingdom of Santa Fé, by the River Meta, which communicates with the River Orinoco. And in such a case (which God forbid) not even the Kingdoms of Peru and Mexico might be considered safe, in respect that the said Kingdom of Santa Fé has ports on the Pacific. All well considered, we ought to live with all possible care, for, your Excellency, there are establishments of an enormous and dangerous strength in the dominions of His Majesty between the Colonies of Cayenne and that of Surinam, composed of a formidable army, and with large fortifications, and completely supplied with all kinds of liberal arts, governed, however, with a view to the security of their dominions, and supervised by the Sovereign Colony of Surinam. The absolute independence of it, as we are on the eve of seeing the same thing in all the Antilles and Colonies, without excepting even those of North America.‡

This may serve as an advice to your Excellency, and I shall, in the meanwhile, give you a more extensive Report if this meets with your satisfaction.

May God preserve your Excellency, &c.

Your attentive and favoured Servant,
(Signed) FERMIN DE SINCINENEA.

No. 39.

The Governor and Commandant-General of the Province of Guayana to Don Antonio Porlier on the Condition of the Province.

Sir,

Guayana, October 16, 1790.

ON the 22nd September last I took possession of the command of this province, the configuration and conditions of which make it one of the most important, and deserving to be regarded by the benignant piety of your Majesty with the greatest attention. In commiseration of the state of misery to which it is reduced, your Royal clemency may be pleased to grant those favours which may suffice to make it flourish, so that in coming forth from its poverty its inhabitants may be in a position to yield to the Royal Treasury the treasures promised by the quantity of lands fit for cultivation, now nearly deserted, timber for building, and other products with which nature has enriched this vast continent, which, according to the most exact maps, extends within the limits of the Orinoco on the north. Amazons and Rio Negro on the south, the sea-coast on the east, and the Provinces of Cumaná, Carácas, Barinas, and the Kingdom of Santa Fé on the west; with the misfortune that the number of inhabitants scarcely amounts to 2,500 souls, and of these three-fourths, being natives, are still in the class of new reductions.

Arable land is very scarce, and still more so the products capable of being exported to Europe, nor does the direct commerce (for this reason) increase. This, as I presume, your Excellency will be better aware of, and with more solid proof than I have been able to acquire in the short time that I have been in this Government. To these considerations I have given my first attention, but even more than by these my care has been compelled by the fact that the Dutch, French, and Portuguese have occupied the greater part of this vast extent of our

* The text of the Spanish copy, which is apparently "con aguas," has been amended to *contiguas*.

† The whole passage in the Spanish copy seems to be hopelessly corrupt.

‡ Here again the Spanish copy is by no means clear; the sentence ends in an anacoluthon.

territory, and that from day to day they are advancing their possessions, particularly the Dutch, by the River Essequibo, which offers them a free passage by the Cuyuni to the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia, and to the very interior of the province, there not being any guard nor any settlement of Spaniards to hinder them. The Portuguese enter by the Rio Negro, the Amazons, and the Parime,* there also existing at the meeting point of the frontiers of the two possessions and the head-waters of their respective rivers a kind of free and independent Republic of fugitive negroes, which within a few years will be able to make itself feared.

On the sea-side, your Excellency knows better than I do that at a short distance to the north-east of the Boca de Navios of the Orinoco the Island of Barbadoes is situated, an English possession, the remainder of the Antilles running to the north-west a little more or less.

The excellencies of that mighty river are well known, and nobody is ignorant at the present day of the easy communication which its navigation presents to the Kingdom of Santa Fé and the other above-mentioned provinces, circumstances which easily convince one of the importance of this province, and persuade one of the necessity of supplying the means for its development and defence; for it may be apprehended that it will be an incentive to the covetous emulation of other Powers. On that account it has appeared to me to be my duty to make this short report for the present, and bring it to your Excellency's knowledge, assured as I am of your love and zeal for the Royal service; and that as you are such a lover of the utility and advancement of the State, you will contribute by your powerful influence to help this poor province to acquire the means of its animation, with the increase of agriculture and commerce, the only branches of industry to facilitate its population and defence, which it so much requires in the present circumstances.

And it appearing well to me to bring it to the knowledge of the Ministers of State, "Grace" and Justice, of War and of the Treasury, I do so in like manner under this same date.

God preserve you, &c.

(Signed)

LUIS ANTONIO GIL (with his Rubric).

Antonio Porlier.

Minute on foregoing by Secretary of State.

(Margin.)

To be sent to Señor Count de Florida-Blanca, acknowledge receipt, and consider the best way of protecting in the meanwhile some points of the frontier to prevent the further penetration of foreigners; and in regard to the negroes the matter is now being treated of with Holland, and he will be advised of the results.

No. 40.

Report on the Construction of a Post at the Junction of the Rivers Curiamo and Cuyuni in connection with the foundation of Tumeremo (1787-90).

(On the margin of the first page. No. 65.) The Intendant of Carácas transmits, as promised, the certificate and other documents relating to the construction of a strong house or post and settlement of Spaniards in the fork or junction of the Rivers Curiano and Cuyuni of the Province of Guiana.

Minute: Received and approved for the present.

(Translation.)

Your Excellency,

Carácas, October 25, 1790.

In my despatch No. 1 of the 29th September last, marked "Very Confidential," informing you of the resolution I had taken of ordering a strong house or post to be constructed, and a settlement of Spaniards to be founded in the fork or junction of the Rivers Curiamo and Cuyuni in the Province of Guiana, which flow into the Essequibo in the Dutch Colonies, I mentioned that I would transmit to your Excellency the testimony of an "Expediente" that had been drawn up with another object, and which relates to the said settlement and that of the village or Mission of Tumeremo.

I now forward to your Excellency, marked No. 1, the "Expediente" referred to, and also, as inclosures Nos. 2 and 3, copies of my despatch and instruction to the Rev. Father Prefect of the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchins and officials of the Royal Treasury, so that your Excellency, being informed of all that has transpired, may be pleased to approve of my resolution, on account of the importance of this new fortification, from a military point of view, and to detail the Adjutant-Major of the Veteran companies of Guiana, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, for the carrying out of the said commission.

I am reporting to his Excellency the Count de Campo Alange as I think fitting to do.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(Signed)

JUAN GUILLEUMI.

To his Excellency Don Pedro Lerena.

* Also called Rio Branco and Blanco.

"Archivo de Indias,"
Seville.
"Transmissions from
the Department of the
Secretary of State,
Audience of Carácas,
Correspondence with
the Governors and
Captain-Generals."
Years 1791 to 1796,
bundle 8.

Inclosure 1 in No. 40.

The "Expediente," concerning the Founding of the new Village of Tumeremo.

(No. 1) in Inclosure 1.

Father Mataro to Governor Marmion.

The Governor and Commandant-General,
Don Miguel Marmion:

Most honourable Sir,

Cupapuy, July 6, 1787.

In reference to the communication which your Excellency was pleased to forward me at San Rafael on the 13th June of the present year, I say: That I have seen all that Father Fray Justo de Barcelona explained to you in his letter of the 23rd May last. That in like manner I have seen and read all that the said reverend Father has made known to you in the statement of the 10th June last, authorized by the reverend Fathers who have signed it, and I find it to be all the pure truth concerning everything that has taken place, and is taking place, in this reverend community; this I certify and sign in the best form I am able, and which the law requires; and on that account it is unnecessary to trouble your Excellency with a new account of the points referred to, and explained by the said Father Fray Justo.

In regard to the particular points to which you call my attention, I say: That the site or place where they are going to found the cattle-farm or village is called Tumeremo and Cantuario, the Savannahs marching with others called Suama, and only divided by some bits of open wood, through which the cattle can easily pass. From the said site of Tumeremo to the said Savannahs there is a distance of 6 leagues, and the before-mentioned Savannahs extend to the Cuyuni, which one may reach in a day's journey; and from Tumeremo to the great forest, from where there was a road to Essequibo, six hours.

From the site where the new cattle-farm is going to be placed (Tumeremo) to the village of Cura it is 7 leagues, and from that port, which is on the River Yuruary, until reaching the Cuyuni, one employs a full day in the rainy season going down the Yuruary, and there are no other mountains higher than those in front of the village of Cura.

On the banks of the Yuruary there are difficult mountains on both sides between the Yuruary and the mouth of the Cuyuni. Where the Cuyuni and Yuruan join there is a convenient site to build a strong house or post to stop the passage of the Indians so that they may not go to Essequibo, and to prevent the entry of the Dutch to these Missions and Savannahs.

From the River Cuyuni to Lake Parima the Indians say twenty days are required; and I also remember that an Indian of Guasipati told the Rev. Father Benito de Garriga (may he rest in peace) that in twenty days by land from Guasipati one might reach the Savannahs of Parima; that one must travel for eight days through mountainous country, and that there are some high mountains and plains to pass in order to go to the post or fortress of the Portuguese at Curaricara; it is not possible to go by land but only by water, in embarking on the River Mayari or the River Hariapura, which are in the Savannahs of Parime, entering the River Parime; and that it is a longer and more difficult voyage in regard to procuring supplies of meat from the people of the town of Upata, who are not assisted as they might be on account of the proper steps not having been taken.

That the said residents have to defray the expense, and have all the labour of going to the Savannahs in search of the cattle; and they cannot go where they like owing to the opposition shown by some of the Fathers' missionaries, who have sometimes even gone so far as to set free the cattle that they have collected; and for about three years it has been very dear for them, as it was not all fit for slaughter.

The people have cried out against this, and requested that the cattle should be put in the pen, and said that they will then pay whatever be just according to its value, and not as it is now done; that they have to pay the same price for the small as well as for the large sized, and that it is clear to me that they are wanting meat during half the seasons, as they now are at the present time that I write this, when a morsel of meat will not be found in the Town.

All I can say in this respect, and what I have heard all other intelligent persons say, is that, for the benefit of the cattle-farm, it would be better if the cattle were brought to the pen at Upata; for if the people of the neighbourhood have to go in search of it to bring together a few heifers, they are compelled to set a great part of the cattle in disorder; and if a person be appointed to bring the cattle to Upata, he would know the place where he would have to take it from, without any detriment to the other herds, as was the opinion of Don Luis Sanchez, the former steward, who was obliged to leave on seeing that some of the Fathers required to be more intelligent in this matter; I say, "Peritus in sua arte," &c.

Lastly, in regard to the question you put me concerning the most effective, prudent, and decorous means, in my opinion, to overcome the unfortunate dissensions that have arisen among the Religious who form this venerable community, I do not find any other than that the very reverend Father Commissary-General intervene on the strength of what has been represented to him by some individuals of the reverend community; and I consider it very convenient that Father Justo be sent to the very reverend Commissary-General to explain everything, for, as

the very reverend Father is so distant, it is not easy for him to remedy such matters as speedily as is required. By this means too it would not be made public.

Finally, what I consider the best for the civilization of the Indians is their communication with the Spaniards, so that they may give up their childish ideas, and this is most conducive to the advancement of the villages, for by intercourse with the Spaniards they will become industrious, being by nature disposed to laziness, and thereby that those are reduced may be better subjected, and then they will be useful for reducing those dwelling in the forests, and for that object ten or twelve Spanish families might be placed in each reduction, and by this means there is no doubt that the best service would be rendered to both Majesties.

My dear Sir, all the foregoing I lay before you confidentially, and on the assurance which you give me in your letter, and with that frankness which belongs to me, without the least passion or prejudice; and your Excellency may make use of it for the benefit of the Missions and province as I desire.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(Signed) FRAY THOMAS DE MATARO.

It is a copy of the original.

(Signed) MARMION.

Guayana, August 27, 1788.

(No. 2) in Inclosure 1.

Representation of Prefect of Missions.

(Copy.)

Whereas it has been found necessary by our Prefect and Assistants of these Holy Missions of Guiana to seek a fit and proper site for the establishing of a village and new cattle-farm; and not being able to find any other better adapted for the purposes, or that would conduce more to the increase and sustenance of the Missions, than that of Tumeremo, we have resolved to establish it in the said place, distant 4 leagues from Anjel Custodio, 5 leagues from Tupnquen, and 6 leagues from Cura on the north side of this, and considering that the foundation of the said village and cattle-farm will promote and result in the greater service of both Majesties, we hope your Excellency will be pleased to look upon it favourably.

God preserve the important life of your Excellency long years for the benefit of this province is our fervent prayer in this Mission of Caroni.

(Signed)

FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SAN CELONIO, *Prefect.*

FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SEVADEL,

FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SANTA COLOMA, } *Assistants.*

February 8, 1788.

(No. 3) in Inclosure 1.

Governor Marmion to Prefect of Missions.

Very Rev. Father Prefect and Assistants,

Guayana, February 12, 1788.

With reference to the village and cattle-farm, which, as your Reverence informs me in a communication of the 8th instant, you have resolved to establish in the place called Tumeremo, I have to inform you that I have no power to approve that proceeding until I receive information from and communicate with the Intendant-General of Caracas; who, in his despatch relating to the two last villages founded, has duly advised me of the circumstances that have to be considered in such matters. As soon, however, as I have informed myself, I shall communicate the result to your Reverence.

May God preserve you, &c.

(Signed) MIGUEL MARMION, *Governor.*

(No. 4) in Inclosure 1.

Governor Marmion to Prefect of Missions.

Very Rev. Father Prefect and Assistants,

Guayana, February 16, 1788.

To comply with the duties of the office I hold, and in order not to retard the measures that may conduce to the establishing of the village and cattle-farm of which your Reverence and Assistants inform me in a communication of the 8th instant, I have decided to commission the Adjutant of the forces here, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, for this service. He will, on his arrival, present and make known to your Reverence the instructions with which he has been furnished. It will be well that your Reverence appoint a religious acquainted with the place to accompany this official, for the purpose of examining and becoming acquainted with the site of Tumeremo, and an advantageous and proper place on the Cuyuni, where a village

or post may be established, with the object of protecting the rear of the Missions, and rendering help to the new reductions, which the venerable community under your Reverence's charge are continuing to found. In this view, I remember to have conferred with your predecessor and other religious, who informed me that the junction of the Rivers Yuruary and Cuyuni is very well adapted for that purpose. But, nevertheless, I have instructed the official not to omit to examine carefully all parts of that neighbourhood for the purpose of seeing whether there may not be another more advantageous position better suited for the purpose, as this is an affair as important to His Majesty's service as beneficial and useful to the preservation and increase of these Missions, and I trust your Reverence will supply the said Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente with all that may be necessary to enable him the better to fulfil the commission with which he is charged. If you will also send a Circular letter to the Religious under your charge in the villages through which he may pass to see that the same orders be duly observed, I shall feel obliged.

It is understood that any expense he may incur while on his mission will be immediately paid on presenting an account signed by him.

In informing you of this in full confidence, thoroughly assured of your love and zeal for His Majesty's service, I pray God may preserve you, &c.

(Signed) MIGUEL MARMION.

To the Very Rev. Father Prefect.

Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio.

(No. 5) in Inclosure 1.

Report of Survey by De la Puente.

February 26th of the present year (1788), at 10 o'clock at night, Adjutant-Major Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente departed from this capital of Guayana, provided with a passport and instructions from the Governor of this province, Don Miguel Marmion, in order to carefully explore the River Cuyuni and its neighbourhood.

Having embarked in the cargo boat of Miguel Castellanos, in company with Corporal Antonio Mora, we arrived at the port of San Joaquin (?) on the 28th of the present month (February) at 3 P.M., and at the same hour I wrote to the reverend Father Prefect, who was at the village of Caroni, forwarding him at the same time the official letter of the Governor, asking him to send me animals for my journey.

As it was now night, and no news having arrived, I took some riding animals from a team of mules which were then in this port as necessary for my journey, which took place on the 29th, the day that I arrived at the Mission of Caroni, being a journey of 2 leagues.

At 7 in the morning I went to see the Prefect, who having been already informed of the commission with which I was charged from the official note and instructions I showed him, I requested some animals to continue my journey the same day for the town of Upata. To which he replied that all would be furnished me, for he rejoiced much that some remedy would be applied to those parts of Cuyuni, for already, long before, they had represented the great danger the Missions were in from the Dutch on that part. But he said that I could not yet go forward, for it was necessary to consult with the assistants in order to select a Religious to accompany me, and in awaiting this choice I was detained until the 2nd.

On the 2nd March I left Caroni at 4 in the afternoon, the Father Prefect having told me that the Father selected to accompany me was Father Mariano de Perafuta, that he was writing to Father Manuel Prejania [*sic*], so that as soon as I arrived at the village of Carapo he might accompany me to Tupuquen, and the Father of 'Tupuquen to Angel Custodio. In like manner he gave me a Circular letter, so that the Fathers in the places through which I might pass should furnish all the assistance I might require, with which I took my leave, and after having marched 5 leagues we arrived at the watch-house and resting-place of Guacayma at 7 o'clock at night.

On the third day I continued my journey at 6 o'clock in the morning; and having gone 7 leagues, we reached the village of Altagracia at 4 in the afternoon, where we remained with the Father of the village until I should arrange with the one of the town of Upata to send me animals and whatever else I should request, so that we remained until the following day.

Fourth day: I continued my journey at 7 in the morning for the town of Upata, having arrived there at 10 o'clock, after a march of 2 leagues.

On this same day I delivered the order of the Governor to Lieutenant Don Diego Morales, who, as the residents of this town were then engaged at their labours, had to send for them. And of three whom I had to take with me there was wanting Patrick Rivas, who did not put in an appearance until five days later, on account of which I was obliged to wait until the 9th for the animals I had requested the Father of the village of Altagracia to send.

Tenth day: I continued my journey to the village of Santa Maria, in company with three inhabitants of the town of Upata, and a militiaman of the escort, for, by an order of the Governor, sent to the Sergeant in command of the escort, he was directed to give me three militiamen. These men being at the time in the villages of Angel Custodio and Agua Chica, orders were sent to them to join my company. Having arrived at the said village of Santa

Maria, 4 leagues distant from the town, I requested animals from the Father of this village, which he provided the following day.

Eleventh day: I pursued my journey at 3 in the afternoon, and after a march of 5 leagues we arrived at the River Cume (Cuniri?) at 7 at night.

Twelfth day: I continued my journey at 10 o'clock in the morning on account of two horses having disappeared, and in the best way we could we went forward until we reached the Savannahs of Carapo, where it was necessary to encamp, after having marched, with a great want of water, during a half day, only 4 leagues, and we remained in a "morichal" until the following day.

Thirteenth day: At 7 in the morning we set out on our journey, and having marched 4 leagues we arrived at the village of Carapo, and on this day animals were provided for the next day's journey.

Fourteenth day: I continued the journey in company with the Father Manuel Preciana [*sic*], who was ordered by the Prefect to accompany me as far as Tupuquen. And after a 5 leagues march we arrived at the said village after 12 midday, from where the said Father returned to his village, leaving the same order of the Father Prefect with Father Leopold of this village. On this day I sent for the militiaman, Migel Zuñiga, interpreter of the Carib language, and one of the three appointed to accompany me, so that I might inform myself concerning the Indians that were to be taken. From this village, and on this same day, Father Leopold sent for Father Mariano, appointed to accompany me, and he was at the village of Angel Custodio, and arrived in like manner with the before-mentioned Zuñiga at 7 at night. I was then informed by the said Zuñiga of the most suitable means for best fulfilling my commission.

Fifteenth day: We conferred with the two Fathers, Leopold and Mariano, Zuñiga being present, on the arrangements that were to be made in regard to experienced Indians and rowers, boats, and supplies. On this same day we sent to ask Father Peter, of Guacipata, for ten Caribs as being the most experienced, just as those of this village of Tupuquen were the best in regard to the Cuyuni, with the permission of Father Leopold. Only four were found useful, and they were appointed.

On this same day a notice was sent to the Father of Cura that he should have dried meat prepared, and advise us of what quantity of Cassava bread could be furnished. This notice was sent by Father Mariano; and in awaiting the Indians and this news from Cura we remained until the following day.

Sixteenth day: The said Father Mariano returned to his village of Angel Custodio to arrange for his journey and await our arrival, on the understanding that the rowers that might be wanting should be completed from among those there might be in Angel Custodio and Cura; and in case there should not be all the Cassava bread necessary at Cura, it was to be provided from Tupuquen, where it was in abundance; and in waiting for the Indians the day was passed, though we had the necessary animals to continue the journey.

Seventeenth day: The Caribs arrived from the village of Guacipata. I left with Father Leopold for Angel Custodio with two militiamen of those appointed, fourteen Caribs, and those who already accompanied me, for, although an order was sent to me that I should be accompanied by one who is in Agua Chica (Avechica), the Father missionary of the said village opposed it; and although Father Leopold urged that this militiaman was necessary to the expedition, the Father had his way in not allowing him to come; and notwithstanding that it was necessary to arrange military measures, I started on this day; and having gone more than 2 leagues we arrived at the village of Angel Custodio, where I found news from the Father of Cura, who was preparing the meat that I might require, and in regard to the Cassava bread, he only offered five loads, upon which six more loads were required from Father Leopold. With them we went on to Cura, having dispatched this day a boat with six Indians to the said Cura, on account of the want of canoes in those places; and having provided the animals necessary we remained here until the following day.

Eighteenth day: We started for Cura, and after a journey of 5 leagues we arrived at the said village, where we met Father Fray Manuel de Castel-Feriol, and conferred with him and Father Mariano (who now accompanied me, as was arranged, on this journey) about the boats. He offered those he had, which we went to see, and we really found in a creek two large roomy canoes, which, with what we brought from Angel Custodio, was sufficient to continue the voyage. Notwithstanding this service and all the rest which he had furnished in supplies of provisions, the said Father offered whatever else might be necessary in the service of the King. But, on his asking how we had intended to continue the voyage, I answered by water; on this he observed that, not to put any difficulty in the way, he offered everything; but that it was impossible for us to continue the voyage as the river was totally dry, more so than he had ever seen it before. To this I replied that, nevertheless, the best manner of proceeding on our way would be considered. After receiving this information from the Father, I determined to learn the truth from the Carib pilots of Guacipata and Tupuquen. Notwithstanding that they gave the same account, I asked if we could not go, although with much labour, by hauling the canoes. They answered that we could, but that before two days were at an end we would have no boats, and for six or eight that we would have to pass before entering the River Supamo, where navigation would be possible, it would be necessary to build new canoes. This was because the Yuruari, where we had to go, was all stony in the summer, and was impassable, as well as the Supamo, at this season.

Notwithstanding these reasons, I told them to come the following day to see it; the two above-mentioned Fathers were also invited, and at once offered to accompany me, as was verified on the following day.

Nineteenth day: At 8 in the morning we went to the port of Cura, on the River Yuruari, the two Fathers, Fray Mariano and Fray Manuel, and I, accompanied by the corporal, Antonio Mora, five

Spaniards, and the Caribs of Tupuquen and Guascipati; and at a distance of a quarter of a league I undeceived myself, it being impossible to proceed, for in various parts we crossed it without taking off our boots, upon which I determined to return to the village until the following day.

Twentieth day: I ordered Corporal Antonio Mora, accompanied by two of the militiamen, three inhabitants of the town, and the Carib Indians, to go and examine during the whole day that part of the river, in order to find out whether there was water lower down. He returned with those who accompanied him, telling me that on account of the river being more rocky a less quantity of water was found.

Then after questioning the Carib Indians, asking the interpreter Zuñiga and one of the militiamen of the company as to whether on passing overland to the Supamo, and then making bark canoes, we might be able to proceed, they replied that it was very difficult, for, as the Indians used this river, there were no more bark boats to be found there, nor trees from which to get the bark from.

And in view of these reasons, and wishing to open a way to the mouth of the Yuruary, and make bark canoes, the same difficulty arose, as they say, that in all this mountain very little bark is to be found. In regard to opening the way, they said it would require at least forty days, no Savannahs existing in that distance until reaching the place where the Yuruary flows into the River Supamo [?]; so that, in view of all these difficulties, I resolved on suspending all attempt until the river should rise, as the winter season was approaching. On my stating this, in agreement with the Father of this village of Cura, another difficulty arose. They said that when the River Yuruary is in flood the going down is easy; but on our return, at the time we should be coming, the river would be in full flood, and as the greater part of the region about there is inundated, we should perish of hunger; and that from experience they knew that the time the Indians navigated it was from August to February, which was the season when the Indians made their voyages to Essequibo; and that those who went from February and later were obliged to remain until the beginning of the winter season, as happened at the present with these from Tupuquen, who had not yet returned.

Notwithstanding these reasons, it was my own experience and practice that convinced me, and as it appeared to me useless to remain, I resolved to return and make a report to the Governor of all that happened, and inform him of the proper season, and thereby save greater expense, which would be occasioned by remaining.

Twenty-first day: I informed Father Mariano, my companion, of my determination of returning to the capital and reporting. In regard to the supplies furnished for the voyage, Father Mariano and the Father of Cura said that the Cassava bread would be sent to the new cattle-farm of Tumeremo, and the meat would remain at Cura for the use of the village.

This new cattle-farm of Tumeremo is established, according to what they say, at a distance of 6 or 7 leagues from Cura, on the east side, and from that cattle-farm towards the east there is a river named Curumo, which flows south (like the Yuruary), seeking its outlet in the Cuyuni, and although not so large as the Yuruary, it is navigable at the same time, and is nearer to the mouth of the Masuruni, where the first habitations of the Dutch are. They say too that, according to the best information of the Carib Indians, from the mouth of this Corumo downwards there are no rapids nor any impediment to hinder the transit of any boat at all seasons, and without the difficulties in the shape of rapids which they say exist by way of the Yuruary and Cuyuni down to the mouth of the Corumo, where I thought of returning to come out at Tumeremo.

Twenty-second day: I dispatched the Caribs and rowers to their respective villages, and the Father and I remained with the Spaniards until the following day, to return by Angel Custodio, leaving here the boat which had been rowed from Angel Custodio, not being able to take it.

Twenty-third day: Father Mariano and I with the other Spaniards left Cura for Angel Custodio, having previously taken care to warn the Father at Cura that until such time as the said voyage should take place to the Cuyuni, it would be very important that no permission should be given to the Indians to go to the Dutch, on account of the bad consequences that might follow if it became known to the Dutch that an exploration of the Cuyuni and its neighbourhood was projected. We said it might bring upon the Father, for example, the misfortunes of the expedition of the Parime, and advised him that he should also warn Father Leopold of Tupuquen and Father Peter of Guascipati.

Twenty-fourth day: I left Angel Custodio for Tupuquen, and having given this said precaution and warning of circumspection to Father Leopold, I then remained until the following day with the animals that were furnished me.

Twenty-fifth day: I departed from Tupuquen for Guascipati, and warned Father Peter Martin in like manner as those of Cura and Tupuquen, namely, that I knew that as soon as the river was high the Indians of this village would go down to Essequibo; for this purpose I remarked they had a great quantity of hammocks made, and on my asking for whom they were, they replied to take to the Dutch of Essequibo, and that for each hammock they received a piece of calico and six flasks of spirits or a Trenquera (?).

Twenty-sixth day: I left Guascipati for Carapo, and with the intention of changing animals I passed all the rest of the day there in Carapo.

Twenty-seventh day: I left Carapo and arrived at the village of Santa Maria the following day, 28th, and having reached on this day the town of Upata I remained there until Monday, the 7th April (on account of being ill), leaving in charge of the Sergeant in command of the escort the two militiamen who had accompanied me, and likewise delivering over to the Lieutenant of the said town the three residents. Then, with the animals which they provided for me from Altagracia, I continued to Caroni.

On the eighth day I arrived at Caroni, where I was furnished, by order of the Father Prefect,

with a sailing-boat and six Indian rowers from the village of Puga, and I departed for this capital on the tenth, leaving with the Father Prefect an account of the animals and men which had been given me for my journey in each village as I was going and returning.

On the twelfth day I arrived at this capital with Corporal Antonio Mora, having intact and complete the 200 cartridges and 5 lbs. of powder which were delivered to me, and of the 100 lbs. of tobacco I took from the town of Upata for the Indians, having only consumed 50 lbs., the rest remaining in my possession until further orders of the Governor.

(Signed) ANTONIO LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE.

Guayana, April 13, 1788.

It is a faithful copy of the original.

(Signed) MARMION.

Guayana, August 14, 1788.

(No. 6) in Inclosure 1.

Reply of the Prefect of the Missions to Don Miguel Marmion, Governor of Guayana.

Sir,

Caroni, May 31, 1788.

In reply to your Excellency's communication of the 20th instant, I have to state as follows: By virtue of an Ordinance approved by the King, our Sovereign (whom God preserve), we have received commands that, among other things, the Prefect and Assistants are to assemble for the purpose of deliberating upon the sites for new reductions. This has always been done whenever it has been considered necessary to found any village of Indians. Precisely as ordered, and in the manner proscribed, those sites have been sought which would most conduce to the well-being of the Indians and the service of our Sovereign. And this appears to us to be quite in conformity with the laws relating to the foundation of villages of Indians. From which it will clearly be seen that, once we comply with the foregoing, we adequately fulfil the obligations of founders of Indian villages, which we enjoy through His Majesty the King.

Not, however, on this account does it follow that we deem it superfluous to request the approbation of your Excellency of any village that is being founded.

First, because, granting that we should through inadvertence not select a proper site, your Excellency has always the liberty of informing us that such a site is not adapted for settling.

Secondly, because to obtain the grant, which the piety of His Majesty, our Catholic Monarch, has assigned for the establishing of any such village, it is always necessary that the approbation of the Chief of the province be first obtained. Otherwise, we cannot see how we could demand the grant from the Treasurer at Caracas without first producing the approbation of your Excellency.

Thirdly, it is clear that we do not act superfluously in requesting your approval, or by this means, when it becomes necessary to apply to the Court for Religious your Excellency is aware of the increase of villages, and in proportion to that increase a greater or less number of Religious is applied for.

Fourthly, it is not superfluous to request the approval of new foundations, for it concerns their stability and permanency and affects both the founder and him who approves, for, once duly approved, there is no power or liberty to destroy or change it. And if, for slight reasons, it may be possible to destroy it when not approved, there must be grave reasons for so doing when it is duly approved.

Lastly, although it may be true that in the choosing of any site we may make a mistake, experience has shown that the same has happened to others. This, of course, arises from the fact that in the circumstances of the moment a site appeared to them very convenient, which afterwards, on account of other new circumstances having arisen, has turned out less suitable than it had seemed at first.

What is quite certain is that we do all in our power to carry out and fulfil the laws and "Cedulas" laid down for us by His Majesty (whom God preserve), and nobody can with just reason say the contrary.

We are not ignorant of the rumours that some person or persons have spread abroad. But, in truth, we well know they proceed solely from the effect of malice. They have no true foundation, but are false and destitute of all justification, as we can fully prove whenever it shall be necessary, not only to your Excellency but to any one else in the world.

From all that has been said, it appears to us that by this communication we have clearly shown your Excellency how advantageous it is that you should, without scruple, be assured, whenever occasion requires, of our upright proceeding in the matter of the foundation of villages, and that in that respect we work in conformity with the laws, so as to be able to grant the necessary approbation when right.

Nevertheless, although it be our practice to settle Religious (if there are any), when once we are sure of the site being fit and suitable and possessing all other necessary conditions and being profitable to the Indians as well as the King, our Sovereign, you have still the liberty of proving the site unsuitable, if it be so, for the Indians, or disadvantageous, it might be, for the King, our Sovereign. It appears to us that we work very uprightly, for your Excellency must presume that we are not so inconsiderate as to wish to carry out the matter without carefully weighing it, and without prudence. Nor are we so rash that we carry out matters

of such consequence boldly and arbitrarily. It is certain that nobody more than we ought to reflect, and we do reflect long, and we even endeavour to procure the profit, advantage, and convenience as well of the Indians as of the King, our Sovereign, in the matter of the foundations and reductions of the Indians, on account of the very special manner our pious and Catholic Monarch has charged us in this respect.

I do, indeed, confess to your Excellency that I have not been able to understand the object with which you put these difficulties in the way, when none of your predecessors ever had any difficulties in this matter, as they knew the sound method and practice which the reverend Fathers, Capuchin missionaries of Catalonia, had employed from the beginning in regard to the foundations of Indian villages; if any difficulty has now presented itself to your Excellency on account of our having formed the cattle ranch in the Savannas of Tumeremo, owing to the Savannas of the old cattle-farm having become nearly all exhausted of pasture, it appears to us to be a very poor motive for your Excellency's objection; for that site being so distant from the River Cuyuni, as is notorious to all, the occasion of all difficulty arising therefrom is at once set aside. It is quite certain that your Excellency's predecessor made no difficulty in allowing the site of Cura to be settled, although it be much less distant from the River Cuyuni than that of Tumeremo. Also the site of Curumo was less distant, and, nevertheless, there was no difficulty made by one of your predecessors in allowing it to be founded, although, on account of the Caribs having risen, who were dwelling in that place, it has not been again founded. Finally, your Excellency does not carefully reflect, in putting before us all the observations which the Adjutant-Major Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente had made, that we are ready to give a full account, as we do not make any concealment of our mode of working, which is quite public; we have nothing to fear on that account, for our conscience accuses us of nothing.

I shall say no more at present on this matter, so as not to trouble your Excellency. And as you request me to furnish a circumstantial account of all the villages, stating the year of the foundation of each of them, I send it to your Excellency, herewith, for whatever purpose you may wish to use it.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(Signed)

FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SAN CELONIO, *Prefect.*

To Don Miguel Marmion,

Governor and Commandant-General.

It is a copy of the original.

(Signed)

MARMION.

Guayana, September 3, 1788.

Sub-Inclosure 1 in (No. 6) in Inclosure 1.

The Undersigned certify in the most formal manner that, on the 25th day of the month of April of the present year, we celebrated our triennial Chapter in the Mission of San Joseph de Cupupuy, in which the Reverend Father Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio was elected Prefect of our Missions, and for Assistants the Reverend Fathers Fray Buenaventura de Sevel and Fray Buenaventura de Santa Coloma, and in accordance with our institutes the same reverend Fathers elected for their offices [stations] and Presidencies the reverend Father missionaries as follows:—

Carony: The Very Reverend Father Prefect; and for President, Father Fray Serafin de Arens; Procurator and Secretary, Fray Ilario de Tarragona, Lay Infirmarian.

Monte Calvario: President, the Reverend Father Fray Pascual de Barcelona.

San Miguel: " " " Hermenegilde de Vich.

Santo Ana: " " " Buenaventura de Santa Coloma, Assistant.

Altagracia: " " " Thomas de Olod and Fray Justo de Barcelona.

Cupupuy: " " " Felix de Tarraga, ex-Assist., and Thomas de Mataro, ex-Assist.

Santa Maria: " " " Augustin de Barcelona.

Cumamu: " " " Raymundo de Olat.

Miamo: " " " Joseph Maria Mataro.

Carapo: " " " Manuel Preysana.

Tupuquen: " " " Leopoldo de Barcelona.

Hato de Tumeremo: " " " Mariano de Perafuta.

Cura: " " " Manuel de Castell Feriol.

Gucupati: " " " Pedro Martin de Rivas.

Divina Pastora: " " " Juan de Lura.

Palmar: " " " Antonio Martorel.

Ayma: " " " Joaquin de Barcelona.

Avechica: " " " Domingo de San Hipolito, Infirmarian.

Santa Clara: " " " Ermenegildo de Premia.

San Serafin: " " " Juan Bautista de Olod.

San Pedro de las " " " Felix Vich.

Bocas:

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Santa Magdalena de Curucay :	President, the Reverend Father Fray Bernardino de San Felix.
Puedpa :	" " " Mariano de Servera.
Guri :	" " " Francisco Barnica.
San Antonio :	" " " Bernardino de Verdu.
Morucura and Caruache :	" " " Buenaventura de Sevadel, Assist.
Villa de San An- tonio de Upata :	" " " Henrique de Puigretto.
Villa de San Isidro de Barceloneta :	" " " Luis de Castel Ferriol.

In testimony whereof we give the present, signed with our hand and sealed with the seal of the Mission, and countersigned by the Secretary of the Mission, in the Mission of the Most Pure Conception of Caroni, on this 30th day of April, 1787.

(Signed) FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SAN CELONIO, *Prefect.*
FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SEVADEL, *Assistant.*
FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SANTA COLOMA, *ditto.*

(Signed) FRAY SERAFIN DE ARENS,
Secretary of the Mission.

To Don Miguel Marmion,
Governor and Commandant-General.

It is a faithful copy of the original.

(Signed) MARMION.
Guayana, June 30, 1788.

Sub-Inclosures 2 in (No. 6) in Inclosure 1.

Circumstantial Report of all the existing villages which the reverend Fathers, Capuchin missionaries of Catalonia, have founded in this Province of Guiana in virtue of the powers granted to them for the purpose by the King (whom God preserve), in various Royal Cédulas issued with that object. The villages are under the administration of the Fathers, in virtue of powers likewise granted to them for the purpose by His Majesty. The year of the foundation of each village is also stated. This Report, which I, the Prefect of Guayana, transmit to the Governor of the said province, in conformity with the request he made in his letter of the 20th March, 1788, is as follows:—

Year of foundation :

- 1724. Mission de la Purissima Concepcion de Caroni.
- 1730. Mission de Santa Maria de los Angeles de Yacuaria.
- 1733. " San Josef de Cupapui.
- 1734. " Nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco de Altagracia.
- 1734. " San Miguel de Palmar.
- 1737. " Divina Pastora.
- 1748. " Nuestra Señora de Monserrat de Miamo.
- 1752. " San Miguel de Carapo.
- 1754. " Santa Eulalia de Murucuri.
- 1755. " San Joseph de Leonisa de Ayma.
- 1757. " Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Guascipati.
- 1760. " Nuestra Señora Santa Anna de Paracaicuro.
- 1761. " Santa Cruz de Monte Calvario.
- 1763. " San Raymundo de Caruache.
- 1765. " San Antonio de Huiésatano.
- 1767. " la Conversion de San Pablo de Cumamo.
- 1769. " Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Puedpa.
- 1770. " San Felix de Tupuquen.
- 1770. " San Pedro de las Bocas.
- 1771. " San Buenaventura de Guri.
- 1779. " San Miguel de Hunata.
- 1779. " Santa Clara de Pavarapana.
- 1779. " San Serafin de Arahuasaima.
- 1782. " Santa Rosa de Biterno de Cura.
- 1783. " Santa Magdalena de Curucay.
- 1783. " San Juan Bautista de Avechica.
- 1785. Mission del Santo Angel Custodio.
- 1788. Mission de Nuestra Señora de Belen.
- 1762. Villa de San Antonio de Upata.
- 1770. " San Isidro de Barceloneta.

This, Sir, is the true account, which I forward you, of all the existing villages, and if there should be wanting any circumstance I refer to the registers or lists which I forwarded to your

Excellency at the beginning of the present year [17]88, of which so far I have had no information as to whether you have received them or not. The truth of the above I here attest in this Mission of Caroni, this 31st day of May, 1788.

(Signed) FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SAN CELONIO *Prefect.*

It is a copy of the original.
(Signed) MARMION.

Guiana, June 30, 1788.

(No. 7.)

Certificate of the Prefect of the Catalanian Capuchin Missions concerning the Founding and Approval of the new Village of Tumeremo.

To the Governor and Captain-General, from Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio, Preacher, Missionary Apostolic, and Prefect of the Missions of the Catalanian Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Guiana.

I respectfully beg to inform you that a Mission of Guiana Indians has been founded this year, 1788, in conformity with the rules laid down by His Catholic Majesty, under the title of Maria Santissima de Belen de Tumeremo.

I therefore humbly request your Excellency will be pleased to supply the ornaments, books, sacred vessels, bells, and other articles necessary for the celebration of divine worship and the administration of the Holy Sacraments, required for the service of the church of the said village.

And in testimony of its foundation and actual existence I hereby affix my signature and great seal of our office, and countersigned by the Secretary of this Mission of the "Purissima Concepcion of Caroni," this 20th day of August, 1788.

(Signed) FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SAN CELONIO, *Prefect.*

By command of the Very Rev. Father Prefect,
(Signed) FRAY SERAFIN DE ARENS,
Secretary of the Mission.

(No. 8.)

Governor Marmion to Captain-General of Carácas.

Superintendent-General,

Guayana, August 4, 1788.

I address the inclosed Memorial to you, which the very reverend Father Prefect of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia, of the Missions of Guayana, has presented to me, in which he solicits that there be provided ornaments, missals, sacred vessels, bells, and other necessary church furniture for divine worship in the church of the village, newly founded under the name or title of Nuestra Señora de Belen de Tumeremo, and in view of the fact that your predecessor told me in a despatch of April 1786 that in similar cases I should transmit my report very confidentially, setting forth the time at which the foundation was made, the number of the individuals forming it, the hope of its permanency, &c., I now do so in the following form:—

From the copy of the letter No. 1,* you will perceive that the reverend Father Prefect and Assistants applied to this Government on the 8th February last, reporting that they had determined to make a new foundation. From that of No. 2† is seen the answer I gave, and from No. 3‡ the measures I took to fulfil this obligation, and finally they wrote to me on the 31st May last past copy No. 4.§ in a style that was very displeasing to me, disputing my powers, and making objections, which the wise penetration of your Excellency will estimate at their right value.

In the *nomina* which they presented on the 30th April of the past year, [17]87, at the chapter which took place for the election of the Prefect and Assistants, which accompanied No. 5,|| the existence of Tumeremo appears, under the name of a cattle-farm, and its President, Father Fray Mariano de Perafita [*sic*]. In the Report which I requested, and which the Prefect forwarded to me, on the 31st May of the present year, of the number of Missions, and foundation of each, there appears Tumeremo under the title of Nuestra Señora de Belen, as your Excellency will find in the copy No. 6.¶

As to its beginnings not even now has there been sent any account of the number of souls it has, nor still less does there appear any such village in the Registers which have been delivered to me, up to the present date. But I am fully aware that for this foundation Indians were taken from other villages, as happened in the case of Angel Custodio, and from which in my last journey to the town of Uputa various families, fugitives, had come to the Missions of Cupapuy and Alta Gracia, from where they had been taken.

* See (No. 2) in this Inclosure.

† See (No. 4) in this Inclosure.

|| See Sub-Inclosure 1 just *supra*.

‡ See (No. 3) in this Inclosure.

§ See (No. 6) in this Inclosure.

¶ See Sub-Inclosure 2 just *supra*.

In the said *nomina* No. 5 the village of Angel Custodio was suppressed, and in the statement No. 6 it again revives; and according to the register of the President, Father Fray Mariano de Perafita [*sic*], the same is the case with Tumeremo without my being able to comprehend in what these mistakes consist. I only know that from them originated the dissensions of these Religious of which your Excellency is fully informed, having given an account to the King thereof.

I cannot know what hope there may be of the permanency of this village. As to the information I have of that part and its local situation, the copy of the Confidential letter No. 7* will explain it to you, and the other documents which accompanied this when the King was informed, and which I addressed under cover to your Excellency, and the Intendant, your predecessor, lately.

And although with a view to this and other objects of greater importance to the service of the King I dispatched in commission the Adjutant-Major of the force of this garrison, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente; this official was unable, in conformity with the instructions I gave him, to fulfil it, for the reasons he gives in his journal, of which I transmit to you a copy, No. 8.†

In consequence of all which your Excellency will determine whatever may appear to you most convenient, forwarding to me your commands to punctually obey them.

God preserve you, &c.

(Signed) MIGUEL MARMION.

Don Juan Guillelmi.

Annex to (No. 8) in Inclosure 1.

(Official.)

My dear Sir,

Caracas, April 11, 1786.

A certain demand has been made by the Prefect of the Mission of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia in your province, promoted by their Almoner, who was solicitous that there should be provided ornaments and all other adjuncts of divine worship and the administration of the Sacraments in the new church dedicated to the Holy Guardian Angel (Angel Custodio) of the same Mission, who is the titular of the village they have founded, the existence of which the Almoner certifies at the end of his request.

I must therefore advise you that it will be very convenient that future reports of this nature be sent very confidentially, with a statement of the time at which the foundation took place, of the number of individuals who form it, of the hope there may be of its permanency, of the conduct and bearing of the missionaries, and of all other matters you may consider necessary for the information of His Majesty, and the promotion of the pious Royal wishes.

Hoping you will acknowledge the receipt of this, and that you have duly informed yourself of its contents for the due fulfilment thereof, God preserve you, &c.

(Signed) FRANCISCO DE SAAVEDRA.

To the Sub-Delegate of the Royal Treasury,
Guayana.

It is a copy of the original, with Rubric.

(No. 9) in Inclosure 1.

Minute.

With the previous papers to the Assessor-General.

(Signed) GUILLELMI

Caracas, October 13, 1788.

(No. 10) in Inclosure 1.

Superintendent-General,

Caracas, October 18, 1788.

The Ministers of State, in view of this despatch No. 23 of the Governor of Guiana, concerning the foundation of the new village of the Mission of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia, denominated Tumeremo, say, that in order to report properly to your Excellency on this "Expediente," it is necessary that you should direct the demand of the reverend Father Prefect of the Capuchin Missions of Guayana to be annexed, which is referred to in the copy of the order of the 11th April, sent by Señor Don Francisco de Saavedra to the said Governor and Sub-Delegate of that province, which, rubricated by your Excellency, shows the beginning and foundation of the affair. It also appears to them that your Excellency may then, after seeing it, communicate it to His Majesty's Fiscal, in order that he may give his opinion on the grave points embraced in this Report, and his advice for the benefit of the political Government, the Royal Treasury, and the good of the State.

(Signed) JOSEF DE VIDAONDE.
ANTONIO MALLE.

* See (No. 1) in this Inclosure.

† See (No. 5) in Inclosure 1 *supra*.

(No. 11) in Inclosure 1.

Journal of Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente.

On the 7th November, 1788, I left the capital with Corporal Antonio Mora, and I arrived at the town of Upata, from where I set out for the village Topuquen on the 15th with four militiamen, and the meat, cassava bread, rowers, and boats that could be found in Cura and Topuquen having been got ready with despatch, I departed for Cura with seven militiamen, where we arrived on the 28th.

And as the boats were not sufficient, I dispatched two of the militiamen to the town, and proceeded on my voyage the following day.

On the 29th I left the port of Cura with four boats and five militiamen, having formed at Topuquen the beginning of the map ("plano"), on which it will be noted that the day's voyages down stream are marked with two strokes from one side of the river to the other, and in respect to the return up stream with four strokes, the rapids with the letter R, the creeks with C, the islands with I, and the dotted lines (. . .) are roads.

On the 30th we left the rapid of Aguaraya and encamped at the Rapid Curigua. On the 31st we left Curigua, and at 8 in the morning reached the River Yuruan, and at 11 forenoon we entered the River Cuyuni, all this voyage, from Topuquen to the Cuyuni, taking up three days. The Yuruari is very much impeded with rocks, and, consequently, it is difficult to navigate, unless the river be more than half in flood.

On this day we rowed five hours on the Cuyuni and three on the Yuruari and Yuruan, and during all this day's journey the river was in a good state, its width about 200 yards, with depth enough for any kind of launch. We encamped at 4 in the afternoon on the Island of Chimiri.

On the 1st December we left the Island of Chimiri, and proceeded in good water to the rapid of Marapi, and we encamped at the mouth of the Lost Creek ("Caño Perdido"), having this day travelled eight hours.

On the 2nd we departed from the Lost Creek, and at a short distance came to the rapid Mara, where there are some 2 leagues of rapids; it is a bad way all through until the rapid Aguarari be passed, then the river continues good to the mouth of the Curumo, where we encamped this day, having rowed for ten hours.

On the 3rd we left the mouth of the Curumo at 8 in the morning, on account of having left in this place six arrobas (about 150 lbs. weight) of cassava bread and four of meat (100 lbs. weight) to await our return, and in front of this mouth, and all along the creek, there is high mountainous land to the bank of the Cuyuni, and in the lower part suitable for a village and tillage of the land, flat but high. During all this day we proceeded in good water to the Island of Maiparipati, where we encamped, having travelled this day eight hours.

On the 4th we departed from Maiparipati, and we proceeded all this day in good water for eight hours, encamping on the Island of Acayo.

On the 5th we left Acayo, and at a short distance we came to the rapid of Canayma, where the Cuyuni divides itself into two branches as far as the Island of Araripira, where we remained, having only gone during this day four hours, on account of having met some Indians who were complaining against the Indian Manuyari, who had taken them prisoners and carried them to the Dutch, who kept them two months working, and after that sent them to their village, the said Manuyari bidding them tell the Father of their village that he would kill him and burn the village, for which purpose he would ask the Dutch for help. On account of which, and in view of the complaint which they made me of this Indian, knowing at the same time that he had already killed the daughter of the Indian Cuayari, of the same village of Topuquen, I resolved (as he was living, as they told me, actually on the Cuyuni as a spy and sentinel of the Dutch) to take two experienced Indians of those whom I met for the purpose of apprehending this Indian on account of his insupportable audacity. Besides what I have just mentioned, these Indians also informed me that he had also carried away an Indian woman named Josefa from the Indians of Panapana about three years ago, and that he had her with him, and that this same Manuyari was the very one who was continually inciting the Dutch to come and burn and destroy the villages of the Capuchins. Considering, therefore, that if he were not apprehended, and if warned might go and inform the Dutch, and, consequently, I should not be able to carry out my commission, or might be surprised, for all these reasons I thought it well that he should be seized, and on this understanding I dispatched the Indians above referred to to the village of Topuquen, having now informed myself of all that might assist me on my voyage. And in regard to the fact that there had remained in the port of Cura forty Carib Indians of Guasipati and Cumano, who were going down with cargoes of hammocks and deerskins to sell to the Dutch, without mentioning those who would go from Morucuri, Caraguachi, Miamo, Carapo, and all the others who annually descend by the Yuruari and Curumo carrying hammocks, for since the planting of tobacco has been prohibited they do not take any, I warned these Indians to tell those who were going down what had happened to them, so that they might return to their villages, as it was imperative to seize this Indian, so that, on this ground, they might excuse themselves from going to the Dutch from fear of what might happen to themselves.

We passed the rest of the day here, and stayed until the following, when the Indians went up stream to Topuquen, and we went on down stream.

On the 6th we left the said Island Araripira, and went on during the whole day through bad water, the greater part rapids and falls; and having proceeded for nine hours, we reached the rapid of Giromirispo, which is a muddy place, although short. We remained here until the following day.

On the seventh day we left Giromirispo, and we proceeded during the whole eight hours through bad water as far as the mule pass, which they call Notupicay, and from there it continues good, without rapids, to Tapujumo, where we encamped.

On the eighth day we left Tapujumo; we only passed one rapid, and the rest of the river is navigable, and on account of it raining very much we only rowed during seven hours, and we encamped on the Island of Acayuri.

On the ninth day we left Acayuri, and we rowed the whole day (nine hours) in good water, passing only one rapid, and we passed the night at Point Capachi.

On the tenth day we departed from Capachi, and after passing some rapids, not of the largest, we passed the night at the mouth of the Creek Tupuro, having rowed ten hours' journey to the head of the Rapid Camaria, which is 2 leagues long, and ends at the mouth of the Cuyuni, a short distance, about a quarter of a league, before the Cuyuni flows into the Masuruni, in the fork of which a Dutchman lives, named Daniel, with four companions, very many negroes and Indian slaves, all his.

From the mouth of this Creek Tupuro there is a road to the foot of the rapid where the Carib Manuyari has his house, and he it is who keeps up this road opposite Daniel's house. The tide reaches above this rapid. From this to the fortress of Essequibo there are only two floods on the southern part of the River Cuyuni. There is a road which comes out at the Masuruni, where there are some Dutchmen with a Carib village. We arrived at the said mouth of the Tupuro at daybreak.

On the eleventh day I dispatched the corporal, three of the militiamen, and fifteen Caribs to apprehend the Indian Manuyari, and we, with the others, remained to guard the canoes; and at 12 o'clock at night they returned with the said Manuyari, whom they found in his plantation 3 leagues distant from the port, having taken the Indian woman from Panapana, named Josefa, and ten others.

On the twelfth day we departed from the mouth of the said Creek Tupuro on our return, not being able to delay longer in this place on account of having seized this Indian, and because the Dutch, Aruacas, and Caribs being very constantly engaged in fishing in the River Cuyuni, our voyage might have been discovered. We passed the night at the rapid of Tosqueñe.

On the thirteenth day we left Tosqueñe, and in twelve days and the day at Tupuro, which makes thirteen, we arrived at the mouth of the Curumo on the 24th December, where we remained two days roving about, hunting, and resting ourselves.

On the 27th I went up the Curumo with the Spaniards who accompanied me and nine Caribs, leaving the remainder at the mouth of the Curumo awaiting the canoes, for the pilots told us that we could only continue the river journey two days more. We only rowed seven hours this day.

On the 28th we continued our voyage, always in good water and deep enough for any small sailing-boat, but not for launches. We rowed for this day eight hours.

On the 29th we continued our journey, and only rowed for four hours, as hunger did not permit us to do any more; and having passed the Creek Guaramo, half a league distant, we reached the port where the Indians say that it is the custom to leave the canoes, and presuming that the river might be difficult, or that it was an old open way, I fell into the mistake which I afterwards discovered.

On the 30th I sent the canoes away to Cura, and continued the journey by land with six Caribs and the Spaniards, and we walked in this day during six hours, as we were obliged to look for something to eat.

On the 31st we left, and having walked during this day for eight hours we passed the night, as on the other days, on the bank of the Curumo, which wherever we came to the river was found to be good for navigation and without any rapid, on account of which I repented very much of having sent away the canoes.

On the 1st January we continued the journey, and on this day we walked for nine hours with great labour, for during the whole day and night it never ceased raining. But hunger obliged us, and with suffering we passed this day.

On the 2nd we continued the journey. We marched for nine hours, and it also rained nearly the whole day.

On the 3rd we set forward the journey, and marched for six hours, for, apart from the rain, it was necessary to look for something to eat.

On the 4th we continued our journey, and after two hours' walking we entered upon a Savannah which there is just before coming out to the Creek Mutanambo, (?) which we crossed, and after a league of mountain, we entered upon the Savannahs of the Curumo, and we continued through various Savannahs and bits of wood to the bank of the Curumo, where we passed the night, having walked during the whole of this day ten hours, and through the Savannahs, the way which leads to Tumeremo. But it was not known whether it was far or near, and as we were obliged to look for something to eat, we remained the day following fishing, and I sent off a letter to Tumeremo with two Indians that they might send us supplies.

On the 6th we left Curumo, and two hours after we met with supplies which Father Mariano sent us, and after having satisfied our hunger, we started off and arrived at Tumeremo, having walked during the entire day four hours through good Savannahs, both before and after Curumo, which is quite navigable, without rapids, unless the fierce summer dries it up, as they say, but only for a short time. It is a river abundant in game and fish with fertile woodlands on one side of the river, and another which has been much inhabited by Caribs, for there are still found in various parts of the valley groves of lemon trees; it runs north and south.

On the 8th we set out for Topuquen, after having rested ourselves for a day, and we arrived after 6 leagues' walking, where the canoes, which I dispatched from the mouth of the Curumo,

were to await us. Up to the 11th, seeing that they were retarded, I wrote to the Governor announcing my arrival and the cause of detention.

On the 22nd I reached the town of Upata sick with fever, having left Corporal Mora in Topuquen until the arrival of the canoes.

On the 27th the Corporal of the town arrived with the militiamen, and having by my order left the Indian prisoners, male and female, in the villages of Topuquen and Carapo, except the Indian Manuyari and the Indian woman Josefa, of Panapana, who were to be brought to the capital and placed at the disposal of the Governor, having learned that the said Josefa had been left by her brother, who is in Panapana, to become the wife of the said Manuyari on the condition and contract that he should make him a plantation for the time when he might fly from the village of Panapana to go to live with this Manuyari.

On the 29th I left the said town with three militiamen and the corporal, and having arrived on the 30th at San Miguel, I went to the fort of Guayana in search of a vessel, leaving Corporal Mora, the militiamen, and the prisoners at San Miguel.

On the 2nd February I left the fort in a sailing-boat with five rowers which I took from the village of Puga, and I arrived at San Miguel, where I took up the people I had left there, and then continued my journey until the 5th instant, on which I arrived at the capital, and having met on this day a canoe from Panapana near the port of the said village, I sent off the Indian woman Josefa, as she was very ill.

(Signed) ANTONIO LOPEZ DE LA PUENTE.

Guayana, February 5, 1789.

Note.—That the River Curumo is navigable the greater part of the year for sailing-boats and canoes, and in flood time even for large vessels. By this river there is a great saving of rapids in going to Essequibo, which abound in the Yuruari and Cuyuni to the mouth of the Curumo.

Note.—In the River Cuyuni, notwithstanding the bad passes that it has, one can navigate with launches and sailing boats, and in the season of the year that it is in flood even frigates may pass the rapids.

(Signed) ANTONIO LOPEZ.

Guayana, February 5, 1789.

It is a literal copy of the contents of the original.

(Signed) MARMION.

Guayana, May 6, 1789.

(No. 12) in Inclosure 1.

As the demand of the Prefect of Missions of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia of Guayana, which the Ministers of State mention in their foregoing Report, is not to be found in the Department of the Superintendency, let this "Expediente" be transmitted to the Attorney-General of His Majesty, as the said gentlemen request.

(Signed) GUILLELMI.

Cardás, February 17, 1789.

(No. 13) in Inclosure 1.

The Governor of Guayana to the Prefect of the Capuchin Missions.

Guayana, February 25, 1789.

For the reasons which your very reverend Paternity knows, the Adjutant-Major of this garrison, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, could not finish his first mission to explore the River Cuyuni, but from the second which he has just completed, he has brought me news which confirm those which I formerly had of the situation and disposition of that part, which I have always regarded with the greatest attention, as well on account of the particular information I acquired as for that supplied by papers relating to events that have occurred at various times.

The Carib Chief, whom chance has thrown into the hands of the said official, and brought to this capital, is known to have never wished to be reduced to civilized life, preferring to lead a wandering existence raiding the interior of this province, and occupied in seducing the natives already settled back to their former savage life, and in the depraved traffic in slaves, whom he carried off and sold to the Dutch of Essequibo. He served the latter as a watchman, and gave them news of all he observed on our frontiers, of which we have recent examples in the last war, in the movements that were noticed among the natives of the Missions. The Prelate of the Missions warned the Government at that time that the movements caused him no little anxiety, and he was obliged to send for the speedy help of the party of men under the command of the infantry captain, Don Manuel Astor.

Although we have succeeded in apprehending this dangerous Indian, it is to be feared that his people and allies may wish to take some vengeance, for experience has proved that they are accustomed to do so in like cases, and are wont to carry it out when their opponents are off their guard. Of necessity it appears well to be on our guard against their hostile designs

towards the new reductions, and that we be prepared; and, if the attack arrives, disposed to drive them back, and perhaps pursue them if circumstances so demand.

I regret that for the present, and until something better is provided, it would be well to draw in the escort in one of the Missions nearest the Cuyuni, in which your very reverend Paternity may consider that there be most risk of surprise and better means to prevent and repel any attack that they should attempt, and also to defend and render assistance to the other villages; for on seeing us upon our guard they will perhaps not dare to take any action, and will give it up, as has happened at other times.

Whatever information your reverence may obtain from the Indians whom the said official has brought with the Chief (and whom would be well to keep in sight and in some village where they cannot escape), I hope you will send me with your opinions as to what you may consider most advisable in regard to bringing together of the escort in one place.

We are now considering how to protect the new reductions which the venerable community under the charge of your very reverend Paternity is advancing towards the frontiers of the foreign settlements, for the more they are advanced the more exposed they will be to their plots, and to the outbreaks of the savage natives themselves, and if we do not prepare for them in time very grave consequences may result. To this end it is urgent to form a mixed Settlement, making a start with some families of the more civilized Indians, and with the Spanish people that have to serve as an escort to the Missions, selecting married men and fit for this purpose. It will not be difficult to procure them always provided that that venerable community wish, as I am persuaded they do, to help, on their part, this very important and necessary Settlement, and I have already so represented it to His Majesty.

The best place, or district, and most adapted for this foundation, should be selected before everything else, and I beg your very reverend Paternity to inform me of what you think of this matter, in order that, in accord with each other, we may begin without loss of time, as I have full powers for the purpose.

I hope your very reverend Paternity will return me an answer as soon as possible on the points which I have indicated.

God preserve you, &c.

(Signed) MIGUEL MARMION.

To the Very Rev. Venerable Father Prefect,
Fray Buenaventura de San Celonio.

(No. 14) in Inclosure 1.

Prefect of Missions to Governor Marmion.

Santa Maria, March 10, [17]89.

With reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 25th February last, I have to state that, after having carefully considered the matter, it has appeared to me well to represent to you that the foundation of a formal village, or town, will never be substantial on account of there being no outlet for the produce whilst the foreign Colony of Essequibo remains, because the cost of its transport to the capital or to the Orinoco would be more than what the people of the new foundation would be able to obtain for it. But, at least, it is very desirable and necessary to build a fort or castle to stop the invasions of the Dutch and the revolts of the Indians, and at the place which the officer, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, shall consider best adapted for restraining them. It is true, according to my information, that if the fort or castle is built in the same place, or site, as that proposed by the said Don Antonio Lopez, the Indians will still not be secured, as there remains to them the refuge of two or three rivers lower down, by which they can escape whenever the temptation presses them.

With regard to uniting all the escort in one place alone, I find and recognize many inconveniences in the plan, and to avoid them it is necessary that in each village there remain, at least, one soldier.

And for the prompt measures concerning that which your Excellency mentions, it appears to me that three or four soldiers might be stationed in each of the Missions of Avechica and Cura, as they are the ones most advanced towards the frontiers, where some invasion may be feared, until the said fort or castle be built.

This is, Sir, what has occurred to me to lay before you for the present. In all else I am, as always, at your service and just disposal for whatever you may consider worthy to occupy me to the benefit and in the service of the King our Sovereign, and of these holy Missions.

God preserve you, &c.

(Signed) FRAY BUENAVENTURA DE SAN CELONIO, *Prefect.*

To Don Miguel Marmion,
Governor and Commandant-General.

It is a copy of the contents of the original letters.

(Signed) MARMION.

Guayana, July 18, 1789.

(No. 15) in Inclosure 1.

Report of the Fiscal.

Superintendent-General,

Caracas, April 2, 1789.

His Majesty's Fiscal has seen the despatch of the Governor of Guayana relative to the request of the devout Father Prefect and Capuchin missionaries of Catalonia of the said province, that there be granted to them sacred vessels, ornaments, and bells for the church of the new cattle-farm of Tumeremo, which they denominate the village of Nuestra Señora de Belen, with the documents which he annexes, and says: That the necessary licence for the foundation of this village not yet being granted, nor the selection of its site approved, notwithstanding that the community and Assistants have arranged it, there can be no question at present of providing the ornaments for the church, nor until, all the necessary information having been taken and the special points examined, it is seen whether the establishment be convenient or not, which the Fiscal considers a most delicate point. He is of opinion that His Majesty must be consulted, and most careful consideration given to the points raised in the journal of the official, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, and in the Report of the former missionary, Fray Thomas de Mataro, at present absent in the Kingdom of Spain. The Fiscal is aware that on account of the exposed situation of the lands between the mouths of the Orinoco and the forts of Old Guayana and their proximity to the Dutch Colonies, it has not been permitted that they should be settled, and for the same reason the Missions established are for the greater part situated in the lands of the River Caroni higher up than the said forts, and in the interior of the province.

The Fiscal has information that as the head-waters of the Cuyuni (which flows into the Essequibo) are close to the interior villages of the same Missions, the Royal Commissioner, Don Josef de Iturriaga, recommended that a fort should be built at the outlet of the River Curiamo to the Cuyuni, to hinder the said foreign Colonies from penetrating into that part, and by that route.

He likewise recognizes from the said journals and Report of Father Mataro the proximity of the Savannahs of Tumeremo to the said River Cuyuni, and to the before-mentioned outlet of the Curiamo, at a distance of six hours of road, from which the navigation to the Dutch farms is very short and easy. This is all the more dangerous on account of the attempts they are making to work the silver mines discovered at the town of Upata, distant very few leagues from the said Cuyuni, Curiamo, and River Yuruari, and the villages of Cura, San Antonio, and others. The means of communication and traffic with the Dutch Colony thus afforded to the Indians are very objectionable, and the before-mentioned official, Lopez de la Puente, learned that it is necessary to take the greatest precautions.

On this account, notwithstanding the earnest request of the said missionaries, it appears to the Fiscal that it is necessary that orders be given to the said Governor to the effect that he shall employ the most experienced officials acquainted with that province to explore carefully all the lands of the said site and Savannahs of Tumeremo, its communication with the Rivers Cuyuni and Curiamo, the outlet of the latter, and the facility of its navigation to the outlet of the Masuruny, where the first plantations of the Dutch are situated on the Rivers Aporgara and Cosacuro. The distances from these lands to the said Colonies, as well as to the town of Upata, should be set down, and the Governor should be warned of the importance of this business, and be instructed to give all information to this Superintendency, with as many particulars as can be acquired.

As to whether it would be well that on the said site of Tumeremo, at the junction of the Curiamo, a considerable village of Spaniards be formed, with Magistrates and zealous officials of the Royal Treasury, who may be able to prevent smuggling in that part, and restrain the foreigners from penetrating there, the whole case must be laid before His Majesty with the necessary clearness, so that he may issue a Royal Resolution thereon with full knowledge of the facts. Your Excellency, in view of the "Expediente," will be pleased to resolve what is best.

(Signed) SARAIVIA.

(No. 16) in Inclosure 1.

Governor of Guayana, to Captain-General of Caracas, transmitting copy of the journal of the Exploration of the Cuyuni.

Sir,

Guayana, May 16, 1789.

From the inclosed copy of the journal, your Excellency will inform yourself of the manner the Adjutant-Major of this garrison, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, has fulfilled the commission I intrusted to him for the exploration of the River Cuyuni and frontiers of the possessions where the Dutch of the Colony of Essequibo have penetrated.

From the map he has drawn up, and which I now forward to you in a separate case, you will learn (according to the information acquired up to the present) the local characteristics of those regions, and the easy communication of the foreign [Colony], for which, at all times, our Settlements, even to the most distant part of the interior of the province, are open.

On this account I am informing His Majesty, reiterating and confirming anew my suggestion for protecting those approaches. But as my suggestions will never have the value they demand without your Excellency's powerful aid, I hope, in case they be accepted or acted upon as useful to the service of the King, you, on your side, will contribute to their successful issue.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(Signed)

MIGUEL MARMION.

To Señor Don Juan Guillelmi.

(No. 17) in Inclosure 1.

The Captain-General of Carácas to Governor of Guayana.

Sir,

Carácas, July 5, 1789.

With your letter of the 6th May last, No. 36, I received the copy of the journal drawn up by the Adjutant-Major of the Company of Veterans, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, who was commissioned to explore the River Cuyuni and the frontiers where the Dutch of the Colony of Essequibo have penetrated.

I return you the map relating to that district, as it came without the description or necessary explanation, so that you may arrange to have it extended by the party who drew it. For, although by means of the journal one might do it here, it is difficult and embarrassing, as I am ignorant of what you have informed the King concerning fortifying the point or place which you consider most advantageous for covering our possessions and preventing contraband trade with those of the Dutch. I require to have it before me, and therefore you will send me a copy in order to impress upon me your ideas, which will, doubtless, be very proper on account of the local knowledge of the country and the other plans you will have made with your accustomed deliberation.

I do not consider it superfluous to call your attention to the dispute that has arisen among the reverend Fathers Prefect and Assistants of the Missions of the Catalans about the foundation of the village and cattle-farm of Tumeremo, and the Judgment of the Señor Fiscal in the "Expediente," which is going on in the Tribunal of the Intendency, as to whether the place which the said gentleman indicated for the placing of the fort at the outlet of the Curiamo to the Cuyuni and foundation of the village might be a proper one.

God preserve you, &c.

(Signed)

JUAN GUILLELMI.

To the Señor Governor of Guayana.

It is a copy of the original. It is rubricated.

(No. 18) in Inclosure 1.

Governor Marmion to the Secretary of State, Don Antonio de Valdes.

(Copy.)

Your Excellency,

Guayana, September 22, 1789.

The proximity of the Dutch possessions of the Colony of Essequibo to that part of this province which borders on the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia has, since my entrance into this Government, compelled my most careful attention, as I knew the importance of the point, as I showed in my general topographical Report, and the others accompanying the despatch of the 10th June of the past year, [17]88, which I addressed to your Excellency.

Lately, to comply with the obligation by which I consider myself bound, I dispatched, the exploration of these frontiers, the Adjutant-Major of the force of this garrison, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, who discharged and fulfilled the Commission in the manner set forth in the inclosed journal, which I transmit to your Excellency, in copy, with the plan or map.

With this, and my previous information, I have recently set forth, as clearly as possible, the configuration of the country bounded by the sea-coast and the Rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni, Caroni, and Orinoco, within which are situated the said Missions and their numerous cattle farms, the tobacco crops of the town of Upata—the only district of all this province where the revenue permits the cultivation of tobacco—the timber for building examined in [17]87, and the silver mines lately discovered, and which are actually being tested by practical miners sent here by the Captain-General-Intendent of Carácas to prove their value or worthlessness.

This portion of the country, the best, richest, and most populous of the province, is also exposed and without defence; the River Cuyuni affords the Dutch a free and open passage to our possessions, by which they can carry on their wicked traffic in the Indians whom they enslave, introduce merchandize, and carry away the produce of the Missions; nor can any one prevent them, for the river flows through desert country as far as the Missions. It is also impossible to stop the natives' communication with the Dutch, as there is no guard or settlement of Spaniards to restrain them. There are plenty of examples of this kind up to the last war, without mentioning the two recent cases referred to in the journal of the official commissioned to explore the country, which also serves as an asylum for bad characters, who, on account of their excesses and

libertinage, have fled from the Missions; these men very frequently pass into that Colony, or its frontiers, carrying with them the population of whole villages, as practical experience has proved. Now, what is most remarkable in the affair is that the known advantages of this district as compared with the rest of the province excite the avarice of an active enemy, into whose hands Essequibo may fall, precisely as happened in the last war, especially as they know that, in its present state, it could easily be taken without any costly expedition, as there is no force to prevent it. Then the reduced escort of twenty-five or thirty men maintained here by Royal Order, and divided up among those Missions, is insufficient, and nearly useless in such a case.

The Indians, being an uncivilized and insubordinate people, lovers of their independence and liberty, which the enemy would undoubtedly offer so as to attract them to their side, it is to be feared that they would submit cheerfully to any change which would enable them to escape the subjection in which the Religious keep them for the purpose of instruction.

It is very doubtful whether assistance from the capital, to hold the port in case of a surprise, would arrive in time, on account of the long distance which intervenes; in case of the invasion of the province it would be still less likely to do so, for the force having to attend to the forts of Old Guayana, the principal and only defence of the entrance of the Orinoco, it could not be given without greatly weakening or abandoning the forts, as there are only three companies of infantry and one of artillery. These are always dispersed in the remote outposts of the Higher Orinoco and Rio Negro, of the Parime, of Barceloneta, of the River Caura, of the forts of Old Guayana, and in the above-mentioned escort of the Catalan Capuchin Fathers, at distances which render their assembling together impossible in any of the two cases explained happening. For the same reason, and the want of forces, the garrisons indicated in the project of Brigadier Don Augustin Crame must remain incomplete, and two or three years without relief, and when this can be given it is very expensive to the Royal Treasury in the matter of transport. This is the chief cause of the want of assistance and military discipline among the soldiers.

In consideration of these reasons and the others which the wise penetration of your Excellency will deduce from the papers before you which I had the honour to transmit to you on the 10th July, 1788, I take the liberty of proposing to your Excellency the urgent necessity of now adding promptly two companies of infantry to this garrison, and without any prejudice to whatever may be considered right in the future, and in regard to the artillery, putting it on a footing of 100 men. I also particularly advise that a town should be founded as quickly as possible in the fork or junction of the River Curumo with the Cuyuni. A beginning may be made with the escort fixed by His Majesty in the Royal Order referred to of the 22nd December, 1773, at thirty men; it would be well that they be married and militiamen, and at the same time, as they guard the Missions and attend to their duties under the command of an officer, they can also serve as settlers with the help which for this purpose the venerable community of the said Catalan Capuchin Fathers should freely give, with a part of the 10,000 to 12,000 head of cattle which they offered to His Majesty, and he accepted with the pious intention of distributing them among the poor people of this province, which Royal grace can never be enjoyed in a better nor more opportune time than on this occasion.

God preserve you, &c.

(Signed) MARMION.

To his Excellency

Señor Bailio Don Fray Antonio Baldes.

It is a literal copy of the contents of the original.

(Signed) MARMION.

Guayana, October 7, 1789.

(No. 19) in Inclosure 1.

Governor Marmion to Captain-General of Caracas.

Superintendent-General,

Guayana, October 8, 1789.

At the time I was about to transmit to His Majesty the news of the exploration of the frontiers of the Colony of Essequibo I received your Excellency's despatch of the 30th April last, and on that account I suspended the sending of the papers until now; I also send the Report, which is the copy No. 1 hereto annexed,* in regard to the urgent necessity of forming a town of Spaniards at the fork or junction of the River Curumo, or of that of the Cuyuni, for the security of the Missions, and attending to the other objects that present themselves in these possessions.

As soon as the Adjutant-Major, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, returned from his commission, I sent an official note to the Rev. Father Prefect of the Missions of the Catalan Capuchin Fathers, pointing out to him the urgency of founding the said Villa, and requesting the assistance of the venerable community under his charge for this important work. To which he replied with the arguments your Excellency will perceive from the copy No. 2 hereto annexed,† and which

* Sub-No. (11), p. 337.

† Sub-No. (14), p. 340.

referred me, in regard to all the rest, to the observations that I have made in the general topographical paper which I have already transmitted to your Excellency.

This appears to me sufficient for your wise penetration in order to form a true idea of the importance of the affair.

God preserve you, &c.

(Signed)

MIGUEL MARMION.

To Don Juan Guillelmi.

(No. 20) in Inclosure 1.

Governor of Guayana to Captain-General of Carácas.

Guayana, October 8, 1789.

I transmit to your Excellency the map which you returned to me, with the description added, and which defect was not before noticed until the departure of the post. It came and now goes in a somewhat bad condition owing to damage on the journey, and as I have no other made in a clean form, nor any paper at present to do so, I forward to you the same one in the identical case separately.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(Signed)

MIGUEL MARMION.

To Señor Don Juan Guillelmi.

(No. 21) in Inclosure 1.*

Royal Order to the Governor of Guayana and the Governor of Carácas.

(Translation)

(Confidential.)

Aranjuez, June 4, 1790.

It is necessary to the Royal service that, with all possible precaution, you find out by all the means which prudence indicate to you the condition and strength of the body of fugitives who dwell in the interior of the Dutch Colony of Surinam, situated to the north of your province, whether among them there be two nephews of the rebel Tupac-Amaro, whether they have any intercourse with the Indians, and whether these regard them with some consideration, reporting immediately all the information you may acquire in this matter.

In like manner, you will inform yourself whether the inhabitants of the Dutch Colonies of Esquibo and Demerari have any suspicious communication with the Indians settled on the banks of the River Orinoco, and whether they furnish them with arms and munitions for their hostilities, in which case you will try with the greatest vigilance to prevent it, making use of every means in your power, reporting all by this secret channel, and also to the Captain-General of Carácas, who is advised by the same mail, in order that he render you any help which you may require; and, on his part, take the most active measures for the investigation of this important news.

I advise you of this by Royal Order of His Majesty for its exact fulfilment.

God preserve you, &c.

The Governor of the Province of Guayana.

[Same to Governor of Carácas.]

(No. 22) in Inclosure 1.

Governor of Guiana to Secretary of State.

(No. 22.)

Sir,

Guayana, June 4, 1790.

Considering the urgent necessity of protecting for the present in any possible way the approach of the River Cuyuni, by which the Dutch of Esquibo are accustomed to penetrate, it was held to be convenient to appoint the Adjutant-Major of this garrison, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, as experienced with these parts, charging him with this mission, and that of commanding the escort of the reverend Capuchin Fathers of Catalonia; and, at the same time, he is instructed to again examine the most advantageous place on the said River Cuyuni, at the fork or union which it forms with the Curumo, for the purpose of establishing a fixed detachment or advanced guard. Don Antonio carried out this mission in the manner you will perceive from the inclosed copy. I have also given a report to the Captain-General of Carácas, stating that I consider very necessary the construction of the guard-house or fort which the Commissioner proposes, so that, in view of the previous facts, and until His Majesty resolves something else, he examine and determine whether it will be proper to the best service of the King to put in execution this work, the cost of which will amount to, more or less, 500 pesos.

On account of various Indians having gone to Esquibo from these Missions to sell hammocks and other articles, and brought back in return all or part of the product [of their sale] in spirits, they had a drinking feast, and there resulted therefrom a disturbance, and the Religious of the village of Guascipati killed one of the Indians accidentally with a spear (or it is not known how), according to the report of the event which was made, and of which event, and the opposition of the reverend Father Prefect to continuing the cause by the regular means, I have given

* Though this document is attached to the file, it does not appear to belong properly to it.

an account to the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, and now to your Excellency, it having appeared to me well to bring it to your superior knowledge, in order that the necessity of securing the approach of the Cuyuni may be the better supported, and by this means to prevent the prejudicial transit of natives and Dutch by that river, as I have in different Reports represented to your Excellency, with which I presume you are acquainted.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(Signed) MIGUEL MARMION.

To the Most Excellent Bailio Fray Don Antonio Valdes.

(No. 23) in Inclosure 1.

Report of the Fiscal on the proposed Founding of the Village of Tumeremo.

The Fiscal has again examined this "Expediente" with the despatches of the Governor of Guayana of the 8th October of the past year and 6th May of the present, with the journal of the Adjutant-Major, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, which was presented to his view without the map of the districts and rivers which the said official surveyed or explored in fulfilment of the commission. He states that, being able to consider the said journal and despatches for making the Report which was requested of him on the 30th April of the past year, it is found that there is a necessity for the establishment of a village of Spaniards and other huts (?) on the site at the fork or junction of the Rivers Curuamo and Cuyuni, as suggested by the Fiscal in his Report of the 2nd April of the past year; and it appears the Governor of Guayana represented it, at the same time, to His Majesty according to the copy of his despatch of the 22nd September of the past year, in which and in that which the said Governor forwarded to the Prefect of the Missions, he says he has sufficient powers for the establishment; and the measures which your Excellency has taken with the same object are not shown, nor whether orders have been given to survey the site where the village of Spaniards or fort must be constructed, nor the distance from it to the Savannas of Tumeremo, where the Capuchin Fathers intend to transplant a part of their cattle-farm and found a church, the said distance being somewhat considerable, according to what may be inferred from the journal of the official Puente from the number of days which he spent in his return from the mouth of the Curuamo to the said Savannas. It appears to him that, in conformity with what has been determined in regard to the new foundation of the village or fort, the Governor of Guayana might be charged that if he should consider that the new establishment of the cattle-farm which the Fathers intend may be useful for the sustenance of the new settlers or fort, he may permit the new Mission of Our Lady of Belen de Tumeremo, and arrange with the Royal Sub-Treasury of the same province that it should grant the ornaments, sacred vessels, and bell for the service of the church to the missionaries free.

But in case the fort or village of Spaniards is not founded which is to cover those frontiers and restrain the robberies of the Dutch and wild Indians, and put an end to the smugglers, the establishment of the said Mission and the church furniture should be refused to them, so that they may not remain exposed to these dangers.

Your Excellency will be pleased to form whatever resolution may appear best in this matter.

(Signed) SARAIVA.

Caracas, October 7, [17]90.

Inclosure 2 in No. 40.

The Captain-General of Caracas to the Prefect of the Capuchin Missions.

(No. 2.)

Rev. Father,

Caracas, August 29, 1790.

IN order to protect the Missions which are under your Paternity's charge and your reverend community, I have arranged that a fort be constructed that may defend them.

For the support of it, it appears well and it is necessary to found a village of Indians of the Guayca tribe, and afterwards a town of Spaniards, which is commanded by a Royal Order of the 22nd December, 1763, the execution of which I have confided to the charge of the Adjutant-Major of the veteran Companies of that province, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente.

I hope your Paternity will arrange with this official for the foundation of the village and town the Governor of the Province having been informed and given his approval, as is right, and that you will furnish all the help that may be necessary from the cattle-farm and village of Tumeremo and that the port in the River Curuamo must have; and as your reverend community offered to His Majesty 10,000 or 12,000 head of cattle, which were accepted in the Royal Orders of the 20th October, 1778, and 14th March, 1780, the time is now at hand when it may begin to be carried into effect. I trust that your reverend community will cheerfully arrange to supply the number which the Señor Governor of that province may request.

for the purpose, with the object of distributing them among the settlers of the town which is to be founded, and the other objects to which it may be well to destine it, so that it may result to the benefit and advancement of the Missions themselves.

God preserve you, &c.

(Signed)

GUILLELMI. (Rubric.)

Rev. Father Prefect of the Missions of the Capuchins of Catalonia.

It is a copy of the original.

Inclosure 3 in No. 40.

The Captain-General of Carácas to the Royal Ministers of the Treasury.

(No 3.)

Sirs,

Carácas, August 29, 1790.

IT being of importance to the best service of the King to protect the district and Missions which border on the Dutch Colony of Squibo (Essequibo), I have resolved that a fort or guard-house be constructed in the place that may be considered most conducive and adapted for the purpose, which the Adjutant-Major, Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, has to choose, the cost of which will amount to 500 pesos, the which, as well as the other necessities and ammunition which the Governor of that province might arrange, will be forwarded to him, the expense thereof being charged to the account of the Royal Treasury.

For the present there must be placed at the orders of the Adjutant-Major Puente eight militiamen to serve as an escort and the first settlers of the town of Spaniards that is to be established there, and there will be sent by degrees to the number of thirty militiamen, that will nave, at the same time, to be settlers, according to what was resolved in the Royal Orders of the 22nd December, 1763, whose pay you will insure without the least obstruction, as I am fully empowered by the King to arrange this matter as it may appear best to me for the Royal service.

God preserve you, &c.

(Signed)

GUILLELMI. (Rubric.)

To the Ministers of the Treasury of Guayana.

It is a copy of the original.

No. 41

Royal Order approving Governor Marmion's Proposals.

The Governor of Guayana, Don Miguel Marmion, in a letter of the 6th of August, 1788, sent by the secret channel a report, dated the 10th of July previous, on the condition, forces and plan of defence of the said Province, proposing certain measures for improving it, and among them that the district comprehended under the name of Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro should be formed into a separate Commandancy, but directly subordinate to that Government, and that a fixed Garrison Company should be created for that object, whose Captain should be the Commandant of the same district. That the fertile lands of Lower Guayana should be settled, and batteries and fortifications of timber should be constructed, and a harbour of registers formed on the terms shown in separate papers which he mentioned in the said representation without noting the dates, and which have not been received. In another representation of the 22nd of September, [17]89 (No. 14) Marmion forwarded the diary made by Adjutant Major Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, of the exploration he made of the frontiers of the Colony of Essequibo and the plan which, upon this information and that which he previously possessed, he had drawn up to show, in the best possible manner, the local characteristics of the land which is enclosed by the sea coast and the Rivers Essequibo, Cuyuni, Caroni and the Orinoco, within which are the Missions of the Catalonian Capuchin Fathers, and their large cattle farm, the tobacco plantations of the town of Upata, the timber for shipbuilding surveyed in the year [17]87, and the silver mines just recently discovered; in order to show the exposed and defenceless condition of this district, which is the chief in value, fertility and population in the Province. For the River Cuyuni offers the Dutch free and open access to our possessions for their vile traffic in Indians, whom they enslave; for the importation of manufactures, and exportation of the products of those Missions. For which reasons, and the special attention which the recognised advantages of that territory attracted, and the ease with which it could be invaded by an active enemy who had obtained possession of Essequibo, Marmion proposed, as a ready expedient, to increase the garrison of that Province by two companies of infantry, and to put the existing artillery upon the footing of 100 men. That with special care and all possible speed, a town should be founded at the junction of the River Curumo with the Cuyuni, beginning with the 30 men appointed as an escort to the Missions, who might conveniently be married militiamen, and thus at the same time protect the said Missions under their commanding officer, and serve as settlers, with the help to be contributed to this important object by the venerable community of the said Capuchin Fathers, by part of the 10 or 12 thousand head of cattle which they offered to His Majesty who accepted them with the benign object of their distribution to the poor settlers of that Province. No

Annexed to an order of the 10th November, 1794, in which that of August was repeated. Placed in the bundle, "Engineers and Fortifications."

resolution was taken upon these representations, because in that of the 6th of August [17]88 Marmion offered to send a similar one by your Lordship's hands to be annexed to his report.

In a letter of the 9th of November last, No. 92, Your Lordship said that you had received the representations mentioned by the Governor of Guayana, and, at the same time, a very confidential Royal Order from Count de Lerma; that his information agrees in part with that obtained by Puente. And in fulfillment thereof, and to cover his obligation for the security of those Provinces, you had communicated to the said Governor the order, of which a copy is enclosed, to the effect that a fort or watch-house is to be built at the junction of the Rivers Curiamo and Cuyuni, which communicate with the Essequibo; that under its protection is to be founded the town of Spaniards, as indicated to Commodore Don Joseph de Iturriaga in Royal Order of the 23rd of December [17]63, and in its vicinity a Mission and village of Guaycos Indians, for the assistance of the town of Spaniards, in the places approved by Adjutant-Major Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente.

The King, being informed of everything, has been pleased to approve these arrangements; and His Majesty desires that Your Excellency will report, in view of the foregoing, what may exist in your Commandancy respecting the further points which Marmion treated of, and especially respecting the means of settling the lands of the Lower Orinoco, and protecting its entrance, with the least possible cost to the Treasury; bearing in mind that Your Lordship must present the points relative to the security and defence of the said Province, and send everything relating thereto by this "*via reservada de guerra*." I notify this to Your Lordship by Royal Order for your information and performance.

May God, &c.

Madrid, July 9, 1791.

The Captain-General of Carácas.

No. 42.

Captain-General of Carácas to Count de Campo de Alange, acknowledging Royal Order.

Docket.

THE Captain-General of Carácas acknowledges receipt of the Royal Order in which he is asked to report upon the means of settling the lands of the Lower Orinoco, and protecting its entrance with forts and batteries and says that he will do it.

Archivo-General of Simancas.
Secretariate of War.
Bundle 7238.
Year 1791.

Sir,

I have received the Royal Order of the 5th of August last, in which I am asked in view of the foregoing, to report upon the means of settling the lands of the Lower Orinoco, and protecting its entrance with forts and batteries, according to the proposal of Colonel Don Miguel Marmion; and as in order to fulfil it I must take the necessary time, I will do it as speedily as possible, directly I obtain all the surveys and information which may be necessary.

May Our Lord, &c.

Caracas, November 22, 1791.

(Signed)

JUAN GUILLELMI.

His Excellency Count de Campo de Alange.

No. 43.

Don Miguel Marmion to the Count de Campo Alange, transmitting copies of his Reports on the Province of Guayana.

Carácas, October 25, 1793.

Excellency,

THE Royal Order of the 5th of August, [17]91, which Your Excellency was pleased to send me, and which, under date of the 4th of April last, the Governor of Havanna enclosed to me, has just reached my hands after the delay which the dates show, which arose from the change in my destination. In fulfilment of the orders therein, I dedicated myself, without losing an instant, to collecting and copying the only rough drafts which I have by chance preserved of the reports on the Settlement, condition and plan of defence of the Province of Guayana which I forwarded in duplicate, the first on the 31st of July, [17]87, through this Commandancy and Intendancy, for inspection and criticism; and the second on the 6th of August, [17]88, direct by the Secret channel.

Archivo General de Simancas.
Secretariate of War.
Bundle 7246 (?)

What I now have the honour of enclosing to Your Excellency, being the most exact copy I have been able to make, contains all the identical quotations of statistics, plans, and returns which accompanied the first ones, and I regret that I have not the copies in my possession to forward again on this occasion and save you trouble; as I also regret not being able to construct afresh those documents which Your Excellency says have not been received.

No. 2 annexed is a copy of a representation or report which I sent with the aforesaid under date of the 6th of August, on the inspection of timber for building, the repetition of which appeared to me opportune from its connection with the chief matter, the importance of the

Orinoco; and in case it should some day be advisable to obtain more exact knowledge and information upon the subject of which it treats, I have added copies of certain documents which show its sources.

Transcripts No. 3 are of separate reports made at the verbal request of the Captain General Don Juan de Guillelmi, which although they are for the most part repetitions of what I have already represented, I cannot omit having recopied as evidence of my desire to carry out to the utmost the esteemed orders which I have received from Your Excellency; and with the object of obtaining the best judgment for His Majesty's Service, I take the liberty of troubling the high consideration of Your Excellency with certain observations tending to simplify what is proposed, specifying only the augmentations that are particularly necessary and of least cost to the Royal Treasury.

In the report of the 10th July, [17]88, it was intimated that the slight knowledge of the local conditions of the Orinoco possessed in former times was the factor which had, up to that time, constituted the chief security of its possession, and I have become thoroughly persuaded that it was mainly due to ignorance of this, and of the weakness of our forces in the Province of Guayana, that the English in the last war, when already masters of Essequibo, Berbis, and Demerari, did not try to approach the Orinoco in that direction along the Rivers Essequibo and Cuyuni, so as to get a footing thereon, and thereby on the Meta or Apure, in order to unite with the insurgents of Santa Fé and furnish them with arms and ammunition, and troops and officers; which they might have done with but little difficulty, and have increased the consternation of these Provinces and have rendered the reduction of the insurgents more difficult. In the present condition of things, and with those Colonies again in the hands of their ancient possessors, the danger is fortunately diminished, but not to such a degree as to render it unnecessary to provide for the security of that frontier (the importance of which is already better recognised) as well and speedily as possible.

And for this purpose it is, in my opinion, indispensable that, as proposed, a fortress, with a mixed village of Spaniards and native Indians, should be constructed on the banks of the Cuyuni; that the escort of from twenty-five to thirty men which, by Royal Order, have been granted to those Missions, and which can be formed of the settlers themselves, should be united therewith, and that every effort should be made to encourage and increase this establishment by inducing the people, through concession of lands and certain other favours, to settle in those parts; where as in the other approaches and chief entrances to the Orinoco (as already stated in another place), the measure of its strength and true resistance will be in proportion to the greater or less extent of its population.

The occupation, settlement, and defence of the lands which lie between the fortress of Old Guayana and the mouths [of the Orinoco] require, for their speedy development, help of a more effectual character, and disbursements which are perhaps impossible owing to the needs of the present time and the multitude of more important objects which call for attention, but which, however, need not be a hindrance to the immediate formation of the primary foundations of this work, which, when once begun, will go on perfecting itself insensibly, and possibly with greater facility than appears probable at first sight. A beginning can be made with a small settlement in Carucima, with the Indians of the place itself, who have two or three considerable encampments in the neighbourhood, and with five or six families of Spaniards, whom the Governor of the Province will find no difficulty in recruiting from among the labouring class, poor but well conducted and hard working.

The gratuitous distribution of lands and of a few head of cattle, with some assistance at first with tools and the most necessary implements of labour, will be a sufficient stimulus and inducement to these first families; just as, later on, in order to attract many others, and perhaps of somewhat better class, will be the act of declaring them free, for the period of ten years, from all import duties on negroes, implements, and certain coarse stuffs for the clothing of the poorest class, day-labourers, servants and slaves. The privileges and graces in favour of the new Colonists can, for the present, be limited to these necessary exemptions and to the distribution of arable and pasture land; from these alone, combined with the extreme fertility of those districts and their advantageous position, which, owing to the multitude of creeks, facilitates the exportation to the Island of Trinidad and the Colonies of the first fruits of their industry, of their abundance of timber (if it is thought fit to allow its exportation), and of the other spontaneous and natural products of their soil, may be expected, within a short time, a reasonable influx of money and slaves; and when the first difficulties have been overcome, the advantages will go on regularly increasing; they will spread into the interior of the Country, and will facilitate the complete execution of the rest of the proposal. Doubtless there is required for this work very active, prudent, and disinterested zeal in the Chief of the Province, and likewise his presence in person, at least at the commencement of its establishment, in order to give encouragement and greater impetus to the primary labours of arrangement, construction of houses, distribution of building sites and lands, formation of township, &c. And in order that the progress might be still more evident and rapid, his regular residence would be requisite, or very desirable, for at least three or four months every year in the places newly founded. And still even more than all that has been said, it is absolutely necessary that the said Chief, by his kind bearing and prudence, should be able to obtain the goodwill of the Missionary Fathers there, and to engage them, in the promotion of this work which so closely resembles their apostolic Ministry, and in which charity and the better service of Their Majesties play such part. Having gained the confidence of the Fathers (I speak of those of the Venerable Community of Catalonian Capuchins), and obtained their hearty personal co-operation in the undertaking, the most successful issue may be considered as forthwith assured, both of that foundation, so that in time it will come to be the centre of commerce and of the forces of the Province, and also of the foundation of Cuyuni and the

others which it may be desirable to commence in those regions of the Lower Orinoco, and which without their favour and effectual help would not be so easily attained.

I do not here insist upon the establishment of a separate Commandancy, and the creation of a fixed Company on the Rio Negro, not because I have changed my view respecting the utility and desirableness of both one and the other, but in the present condition of peace with the Portuguese nation, which, according to all appearances, we shall obtain. This matter is of less urgency for many years than that of the very special circumstances of the Lower Orinoco; and consequently there is no further risk in postponing it for the present, and until such time as the Province has advanced, and its chief approaches towards the sea and the Dutch Colonies, have been protected, when it can be considered with greater freedom, and with the help calculated to meet the requirements of that remote frontier.

For the rest I do not fail to understand in part the many and grave inconveniences which are wont to arise when it is a question of preserving the foundations of a Province while giving it a new Constitution, but I reflect that it can be justly said of the Province of Guayana that it is still a new country, in need of help, susceptible of great encouragement, and that what is proposed is not to reform it violently and instantly, but to commence certain improvements which may well be productive of considerable and very solid advantages.

And as I find nothing to add to what I have reported in the note sent herewith, respecting its importance, its forces and means of defence, respecting their insufficiency and the necessity for increasing them by at least two companies of Infantry, beyond those of its garrison, I will conclude with observing that, from the conditions of the present war in which we are involved, what may be feared in Guayana, far more than formal invasion, is some attempt or sudden incursion to rob and pillage the first and nearest Missions and cattle farms of the Capuchin Fathers, owing to the facility for so doing which the Rivers Imataca and Aguire afford, as already shown in another place; and that in order to prevent this, and every other accident whatsoever, it will be desirable to place in those spots some launches armed and well manned; an object which has doubtless occupied a great deal of the attention of the Governor of the Province, and which he must have kept well before him in his plan of operations, so as to keep ready and enrolled in advance the seamen and vessels available for this service, which in my opinion is the most essential part of all the defence, and the one in which the greatest efforts must be made, by extending it as far as possible, and in proportion to the forces, to all the other points and approaches by which an enemy could attempt his attack.

Your Excellency's wise penetration will weigh these reflections and give them their due place, and you will, I trust, do me the honour of believing that my desire is solely to ascertain and contribute as far as my limited abilities reach, to the better service of the King and the Public, and to the welfare of a Province to which I confess myself devoted.

May Our Lord, &c.

(Signed)

MIGUEL MARMION.

Count del Campo de Alange.

Inclosures in No. 43.

Copy of some separate Papers and Reports drawn up by Marmion in the year [17]92, by virtue of verbal orders from the Captain-General of Curacas, Don Juan Guillelmi.

(1.)

On the Creation of a Garrison Company for Rio Negro.

The extensive tract of country comprehended under the name of the Upper Orinoco, washed on the east by the Rivers Negro, Atabapo, Cassiquiari and a multitude of deep creeks, is, even at the present day, but little explored towards the interior, and is exposed to influx from the neighbouring Colonies; nor is it possible to prevent it, or even, sometimes, to be aware of their movements, owing to the great distances which intervene and their dearth of inhabitants. The small detachment which guards the post of San Carlos cannot look after this important matter for it barely suffices to provide a soldier as escort, or render assistance, in the small and wretched villages of Indians taught by the Observant Missionary Fathers; and its Commandant, who usually is or has to be changed every six months, or at least yearly, is without the means and assistance necessary to become well acquainted with the features of the country, to examine its advantages and the quality of its natural products, and to make use of the multitude of nations of wild and nomadic Indians for its defence and better Settlement. To which must be added the want of discipline and instruction which is necessarily experienced in a body of troops scattered in detachments, at a distance of more than 300 leagues from the Capital and from view of their chiefs. This is a reason which seems to show the utility and desirability of the proposed establishment of a Company fixed on the Upper Orinoco, under a Resident Commander of experience, zeal, and activity, who is pledged by his honour, by the responsibility he undertakes and by the hope of greater opportunities, to the preservation of a frontier of no slight importance, and to evolving and promoting measures for its defence and advancement.

Archivo-General of
Simancas, Secre-
tariate of War.
Bundle 7246.

On the Settlement and Defence of the Lower Orinoco, River Cuyuni, &c.

The portion of land which lies between the fort of Old Guayana and the Mouths of the Orinoco is incontestably the most fertile and generally advantageous position in the entire Province, and it is there that the chief effort must be made for defence, and for protecting its approaches, which are likewise those of the interior Missions and common cattle farms of the Reverend Catalonian Capuchin Fathers.

A Port of Registers, situated midway, at 20 or 25 leagues from the great Boca de Navios on one side, and at about the same distance from the Fort of Guayana on the other, in the place where the land begins to rise sufficiently above the level of the highest tides, in addition to the advantages which it offers for the navigation of the Orinoco, may be regarded as a first defence for the people who, by the inducement of commerce and certain exemptions, will flock to this new Settlement; it can be fortified temporarily at small cost, with works and forts of timber, of which there is an inexhaustible supply for the construction of batteries, either fixed or floating, in defence of the two arms in which the river flows at that spot. This supposes that such Port of Registers must be, at the same time, a fortress and a point of union for the forces of the Province, and if, perchance, it should be resolved to fell the timber and establish it in the spot indicated, seeing that it is really the most adapted to the purpose, it would doubtless be a further reason for increasing the forces, and at the same time the population, of this new and important establishment. Until this is done it will be advisable, in every respect, that the chief effort in the event of an invasion should be directed to the defence of the Mouths of the Orinoco, to prevent the entrance of invaders, using for this purpose the vessels of the small existing trade, manned and armed in the best manner possible, in the present lack of others more suitable, such as launches, gunboats, etc., and of the artillery necessary to equip them. Upon these matters reports must exist in this Captaincy General, drawn up by the Government of Guayana upon occasion of the late apprehensions of war.

If no further consideration be taken of the local conditions of the Province of Guayana, of the fact that it is the door which opens the road and entrance, by means of its grand river the Orinoco, to the interior territories of Cumaná, Venezuela, Barinas and the new kingdom of Granada, it will perchance be found that the proposed augmentations are still very inadequate to the importance of their object; and if to the interest of its position be added the consideration of the advantages it may produce from the great fertility of its soil, and its abundance of excellent arable and pasture lands, and of those of its extensive forests, with an inexhaustible supply of timber for building every kind of vessel, and for other purposes; the careful vigilance which its preservation requires and the great desirability of promoting means for its defence will become more and more evident. The defences now existing are next to none, as will appear from the statistics of forces, ammunition, artillery &c. With the augmentation of the two companies asked for or proposed, the artillery company on the footing of a hundred effective men, the three garrison companies complete and those of the Militia set in order and well disciplined, together with the necessary artillery and ammunition, and by using, fitly and judiciously, the local advantages of the Orinoco, it would be possible, even in the actual condition of things, to oppose formidable obstacles to the enemy and a defence from which a successful issue might be expected.

The Fort and Spanish town ordered to be founded at the confluence of the Rivers Curumo and Cuyuni, joined to the escort of 30 men who were appointed to help the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers, will serve for the present to check the incursions and frequent influx of the Dutch from Essequibo and Demerari: it will be of use in gaining the confidence and friendship of the Indians not yet converted, and, through them, for obtaining information respecting the intentions and movements of the disaffected; it will afford better protection to the rear of the Missions; and may, later on, be a very useful point for communication with the interior of the country, for exploring it and for rendering the conversion and spiritual union of the natives easy to the Missionaries, and for the foundation of new establishments in favour of the commercial population and of the defence itself.

On the plains of the provinces of Cumaná, New Barcelona, Caracas and Barinas, one meets with scattered camps of people who live without recognized domicile or citizenship, and without visible means of support; useless, or rather prejudicial, to society, given to run away, and excessively idle and vagabond, who live in misery or at the expense of other people's industry. There are likewise a good many families of poor people, not so depraved, who, for want of an incentive and of some assistance, pass their life in miserable inaction, and who would certainly be scarcely missed from their present abodes and might be useful if transferred.

It would, perhaps, not be so very difficult to restore both classes to civilization, making soldiers of the unmarried ones who are without employment, the deserters, adventurers and vagrants; employing the criminals and evil doers in public works as garrison prisoners; and placing the poor married people on the new Settlements, giving them land, some implements, and a certain number of cattle from those offered by the Venerable Community of Capuchin Fathers, and accepted by His Majesty with the benign object of distributing them among the poor Settlers in the Province. Upon which inducement, and the further privileges which it might be thought well to grant, there can be no doubt that many people, and entire families, would willingly migrate and settle, and would speedily make the new Colonies flourish, to the general advantage of the Province.

Caracas, dated in 1792.

(3.)

Information to be obtained respecting Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro.

Information which it is desirable to request from the Adjutant Major of the Garrison Companies of Guayana, Antonio Lopez de la Puente and Don Sebastian Espinosa, Lieutenant of the same, respecting the Upper Orinoco and Rio Negro.

In view of the practical knowledge they have acquired of those countries, on the occasions when they have been stationed in Rio Negro, and bearing in mind that all the portion of land lying between the Fort of San Carlos and the rapids of Atures may one day be made a separate Commandancy with its corresponding Garrison of troops, they are to report what site they consider most suitable for the establishment of the village which is to be the head of the new department. Whether the one in which the said Fort of San Carlos is situated, or one of the villages already founded, or some other place between the said harbour and the rapids, where, with the advantages and means of better defence, there may at the same time be obtained those most desirable for settlement, good agricultural lands, abundance of timber and other materials for building a healthy position, and easy and rapid communication for affording help and assistance where necessary.

2. They are to indicate the distances between the villages, both of those situated on the banks of the Orinoco and of those of the Casiquiari and Atabapo, beginning with San Carlos and going regularly up to Atures, giving the number of villages, their names and some idea of their present condition.

3. They are to state the distances from San Carlos to the Portuguese Settlements, both those on the Rio Negro and the interior ones towards the Mao; and in the extensive territories which lie to the south of our possessions; if they know whether any further advance and penetration has been made with the said Settlements, and with what result, and what forces they have in them.

4. They are to state what force of Indians they employ, if they know how they are governed, in what labours they are employed, and what advantage is obtained from them for agriculture, trade and defence.

5. They are to state the quality of the lands in our possession, what fruits and useful products they are capable of growing; if any spices are produced, if they are of proper quality and whether it would be easy to cultivate and improve them; whether there is an abundance of resins, gums, aromatic and medicinal plants, special kinds of timber, masts, etc.

(4.)

Information concerning the Lower Orinoco, the Cuyuni, and the Missions of the Capuchin Fathers, which can be furnished by Adjutant Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente.

1. To report the distance from the River Cuyuni to the nearest Missions and Villages of the Catalan Capuchins, and to their principal cattle farm.

2. To state whether the Dutch are accustomed to penetrate along the said Cuyuni, whether they have facilities for doing so and for going to survey all our territory in these parts, and that of the Missions; and whether they have any possessions or habitations within the River [Cuyuni] and at what distance.

3. To say whether the Indians of the Missions are accustomed to go occasionally to the Dutch possessions, what things they take and bring, and what time they usually spend in going to Essequibo, Berbiz etc. and back.

4. To report whether now, or at any other time, any trade has been carried on in those places; in what products, and by what means and routes; and to state what he knows respecting the expeditions of Monsieur Ignacio in years past, and other old and recent occurrences, which may contribute to the better knowledge of the character of the country.

5. To report what he knows concerning the method employed by the Dutch to procure Poitos or Indian slaves for their houses and service, and what traffic or correspondence they maintain with the Indians, their allies, and whether they are accustomed to provide them with arms and ammunition.

6. To report upon the practicability of the roads and the better navigation of the Cuyuni, at what time of year and for how long he considers it possible to go to the mouths of the Essequibo.

7. To report what he knows concerning the facilities for entering the Missions of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, through the Rivers Aguire and Imataca which run from one of the arms of the Orinoco, considerably below the forts of Old Guayana, and how much time is required to reach, by the said rivers the villages of Palmar, Cumamo, Miamo and the cattle farms of the Royal Community.

8. To the south of Cuyuni and bearing to the east, in the rear of the Dutch Settlements, he is to report whether he knows how many days' journey distant the dwellings of the negro fugitives from Essequibo and Surinam are situated; and whether he knows of any Indians, converted, or not converted, who are in communication with them, or are well acquainted with those parts.

9. To express his opinion as to the desirability of promoting the new conversions on the other side of the Cuyuni, whether any useful inter-communication might be opened up in that direction, and whether he knows why no attempt has been made to occupy those lands with new foundations of villages of Indians; and, lastly, he is to report on the condition and progress of the Missions, and of their common cattle farms and on the advantages they offer for the advancement of those poor natives and settlers and for the better defence of the country.

Caracas, dated in [17]92.

(5.)

Replies to some doubts which arose upon the Reports demanded from Don Antonio Lopez.

Marmion does not doubt that it would be desirable to fix the chief Settlement of the new Commandancy in question in the spot proposed by Don Antonio Lopez de la Puente, which lies midway between the Fort of San Carlos and the rapids of Atures, not so much on account of the distances as on account of its advantageous position, almost at the confluence of the three fine rivers, the Orinoco, Guaviare and Atabapo, which facilitate the most ready and safe communication with all the villages of those Missions, as also with the interior of the country, for its exploration, and with the said port of San Carlos to afford timely help in case of need.

In a representation of the 10th of July 1788 Marmion proposed that the territories should be occupied which lie between the Fort or Fortresses of Guayana and the mouths of the Orinoco for a distance of 25 leagues as being the best piece of territory in the Province. That in the said district should be founded not only estates and cattle farms, but likewise Settlements of Spaniards and of Indians, and Ports of Registers for the greater benefit and convenience of the trade of the Province, and that its chief strength should be collected in the region of the said establishment, as being that which afforded the best defence and for the other reasons he then expressed, and to which he refers; confirming anew that to this Settlement of the Lower Orinoco, it is desirable to afford all possible means, ordinary and extraordinary, for its better advancement, which will be, as already stated, those of its defence; one of the most conducive being the formation of the Port of Registers, and the felling of timber (if it be permitted) on the site proposed for the former one, where they will have the help of labourers and provisions nearer at hand, for the mutual benefit of both objects, and the greater facility for establishing, as may be required, the factories, machines, saw-mills and other inventions.

Experience has constantly shown that the Guarauno and Mariusa Indians, who are the ones that inhabit, in largest numbers, the districts in question, whenever any effort has been made to take them from the creeks and mouths of the river and convey them to settle in the interior of the Missions, have usually been of very little use and endurance, and upon the least inattention on the part of the Religious they have escaped to the woods or returned to their native spot, the little islands of the Orinoco; thus becoming still more irreconcilable and difficult to attract. Moved by this consideration and desirous of deriving some advantage from the natural capriciousness of those natives, Marmion endeavoured, during the visit he made to their encampments, to draw them together, to the largest number possible, in two or three of the best situations and most in view, under the protection of the Government, so that they should not be molested; and under the idea that intercourse with the Spaniards would civilize them by degrees, and that in case Settlement or felling of timber should be resolved upon, this body of labourers should be found at hand, which is the matter referred to in the preceding paragraph; and that it will be of no slight utility, if conducted with prudence, by treating them well and not violently removing them from the places to which they are attached, as was done before. And therefore there will be no inconvenience in forming a Settlement of these people, as Lopez proposes on the Creek of Imataca, but on the other hand much advantage will result, especially if some families of Spaniards are established among them; and they would be almost in sight of the Chief Settlement, where daily information of their movements could be had, and they could be employed as day-labourers, at moderate wages, in the work that might require to be done.

With regard to what the same Lopez says respecting the desirability of opening up communications beyond Cuyuni by means of the various nations of Indians, although they are not well known, there appears to be no reason to doubt its utility or the possibility of its concession by the means proposed; and still more if the Settlement is carried further in that part by forming establishments at regular distances, so as to be able to help and support one another; and reckoning, before all things, on the effective concurrence of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers, as they are the ones chiefly interested in this kind of spiritual and political conquest, and are more in a condition to promote it by the needful help of meat, cassava, etc. On the further Statements of this officer respecting the actual condition of the Missions under the care of the said Fathers, and on their economic administration in respect to the Indians, it only remains to be observed in passing, that the slight advance shown by those natives in the matter of civilization and industry, arises necessarily from some defect in the system of governing them, and, according to the opinion of many, from nothing so much as from the mistaken policy of keeping them isolated, and separated as far as possible from traffic and communication with the Spaniards, for the Indian is not without sufficient discernment to perceive this species of violent subjection, and he sometimes succeeds in escaping from it to the woods, or sometimes seeks the protection of those very persons from whom such efforts are made to keep him; thus causing continual claims and complaints on the part of the Missionaries, and very superfluous labour to the Government and the judges. It would be better and more sensible if, instead of wasting time in these trifles, attention were given to the

chief object, which doubtless ought to be, after teaching them the knowledge of God and the obligations of Religion and of civil and social life, to promote the spirit of industry in the villages, and to fit them for delivery to the Ordinary, and for some advantage to the State, by paying tribute to the King, as those of the neighbouring Provinces of Cumaná, New Barcelona, etc., are doing, without greater means than those which have been enjoyed in Guayana, and with so little visible common stock, besides what is held by their Procurator General, that both together have not sufficed after sixty years' establishment to raise them from the rank of new reductions.

By dint of charges and repeated complaints against the administration of the Magistrates, doubtless founded on some or many excesses which they committed, their suppression was obtained, and the economic government of the villages was handed over to the care of the Missionary Fathers; a very just measure at the time, and calculated for the greater benefit of those wretched natives, but which, during more than eight years that it has been in force, has not produced the salutary effects which were desired, but, on the other hand, certain inconveniences of a different kind, especially in reference to the administration of justice; inconveniences which come before the tribunals, and of which many instances will be found in those of Cumaná and Guayana; and which the many sensible Religious do not fail to recognize, who to their regret find themselves compelled to interfere in matters foreign to their institution and profession, and who may well eagerly desire to see themselves freed from such cares and burdens of conscience, so as to be able to attend exclusively to the real duties of their Spiritual Ministry.

Carácas, 1792.

These are copies of some separate reports made in Carácas and are without date as the rough drafts from which they were taken were undated.

(Signed) MIGUEL MARMION.

Carácas, October 25, 1793.

No. 44.

(Translation.)
(De Preferencia.)

Don Pedro Carbonell, Captain-General of Carácas, to the Prince de la Paz, Secretary of State.

Sir,

Carácas, March 4, 1797.

THE Governor of Guayana, in his despatch No. 5 of the 2nd February last, reports, among other things, that he has been informed that the English have apportioned all the lands which stretch from the Colony of Essequibo to Barima, the windward point which, with that of Cangrejos, on the leeward, forms the mouth of the Orinoco, and that from one point to another they have planted stakes, on the top of which they have affixed Notices, explaining to whom that portion is allotted, with the name of the owner.

Although this news is not as clear as an affair of so much importance demands, I have nevertheless considered it well not to despise it altogether, and, consequently, in order to assure myself thereof as fully as possible, in conformity with my duty, I have dispatched Captain Don Manuel Astor, with the assistance of His Majesty's revenue-cutter on this river, together with whatever boats and Indians he may consider necessary, to proceed at once to Point Barima, reconnoitre it, and make a scrupulous investigation into the truth of this matter, or obtain proof that it is unfounded. In case of finding any of the Notices that are said to be posted up, he is to bring one back with him for greater evidence, but on no account is he to go any distance from that point, on account of the danger of falling in with the enemy's cruisers, which are known to be cruising in the mouths of the river, or into an ambuscade which the English may have prepared. For the little force which he is taking to carry out his commission is not enough for a greater expedition.

With another [despatch] of the 3rd of the same [month], No. 6, he inclosed me a copy of the account which Andrew Conde, master of a schooner belonging to that port, gave him. That Conde was made a prisoner of war, and taken to Grenada, whence he made his escape, and where all those are detained who were taken from us by the expedition fitted out against Trinidad; and he concludes as follows: "The English told me that the Minister Pitt had resolved to cause the Spanish-American Colonies to revolt; that, with this object in view, they had offered to help the people of Santo Domingo, saying that they would remain independent; and that they had sent to Mexico with the same offers; and that in proceeding to the Orinoco, as was resolved upon, they would attract the neighbouring provinces by making them advantageous offers; and that they were not ignorant of the little or no force which we had here."

Together with another despatch of the 4th of the said month, marked No. 8, he inclosed me a copy of the Report drawn up by Fray Felix de Tarraga, a Capuchin ecclesiastic, a missionary of thirty-one years' residence in the said Province, who, by my orders, undertook to investigate and inquire into the strength and force of the expedition that the English were preparing in Demerary.

Having started on the 31st December last, and having arrived by the Creek Amacuro, on the savannah, he found the entry closed at the head-waters of the River Amacuro, where the Aruaca Indians, whom he there found posted, informed him that on the east bank opposite the English had paid Indians in their service who, whenever they heard that the stakes placed at the entry to the savannah were being destroyed, were to throw down others at the entry of the creek, and give notice to the guard placed at the mouth of the Moruca, where it flows into

the sea; in which place they told him they (the English) had a number of cannon planted and a large force of soldiers, without expressing the exact number. He added the following: "They also told me for certain that from Essequibo to Point Barima the English had portioned out all the lands, with posts fixed in the ground on which Notices were affixed stating the names of the parties to whom the various lots belonged."

To form an idea of the area of the territory which extends from the Essequibo to Point Barima, I have examined the exact map, drawn up by the Colonel of Engineers, Don Miguel Marmion, when Governor of Guayana, and from the south-west to the north-east there are 47 leagues of coast, with many rivers and creeks, which flow into the sea; and if they have drawn their line north and south to the fork of the Rivers of Yuruan and Yuruary it embraces about 40 leagues, and from east to west 46, forming the figure of a trapezoid.

Of all the news which he gave in his Report, none has caused me more alarm and created greater consternation than that of the ingenious and detestable project of Mr. Pitt to stir up the Americas to rebellion; for I cannot conceal from the King that if the English enter the Orinoco and ascend towards the Kingdom of Santa Fée and disembark at Macuco, the port of the River Meta, which flows into it, I much fear the hidden smouldering fire of the revolt of Socorro of the year [17]80, and the sparks it gave forth in [17]93, when the pamphlet "The Rights of Man" was printed and distributed, may break out again and cause fresh discontent, and a disposition to throw off the easy yoke of the Spanish domination.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(Signed) PEDRO CARBONELL,
Governor and Captain-General of Carácas.

To His Excellency the Prince de la Paz.

Inclosure in No. 44.

Luis Antonio Gil, Governor of Guayana, to Don Pedro Carbonell, Captain-General of Carácas.

(No. 5.)

Guayana, February 2, 1797.

YESTERDAY, the 1st instant, at 2 A.M., I received your Excellency's order of the 18th January last, in which you are pleased to advise me of the assistance of soldiers, money, and the rest you have considered it well to supply, and direct me to be upon my guard, and to repel the enemy in case any attempt be made on his part to invade this province, of which I am duly informed, as also of the observations which your Excellency communicates to me as to the details of a vigorous and proper defence, suggested by your experience and prudent military skill; and profiting by them, and by those which the present circumstances may offer, I am confident of fulfilling my responsibility with honour; and rather than this should in any way be tarnished or that of His Majesty's arms, I should prefer, without fear, to expose myself to the last sacrifice.

From the two inclosed copies which I herewith transmit to you, your Excellency will perceive the results of my appeal for help to the Windward Island of Trinidad.

Notwithstanding this, on account of your Excellency's order, I have again had recourse to the two Chiefs of the naval and military forces of that post, urging them to make a last effort to help me with what I request, on the understanding that the cannon of large calibre are of absolute necessity, with powder and ball for these, and, at least for the present, 600 muskets, with cartridge pouches and belts.

As soon as I had news of the declaration of war, I sent orders to the Missions that 500 Indians be held in readiness to march at the first notice, each with a bow and fifty arrows, and macána,* under the orders of an official in chief, who is appointed, and that they should carry with them rations for four or five days. This, according to information from the reverend Father Prefect, is already carried out; the company of Mulatto cavalry, and half a company of whites of Upata, are under orders to march at the first command to the forts of Old Guayana. An account of all the inhabitants of this capital, and of the marine, with the arms that each one possesses, has been made, with a distinction of classes and orders, and they are informed where they must assemble on hearing a cannon-shot that will be fired from the top of the hill. In this case I have settled the use that is to be made of the vessels that are in the port. Four cannon of the calibre of 6-lbs., mounted on their ship's carriage, which were in this neighbourhood, I sent to Guayana, and I bought some cannon balls of different calibres that do not amount to 100 in all. Although I ordered ammunition for the artillery in the forts, there is not sufficient, nor can they be wholly made here. I have increased the garrison of the forts up to 215 active men, between veterans and militiamen, and I made my arrangements so that provisions may not be wanting. I commanded the lodgings to be repaired, and the parts of the forts most necessary for the present, and, lastly, I placed various look-outs from the mouths of the Orinoco to the forts, and from these last to the capital fifteen cavalry soldiers in a chain, so that in a few hours I have news of all that may occur.

It has appeared to me well to give your Excellency this information in general of the condition in which I am prepared, leaving for another time, when I have leisure, the circumstantial Report, including the detachments of Palmar, Cuyuni, and of the other approaches of which I now make no mention, so that you may be able to form some idea of my arrangements, assuring you that, in proportion to the means that may be sent me, I shall do all in my power to carry out

* See note on p. 261.

all that is commanded by the Royal orders, and what your Excellency notifies me relating to them respecting fortifications and placing obstacles in the way of the enemy in the advantageous places between the forts and the sea. Of all which I shall duly inform you in time, and of my reasons for avoiding superfluous details.

I have been informed that the English have apportioned all the lands which stretch from the Colony of Esquivo (Essequibo) to Barima, the windward point which, with that of Congrejos to the leeward, forms the mouth of the Orinoco, and that from one point to another they have planted stakes, on the top of which they have affixed Notices, explaining to whom that portion is allotted, with the name of the owner.

Although this news is not as clear and circumstantial as an affair of so much importance demands, I have, nevertheless, considered it well not to despise it altogether. And, consequently, in order to assure myself thereof as fully as possible, in conformity with my duty, I have dispatched Captain Don Manuel Astor, with the assistance of His Majesty's revenue-cutter on this river, together with whatever boats and Indians he may consider necessary, to proceed at once to Point Barima, reconnoitre it, and make a scrupulous investigation into the truth of this matter, or obtain proof that it is unfounded. In case of finding any of the Notices that are said to be posted up, he is to bring one back with him for greater evidence, but on no account is he to go any distance from that point, on account of the danger of falling in with the enemy's cruisers, which are known to be cruising in the mouths of the river or into an ambuscade which the English may have prepared. For the little force which he is taking to carry out his commission is not enough for a greater expedition.

I make no excuse in communicating this to your Excellency for your superior intelligence until such time as I succeed in giving you an account of the results of this Commissioner, as I shall do the instant he returns to this capital.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(Signed) LUIS ANTONIO GIL

Señor Don Pedro Carbonell.

It is a copy of its original.
(Signed) CARBONELL (with his Rubric).

No. 45.

Official Table of the Capuchin Missions in the Lower Orinoco (1799).

TABLE of the Capuchin Missions in the Lower Orinoco, according to a Report drawn up by Father Buenaventura de Sebadel in the year 1799.

" Archivo de Indias,"
Reports, &c.,
Guayana, 1799.

Names of the Missions.				Date of Foundation.	Population in 1799.
Purísima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora de Caroni	..	..	..	1724	659
Nuestra Señora de los Angeles del Yucuario	..	..	..	1730	540
San José de Capapuy .. .. .	..	..	..	1733	886
San Francisco de Alta Gracia .. .. .	..	..	..	1734	946
Divina Pastora .. .. .	..	..	..	1737	532
San Miguel del Palmar .. .. .	..	..	..	1746	714
Nuestra Señora del Monseratti del Miamo .. .. .	..	..	..	1748	839
San Fidel del Carapo .. .. .	..	..	..	1751	768
Santa Eulalia de Murucuri .. .. .	..	..	..	1754	572
San José de Leoniza de Aima .. .. .	..	..	..	1755	748
Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Guasipati .. .. .	..	..	..	1757	738
Santa Cruz del Calvario .. .. .	..	..	..	1760	426
Santa Ana de Puga .. .. .	..	..	..	1760	513
San Ramon de Caruachi .. .. .	..	..	..	1763	403
San Antonio de Huisatanos .. .. .	..	..	..	1765	739
San Pablo del Cumamo .. .. .	..	..	..	1767	458
Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Pusedpa .. .. .	..	..	..	1769	409
San Felix del Cantalicio de Tupuquen .. .. .	..	..	..	1770	567
San Pedro de las Bocas .. .. .	..	..	..	1770	514
San Buenaventura de Guri .. .. .	..	..	..	1771	679
San Miguel .. .. .	..	..	..	1779	487
Santa Clara .. .. .	..	..	..	1779	217
San Serafin .. .. .	..	..	..	1779	290
Santa Roza de Cura .. .. .	..	..	..	1782	895
San Juan Bautista de Avechica .. .. .	..	..	..	1783	514
Santa Magdalena de Currucai .. .. .	..	..	..	1783	200
Anjel Custodio de Aicana .. .. .	..	..	..	1785	304
Nuestra Señora de Belen de Tumeremo .. .. .	..	..	..	1788	351
Total, twenty-eight Missions .. .. .				..	15,908

OFFICIAL TABLE of the Missions of Guayana, in the Lower Orinoco, after the Suppression of the
Capuchin Missionaries by the Spanish Cortes in 1813.

Name of Mission.	Date of its Foundation.	Number of Inhabitants in 1816.
Mission de la Purisima Concepcion del Caroni	1724	946
" de Santa Maria de Yacuaro	1730	661
" de San José de Cupapuy	1733	1,168
" de Nuestro Padre de San Francisco de Alta Gracia ..	1734	754
" de San Miguel del Palmar	1737	1,015
" de Divina Pastora del Yaruaro	1746	833
" de Nuestra Señora de Monserrata del Miamo ..	1748	1,041
" de San Fidel del Carapo	1751	1,000
" de Santa Eulalia de Murucuri	1754	730
" de San José de Leonisa de Ayma	1755	710
" de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Guasipati ..	1757	984
" de Santa Ana de Puga	1761	578
" de Santa Cruz del Calvario	1761	517
" de San Ramon de Caruachi	1763	634
" de San Antonio de Huicsatono	1765	955
" de Conversion de San Pablo del Cumamo	1767	364
" de Nuestra Señora de Dolores de Pudedpa ..	1769	412
" de San Felix de Tupuquen	1770	736
" de San Pedro de las Bocas	1770	628
" de San Buenaventura de Guri	1771	758
" de San Miguel de Unata	1779	751
" de San Serafin de Arabatayma	1779	347
" de Santa Clara Yavaragana	1779	362
" de Santa Rosa de Lima de Cura	1782	551
" de Santa Magdalena de Currucay	1783	355
" de San Juan Bautista de Avechica	1783	732
" de Nuestra Señora de Belen de Tumeremo ..	1788	632
" de Villa de San Antonio de Upata	1762	1,598
" de Villa de San Isidro de la Barceloneta ..	1770	494
Total, twenty-nine Missions	21,246

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